OTTOMAN BAROQUE

وما توفيقي الا بالله
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

ÜNVER RÜSTEM

OTTOMAN BAROQUE

THE ARCHITECTURAL REFASHIONING OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

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For my parents

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Note on Captions, Transliterations, and Translations

Captions for multiple images of the same building give dates and locations only in the first instance. Without further qualification, “Istanbul” indicates a site within the walled city proper; extramural locations such as Üsküdar and Eyüp are additionally specified.

Except in transliterated quotations and book titles, foreign terms that have entered standard English dictionaries (for example, “pasha,” “dhimmi,” “mihrab”) are written in their anglicized forms, and even less familiar terms are italicized only on their initial occurrence. Ottoman terms are provided with full diacritics when first written and thereafter spelled according to modern Turkish orthography, though I have retained medial ʿ*ayn*s and *hamza*s throughout (for example, “miʿmar”).

In transliterating from Ottoman Turkish, I have followed the system used by the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, with the following adaptions: خ and غ are respectively rendered as *ḫ* and *ġ*, and certain orthographic conventions pertaining to native Turkish words are ignored in favor of spellings that better reflect the actual pronunciation of the time (for example, *etdirüp* rather than *itdirüb*). As is typical for the period, all eighteenth-century Ottoman texts quoted in this book are originally unpunctuated, and any punctuation that appears in the transliterations is my own.

Names of buildings are written in accordance with their “scholarly” modern Turkish forms if these are well known (for example, “Sultan Ahmed Mosque” rather than “Sultanahmet Mosque”), though in cases where this approach would be pedantic, I have used the spellings that are today most current (for example, “Hacı Kemalettin Mosque,” not “Hacı Kemaleddin Mosque”). Where it may be helpful, I have written certain proper names with full diacritics on their first mention (for example, “Ḳaṣr-ı Cinān”).

All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Introduction

> *It is fair and accurate to say that this beautiful building and gladdening house of worship—all of solid marble and so charming—has no like or counterpart not only in the capital [Istanbul], but indeed in [all] the lands of Islam.*
>
> —AHMED EFENDİ, CONSTRUCTION ACCOUNTANT OF THE NURUOSMANİYE MOSQUE

> *The mosque that Sultan Mahamout had built is, without doubt, the most beautiful that one can see in the Empire, after one has seen St. Sophia.*
>
> —JEAN-CLAUDE FLACHAT, FRENCH MERCHANT AND RESIDENT OF ISTANBUL

Written of the mid-eighteenth-century Nuruosmaniye Mosque by authors contemporary with its construction, these statements may surprise the modern observer (fig. 1). So conditioned are we to locate the heyday of Ottoman architecture in the sixteenth century—and above all in the works of Sinan (d. 1588)—that it is difficult to credit that a later building could have excited such praise. If the first statement might be dismissed as mere hyperbole on the part of an Ottoman official involved in the mosque's construction, the second—penned by a Frenchman with no connection to the project—cannot be so easily disregarded.

Indeed, the widespread acclaim that greeted the Nuruosmaniye bespeaks a momentous shift in the history of Ottoman architecture, one embedded in, and itself constitutive of, far-reaching sociopolitical developments. The modern focus on the period before 1600—what has come to be known as the Ottoman classical age—has obscured the decisive role of the eighteenth century in (re)shaping the Ottoman Empire's image, especially as embodied in its capital, Istanbul. Abandoned by the court

FIG. 1. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, Istanbul, 1748–55.

during the preceding decades in favor of the empire's second city, Edirne, Istanbul was restored as the seat of government in 1703, after which it became the site of lavish architectural patronage intended to reinscribe the sultans' presence. This campaign culminated in two distinct but related outcomes that were both loudly announced with the erection of the Nuruosmaniye between 1748 and 1755. Not only did the building reestablish the dormant tradition of the sultanic (imperial) mosque complex, with other examples soon to come, but it was also the first truly monumental example of a brand-new architectural style heavily informed by European models: the so-called Turkish or Ottoman Baroque. Denigrated by later commentators as decadent and foreign, the style was in its own time a remarkable success, dominating the architectural output of Istanbul between the 1740s and early 1800s and earning the appreciation of locals and foreigners alike.

This twofold process—the revival of the sultanic mosque and the rise of a widely admired new building manner—is the central concern of the present study, which examines the resultant architecture in terms that confront long-held unease about the late Ottoman Empire's artistic and political standing, particularly in relation to Western Europe. Bernard Lewis summed up a common attitude when he said of the Nuruosmaniye, "When a foreign influence appears in something as central to a culture as an imperial foundation and a cathedral-mosque, there is clearly some faltering of cultural self-confidence."[1] While rejecting the charge of degeneracy, newer interpretations have in their own way continued to discuss the Ottoman Baroque as a predominantly decorative approach lacking the gravitas and import of the earlier classical manner. I wish to turn Lewis's assumption on its head and propose that it is precisely because the new style was employed—and, moreover, applauded—in the most esteemed of contexts that it cannot be understood as an index of insecurity, nor as a loosening of architectural decorum. Any failure to ascribe purpose to the style is, in short, irreconcilable with its essential role in the imperial mosques, buildings that demand to be taken seriously as expressions of state ideology.

The potential of these monuments for rethinking the Ottoman Baroque and its wider implications has remained strangely unexplored. Though scholars have long acknowledged that the new style coincided with a resurgence of imperial religious foundations, few have considered the two phenomena in tandem, and the more recent revisionist literature in particular has largely overlooked the mosques in its discussion of the period's architectural changes.[2] Such neglect is curious given the Ottomans' own privileging of the sultanic mosque as the building category par excellence, and all the more so in light of the type's conspicuous eighteenth-century comeback.[3] The Nuruosmaniye was followed in swift succession by the mosques of Ayazma (1758–61), Laleli (1760–64), Beylerbeyi (1777–78), and Selimiye (1801–5), not to mention reconstructed versions of the mosques of Fatih (1767–71) and Eyüp Sultan (1798–1800). These buildings had a profound and transformative effect on the landscape of Istanbul, spreading the new style along the city's thoroughfares and waterways (fig. 2). Their importance lies not only in their status and number, but also in their value as uniquely revealing case studies. To talk of an imperial mosque really means to talk of a whole complex that includes such additional elements as a school, library, public kitchen, royal pavilion,

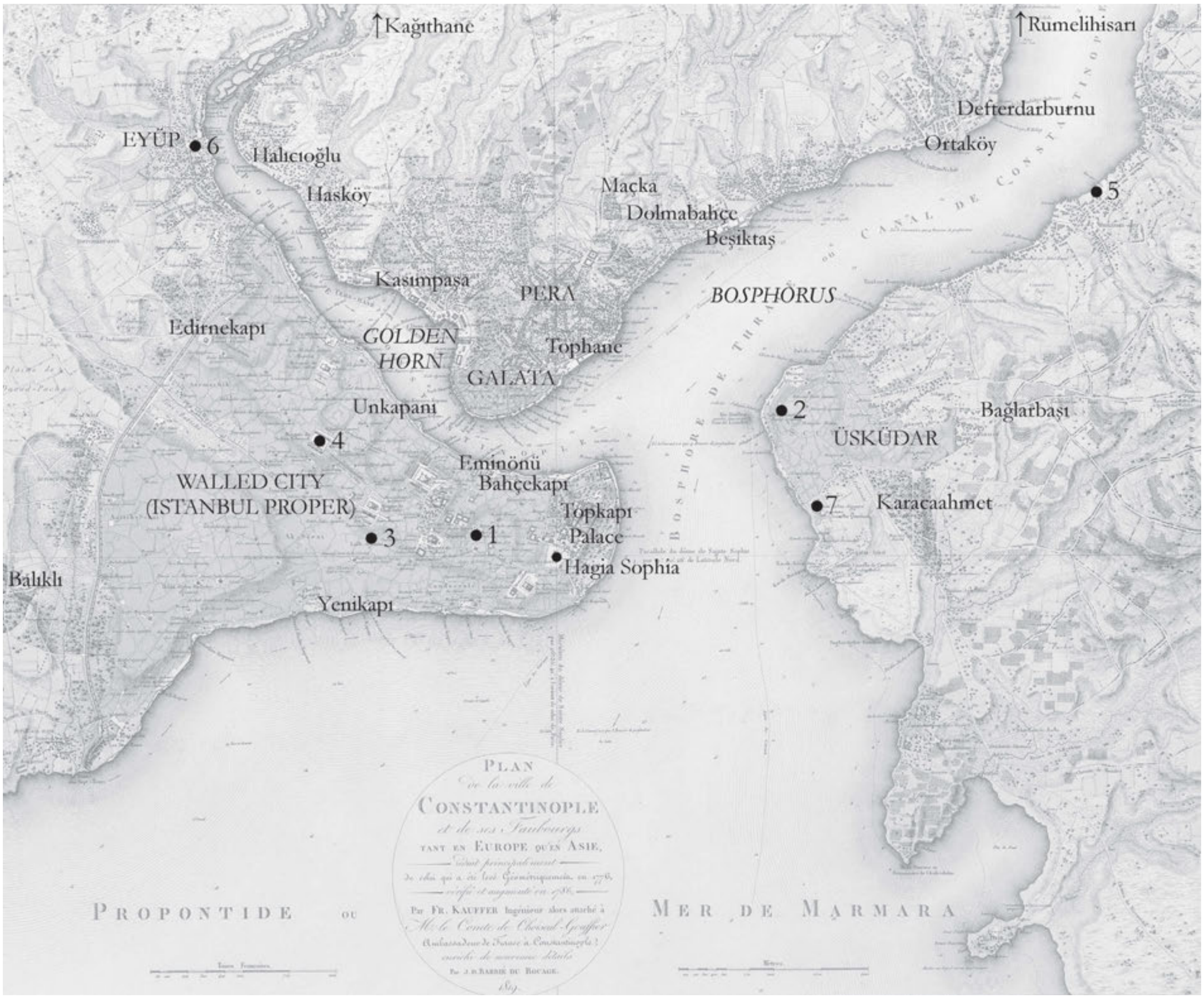

↑Kağıthane
↑Rumelihisarı
Defterdarburnu
Ortaköy
EYÜP
6
Halıcıoğlu
Hasköy
Maçka
Dolmabahçe
Beşiktaş
5
CANAL DE CONSTANTINOPLE
Kasımpaşa
PERA
BOSPHORUS
Edirnekapı
GOLDEN HORN
Tophane
GALATA
BOSPHORE DE THRACE
2
Bağlarbaşı
ÜSKÜDAR
Unkapanı
4
Eminönü
Bahçekapı
WALLED CITY (ISTANBUL PROPER)
7
Karacaahmet
Topkapı Palace
3
1
Hagia Sophia
Balıklı
Yenikapı
PLAN
de la ville de
CONSTANTINOPLE
et de ses Faubourgs
TANT EN EUROPE QU'EN ASIE,
Par FR. KAUFFER Ingénieur alors attaché à
M. le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier
Par J.D. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE.
1819.
PROPONTIDE OU MER DE MARMARA

FIG. 2. Map showing the principal mosques built and reconstructed in Istanbul ca. 1740–1800, with other significant sites and locations labeled: (1) Nuruosmaniye Mosque, 1748–55; (2) Ayazma Mosque, 1758–61; (3) Laleli Mosque, 1760–64; (4) Fatih Mosque, 1767–71; (5) Beylerbeyi Mosque, 1777–78; (6) Eyüp Sultan Mosque, 1798–1800; (7) Selimiye Mosque, 1801–5. Adapted from Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris, Strasbourg, and London: Treuttel et Würtz, 1819). Engraving on paper.

tomb, and fountain. By bringing together these various kinds of buildings ranging from the utilitarian to the palatial, royal mosque complexes functioned as microcosms of what was happening more generally in the architecture of the capital. They therefore provide us with some of the richest and fullest information available about the visual culture to which they belong, and it is in treating the mosques as emblematic of the Ottoman Baroque at large that I hope to give a more convincing account of the style's impetus and consequences.

It is my belief that the Ottoman Baroque—far from being a lightweight ornamental mode born of cultural atrophy or artistic whim—was a sophisticated and conscious strategy to reaffirm the Ottoman state's position in an age when older aesthetic idioms had lost their relevance. Centered on the capital, the message was designed to speak both to the empire's own subjects and to the surrounding world, and it is this comprehensiveness of aim that explains the architecture's characteristic incorporation of Westernizing elements. If older scholarship has grossly exaggerated the Ottoman Baroque's relationship to European models, recent revisionist arguments have misleadingly underplayed it, ignoring what is plain to see with the eye. The style's patent adaptation of Western forms has become something of an elephant in the room, when it should be regarded as one of the clearest reasons for the Ottoman Baroque's success and appeal. Always creatively recast according to local concerns, such borrowings allowed patrons and artists to refashion Istanbul as a modern city boasting a globally resonant yet recognizably Ottoman mode of architecture. The project was a cornerstone of a much larger rebranding effort whereby the Ottomans—responding to new political realities at a time of heightened East-West contact—sought both to consolidate their power on the world stage and to put themselves on a more diplomatic footing with their European neighbors. This international perspective will be key to the argument that I shall here develop.

OTTOMAN BAROQUE AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Until relatively recently, scholars and connoisseurs have been none too favorable in their view of eighteenth-century Ottoman art and architecture. The tone of the discourse was established as early as 1873 by the *Uṣūl-i Miʿmārī-i ʿO̱smānī* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture) or *L'architecture ottomane*, an illustrated treatise with texts in Turkish, French, and German prepared by the Ottoman government for the Vienna World Exposition.[4] Both a history and a defense of Ottoman architecture, the *Uṣūl* tells a by-now familiar tale in which the tradition reached its peak during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly under Sinan, whose manner was perpetuated, though not bettered, in the decades that followed his death. With the mid-seventeenth century came stagnation, and then, during the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), a short-lived reflowering. Notwithstanding this positive start, the eighteenth century soon took an unhappy turn, for "engineers and hydraulic architects, having been called from France for various works, brought in their wake other artists, sculptors, painters, and decorators who soon altered the stylistic purity of Ottoman architecture to the point of complete debasement, as we see most strikingly from the examples of the Nuruosmaniye and Laleli Mosques."[5] This bastardized and alien style, the text continues, was to last into the 1860s, when a revival of the "classical" manner began under Abdülaziz (r. 1861–76), the sultan during whose reign the *Uṣūl* was written. Ironically, the main author of the treatise, Victor Marie de Launay, was himself a French expatriate working for the Ottoman government, and the buildings he hails as exemplars of the incipient "renaissance" are eclectic works that have little to do with traditional models.[6]

Despite its contradictions, the *Uṣūl* proved highly influential among those who would found the field of Ottoman art history. The prolific Celâl Esad Arseven (d. 1971), son to a grand vizier and a politician in his own right, closely paraphrased the *Uṣūl*'s description of the eighteenth century in his first book, an architectural history of Istanbul published in French in 1909. Here—perhaps for the first time—the maligned foreign influence is explicitly labeled "Baroque."[7] Another proponent of the rise-and-fall view, and likewise a grand vizier's son and politician, was Halil Ethem Eldem (d. 1938), an important figure in early Turkish museums who wrote on various art-related topics. Eldem, whose father, İbrahim Edhem Pasha (d. 1893), had supervised the preparation of the *Uṣūl*, helped to carry the treatise's characterizations into the nationalistic literature of the young Turkish Republic, declaring, "Our style of architecture took on a defective form and fell into the hands of foreigners."[8]

Such a stance is representative of a broader and still popular narrative of Ottoman decline, which holds that the empire entered into a long and ultimately fatal degeneration after its sixteenth-century zenith.[9] This well-worn account—widespread in both Western and Turkish historiography—needs little recapitulation, but it bears remembering that the eighteenth century, give or take a few decades, serves as the tale's extended turning point.[10] Events may be summarized as follows. After the failed second siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottomans suffered a spate of territorial losses at the hands of a Habsburg-led coalition, eventually admitting defeat with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. The ensuing century was marked by a series of attempts at reviving the empire's fortunes through European-inspired military reforms, but a combination of ineptitude, reactionary opposition, and Russian expansionism stopped these efforts from bearing fruit. In 1807, the progressive Selim III (r. 1789–1807, d. 1808) was toppled, signaling the end of the Ottoman eighteenth century. Although Selim's successors would follow his reformist example, the Ottomans' fate was already sealed, and the Sick Man of Europe, as the empire came to be dubbed, would die in 1922. The artistic dimension of this process was as pitiable as the rest: in their visual culture just as in their military and politics, the Ottomans succumbed to European hegemony and tried, with poor results, to ape the ways of the West.

Over the course of the twentieth century, several art-historical approaches arose to challenge this dominant interpretation. The first was simply to treat the material as worthy of study to begin with. Arseven, who continued to publish (mainly in Turkish) until his death in 1971, came to look less dismissively on the eighteenth century in his later writings.[11] While he always considered the buildings of this period to be frivolously ornamental when compared with classical Ottoman works, he stopped viewing them merely as copies of Western models and recognized their distinctively local quality, such that by the 1950s, he was arguing for their acceptance as part of "our national history of Turkish art."[12] This change in thinking came about in the volatile political climate of the young Turkish Republic, whose explicitly Westernizing policies in many ways undermined the traditionalist basis of the previously leveled criticisms.[13]

As early as 1928, when he published the first edition of his famous survey of Turkish art, Arseven laid down what was to become the standard art-historical periodization of the eighteenth century. He followed the *Uṣūl* in distinguishing the reign of Ahmed III from what came after it, though he was now able to give the period a name: the "Tulip Era" (*Lāle Devri*), a term whose significance I discuss in chapter 1. This was a time when, according to Arseven, Ottoman architects rejuvenated their art by looking to Seljuk and Persian sources before finally turning to European models. Following the "Tulip Era," and as a logical outgrowth of it, came the Turkish Baroque (*Türk Baroku*), which was to last until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which saw the proliferation of forms derived from Western Baroque models. As Arseven writes, "this Baroque did not exactly resemble its European counterpart. Turkish artists included details specific to a Turkish taste, and a Turkish Baroque took shape."[14]

Though foundational, Arseven's ideas on the so-called Turkish Baroque would not become better known until they were synthesized and given monographic treatment by the architectural historian Doğan Kuban, whose short 1954 book, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında bir Deneme* (A Study on Turkish Baroque Architecture), first popularized this subfield.[15] Kuban's book is essentially a survey of buildings produced in Istanbul between about 1725 and 1825, and its stated philosophy, elaborating Arseven's, is that "most of [these works] must be given an honorable place in our art history."[16] For Kuban, the decline of the empire is an accepted fact, but while he sees the Turkish Baroque as part of a change in attitude that was forced on the Ottomans by their weakened position vis-à-vis Europe, he is largely positive in his judgment of the result:

> Despite the continuing decline of the empire's political and economic situation, and the lack of favorable conditions for the emergence of great artists, eighteenth-century Turkish artists were able to absorb outside influences and recast them in a completely original mold. They produced attractive works using the possibilities they were given, conforming to the spirit of the time.[17]

Kuban thus explains the Turkish Baroque as a tradition that was hampered by rather than symptomatic of the empire's deterioration, and he further vindicates it with reference to parallel phenomena in the West, arguing that "if eighteenth-century Turkish architecture did not bring about works to be compared with those of earlier periods, . . . it can be said of Europe that after the Renaissance, no works equal to those of the Renaissance were produced."[18]

Kuban's spirited, if apologetic, defense of the Ottoman Baroque marked an important shift in the scholarship, and notwithstanding its patriotic overtones, his study is among the first to emphasize the extensive role played by Greek and Armenian artists in this variety of "Turkish" architecture. While doing much to redeem the material, however, Kuban also solidified the notion—often perpetuated by later scholars—that the Ottoman Baroque was really a Rococo style, involving surface decoration rather than any substantive architectural innovations:

> Leaving aside the resemblance of motifs, this decoration . . . differs from the [Western] Baroque in the weakness of its plasticity. In the Baroque, decorative motifs merge with the architecture to form a whole. But in our case, the decorative motifs, even at their most plastic, are additions to the architecture. . . . We do, on the other hand, possess the same kind of surface decoration that is essential to the Rococo.[19]

Elements of this characterization may well be true, but, as I shall later demonstrate, the tendency to view the Ottoman Baroque as something that remained on the buildings' surface has led to an analogously superficial understanding of how the style, ornamental or not, might have been read by those who observed it.

Whatever its shortcomings, Kuban's monograph secured the legitimacy of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture as a field of inquiry and was followed by a number of studies—some more sympathetic to the material than others—covering the subject, particularly from the 1970s onward.[20] It was in this decade that the topic first gained prominence in English-language scholarship, as exemplified by Godfrey Goodwin's classic *History of Ottoman Architecture*, where, in a chapter devoted to the Baroque, he defends the Nuruosmaniye as "a work of considerable interest . . . by an architect with inventive and assimilative powers."[21] Goodwin stops short, however, of really challenging the established art-historical schema, and he makes little attempt to hide his preference for the earlier monuments. Typical for its time, such ambivalence continues to reverberate today in the more traditionally framed literature.[22]

Perhaps the only old-school scholar to have developed an entirely comfortable relationship with the material is Kuban himself, whose monumental survey of Ottoman architecture—published in Turkish in 2007 and in English in 2010—returns to the issues raised in his much earlier study.[23] The author's once qualified appreciation for the later buildings has here turned into all-out praise for what he now deems a "great legacy" whose monuments are examples of an "imported, eclectic architecture" even as they are "in fact truly indigenous." According to this assessment, late Ottoman architecture becomes a thriving sign of (Westernizing) modernity, one that "arose in line with the desire for innovation manifested by the ruling classes" and proceeded "quite independently of the political background, even in the most difficult and unfavourable conditions."[24] Already anticipated by his 1954 study, this argument sees the architecture emerge triumphant while leaving the broader decline paradigm firmly in place, and Kuban is forced to artificially sever the buildings from their political context in order to maintain his position. Moreover, the Ottoman Baroque remains a largely superficial and self-referential entity, speaking of the resilience of artistic expression but having no real import beyond its aesthetic merit.

Only in the work of a newer generation of scholars has serious headway been made in advancing other, more persuasive ways of situating later Ottoman architecture. Paralleling the endeavors of political and social historians,[25] art and cultural historians have discarded the old decline paradigm and reassessed the late Ottoman Empire as a still robust and adaptable entity, one whose visual culture, while different from its classical counterpart, was no less creative or significant. The resultant perspectives go well beyond the rehabilitative efforts of the earlier scholarship, which sought to improve the material's reputation without proposing alternative conceptual frameworks divested of assumptions of Ottoman decay and Westernization. With this change in thinking, the term "Ottoman Baroque" has increasingly fallen out of favor.

Of the new breed of scholars, Tülay Artan has played a pioneering role in shifting the terms of the debate.[26] Her writings are especially significant for demonstrating how the eighteenth-century Ottoman court was able to reassert its presence in Istanbul by erecting a string of new palaces along the city's waterways. This endeavor, Artan asserts, turned the Bosphorus into a new ceremonial axis for the sultans and their circle to display themselves before the populace, who emulated the elite by likewise building in and retreating to the shoreline suburbs. The growing participation of nonroyals in the cultural and architectural life of the city only encouraged the sultans in their patronage, which aimed "to remind the people of the enduring nature and rich magnificence of the Ottoman dynasty."[27] Artan thus explains the architectural changes of the eighteenth century with reference mainly to the empire's internal dynamics, and she also widens the scope of inquiry to consider the role of nonelite Ottomans in this altered climate.

These same ideas have been taken up by perhaps the most influential proponent of the revisionist approach, Shirine Hamadeh, whose key work, published in 2008, is tellingly titled *The City's Pleasures*.[28] Hamadeh holds that the eighteenth century ushered in a new attitude of what she terms *décloisonnement*, "opening-up," in the architectural culture of the Ottoman capital. First, the concept describes an opening up of patronage, whereby the court's earlier predominance in this regard came under increasing challenge as a broader spectrum of society acquired the means to commission buildings and determine tastes. Second, décloisonnement denotes an opening up in the realm of style, with Ottoman architects and patrons becoming increasingly receptive to forms drawn from outside sources, including, but not limited to, the European Baroque. This openness to new motifs was due, Hamadeh argues, to a growing emphasis on artistic novelty and visual spectacle, which marked a shift away from the more sober and imperially led stylistic norms that had characterized earlier classical tastes. Bridging these two types of décloisonnement was a new aesthetic sensibility that came to redefine Istanbul, rendering the built environment "a perpetual source of sensory pleasures."[29] Under these changed conditions, the city became a locus of exteriorized activity, with a proliferation of public spaces in which growing numbers of middle-class Ottomans could be seen out and about picnicking and promenading, all against the backdrop of a new and diversified architecture.

In short, Hamadeh's eighteenth-century Istanbul emerges as a vibrant, revitalized locale whose architecture, far from being in decline, bespeaks the continuing ability of the Ottoman Empire to reformulate its visual culture on its own terms. Central to Hamadeh's argument is her insistence that the Ottomans were not beholden to European influence, and that the new kind of architecture was more eclectic than it was Westernizing. She points to the fact that while Ottoman commentaries, together with inscriptions on the buildings themselves, often refer to the architecture's stylistic novelty, they do so without mentioning Western models. Moreover, the contemporary fashions in Europe for *chinoiserie* and *turquerie* show that the West was not immune from making its own cross-cultural borrowings.[30]

Hamadeh's seminal work has greatly advanced our understanding of later Ottoman visual culture, countering many long-held prejudices and offering rewarding alternative viewpoints. But even in this new framework, the architecture risks being seen as a lighthearted departure from tradition—pleasurable, less hierarchical, and without the semiotic charge of earlier classical buildings. The criterion of Westernization, meanwhile, is rightly questioned without being adequately accounted for, as the blanket ascription of eclecticism to the whole period ignores the dramatic stylistic realignment of the 1740s. A significant step in addressing some of these issues would be to turn to the very buildings that have been least touched upon by corrective efforts: the imperial mosques.

OTTOMAN BAROQUE RECLAIMED

While deeply indebted to recent scholarly analyses, my own reconsideration of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture will argue for a new interpretative approach that problematizes certain revisionist trends. The admirable campaign to debunk old misconceptions has taken on a defensive and sometimes obscurantist cast, with "decline" becoming what Cemal Kafadar has dubbed "'the d-word,' shunned simply because it seems the incorrect thing to say rather than as a well thought-out critical perspective."[31] The same is true of the terms "Westernization" and "Europeanization," which are likewise bugbears inherited from earlier assessments. It is obvious enough that the decline paradigm is an untenable way of discussing an empire whose size and importance remained considerable into the twentieth century, and I have already indicated my aim to treat the mosques as the products of a still-vital culture rather than of listlessly received influence. Nevertheless, we should not shy away from accepting that the period after the late seventeenth century witnessed various Ottoman attempts to rejuvenate the empire, and that many of these were modeled on institutions and concepts originating in Western Europe. The contemporaneous adoption of European artistic motifs cannot be unrelated to this shift, notwithstanding scholarly discomfort with the notion.

How, then, might we address these issues without sidestepping them or returning to older perspectives? The first task is to dissociate Western-inspired borrowings from the baggage carried by the idea of "Westernization": that is, such borrowings need not have been—and indeed were not—motivated by a pursuit of Westernization per se. In the case of political and military reforms, the Ottomans looked to Europe with a pragmatic and resourceful eye, importing models only insofar as they served, and could be modified to suit, the empire's own traditions and needs.[32] Nor should an openness to foreign ideas be understood as an admission of impotence and hence a diagnostic of degeneracy. To be sure, Ottoman commentators had spoken of the empire's being in decline since as early as the last decades of the sixteenth century, but this anxiety, as Kafadar has discussed, was to some extent a conventional discourse. That the Ottomans continued to develop policies to bolster the state shows that they were far from truly believing that their days were numbered.[33] Not all of these measures bore fruit in the long term, and it is largely because of the nineteenth-century image of the empire as Europe's "Sick Man" that the Ottomans' receptiveness to foreign expertise has come to be viewed so much more negatively than that of the Russians, whose own parallel attempts at reform produced more favorable military results.[34] What is important, however, is that the teleological understanding of Ottoman "Westernization" as a marker of defeatist self-doubt ignores the deliberate, adaptive, and versatile nature of the process as it actually unfolded.

Developments in architecture confirm the point, for though facilitated by the same conditions of cross-cultural dialogue as the reforms, these had their own pace and purpose. Before the nineteenth century, European-derived forms were far more prevalent in the architectural sphere than in the political, or indeed than in numerous other categories of visual and material culture. Changes to costume, for example, would not be introduced until the 1820s, long after the Ottoman Baroque had already reconstituted the cityscape.[35] Such differences of timing and implementation should caution us against equating these shifts with a totalizing foreign-oriented overhaul, as too should their outcomes. The dress reform may have put Ottoman gentlemen in European-style trousers and frockcoats, but it also introduced the fez, a headdress as distinctly Ottoman as the turban had been. As we shall see, the Ottoman Baroque demonstrated the same independent approach to its foreign models, proving that Westernization as an ethos was neither the intention nor the association of the buildings, which were readily accepted by their native observers.

If Westernization is an ill-suited label for the phenomenon at hand, the concepts of transculturation and hybridity might suggest themselves as more appropriate ways to think about the Ottomans' embrace of the Baroque.[36] Finbarr Barry Flood, in his groundbreaking work on premodern Hindu-Muslim artistic interactions, has employed both terms, together with the analogy of translation, to describe the visual eclecticism typical of medieval contact zones, where "intrusive forms and styles often functioned as 'powerful symbolizations' conferring cultural and political capital on those associated with them."[37] Yet, as Flood's use of the word "intrusive" indicates, hybridity and transculturation can imply conditions of encounter that are not so applicable to the centuries-old relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the West. Moreover, both concepts are heavily associated with postcolonial discourses that, while revisionist in aim, often assume an unequal balance of power in which the seemingly weaker (non-Western) party finds ways to reassert itself against the seemingly stronger. Flood himself can resist this characterization, but in the context of the later Middle East, the nomenclature of postcolonialism is bound to evoke Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, which identifies the discursive strategies used by the West to subjugate the Muslim Other.[38] True, hybridity and transculturation complicate Said's binarism, but they do so by accepting its basic underpinnings. Whatever their more general merits, such theories are at odds with the material under consideration here, particularly when we remember that the Ottoman Empire was itself a colonizing power until its fall.

Rather than view East and West as two separate entities—a model in which one half is apt to influence, imitate, or react against the other—I shall argue that the architectural transformation of eighteenth-century Istanbul came about precisely because the Ottomans saw themselves, and were in turn seen, as part of a broadly shared European landscape (fig. 3).[39] "Westernization" thus becomes a moot (or at least mitigated) criterion, and though I employ the terms "Westernizing" and "Europeanizing," I do so sparingly and in a strictly formal (as opposed to ideological) sense. It would, of course, be absurd to pretend that Western Christendom and the Ottoman Empire had no sense of the very real differences between their respective domains. Belief in the existence of a (Christian) West and a (Muslim) East was shared by both sides, fueled by angry words as well as bouts of warfare, and the scholarship—my own included—has largely retained this terminological distinction. But when we scratch beneath the surface of the expected and often hackneyed condemnations that abound in the sources, we find a wealth of shared practices and concerns—rooted in a common pan-European experience—that allowed for a high degree of dialogue, mutual intelligibility, and even sympathy across the supposed East-West divide.[40] And if we consider that Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire were each in themselves highly variegated political and cultural spheres—spheres that even overlapped in the form of Christian-ruled Ottoman vassal states—the notion of two abutting monoliths becomes still less tenable. The continuities that bound East and West together were especially manifest at the time of the Ottoman Baroque, when the traditional rhetoric of Muslim-Christian enmity gave way to more complicated modes of engagement that emphasized the Ottomans' belonging to Europe. Even Said recognizes the eighteenth century as a fluid milieu not yet mired in the hegemonic reductionism of subsequent years.[41]

This takes us from the limiting context of East-West alterity to the more fruitful realm of global modernity. Quite when the so-called modern period began, and how it should be conceptualized and subdivided, remain matters of scholarly dispute. Equally problematic is the notion of the "global," a designation now so widely invoked across academic disciplines that it has taken on the quality of a trite catchword, whether used to describe phenomena themselves or our framing of them. The term is especially open to criticism when employed as a temporal qualifier, for was there ever a time in which, to quote Flood, "people knew their place"?[42] But if transregional movements and interactions are as old as recorded history itself, there can be little doubt that the post-medieval world saw a notable increase in their range and scope. (Early) modernity was both an outcome of and a catalyst for the multiplied and diversified modes of travel, trade, and even conflict that brought the world's geographies into unprecedented contact with one another.[43] As Sanjay Subrahmanyam discusses, this augmented contact allowed different Asian and European societies to develop shared cultural forms that, while locally suited, were meaningful across vast spaces. Subrahmanyam's concept of "connected histories" explores the mechanisms that made such "unifying features" possible, and does so without falling into the trap of postulating an amorphous zeitgeist.[44] Though his interest lies mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Subrahmanyam's approach is no less pertinent to the eighteenth, a period in which existing global ties were consolidated by burgeoning cultures of consumerism and diplomacy. Attending to these connected histories results in a very different picture of eighteenth-century modernity from that traditionally construed in terms of Eurocentric Enlightenment. It is through this lens that I shall consider the Ottoman Empire as

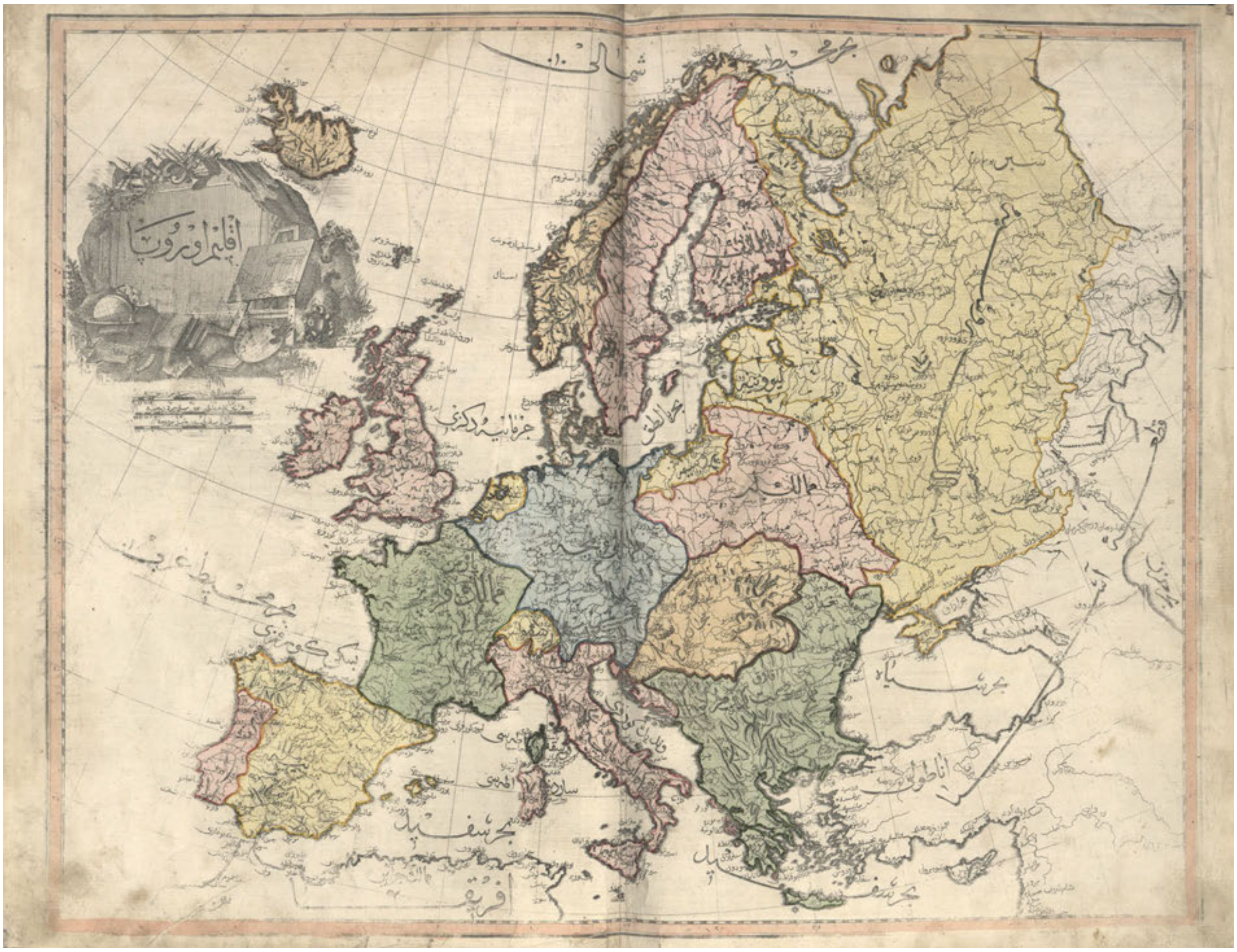


FIG. 3. Ottoman map of Europe from the start of the nineteenth century, with the Ottoman Empire's European territories shown in green toward the bottom right. From *Cedīd aṭlas tercümesi* (Istanbul: Tabʿhane-i Hümayun, 1218/1803–4), translated by Resmi Mustafa Agha from an edition of William Faden's *General Atlas*; the model for this map was originally published in London, 1791. Colored engraving on paper.

an integral player, rather than a passive bystander, in the changed and changing world of the eighteenth century.[45]

One of the most characteristic features of the modernity of this period was a pronounced concern for self-display, itself related to and spurred by greater social mobility.[46] The Ottoman dimensions of this trait have been commendably analyzed by scholars like Artan and Hamadeh, but insufficient attention has been paid to the importance of the imperial mosques in this regard. The recent tendency to concentrate on smaller-scale and secular structures such as fountains and pavilions has created a misleadingly democratized impression of eighteenth-century Ottoman patronage, contributing to a more general narrative of Ottoman decentralization and reduced sultanic authority in this period. But just as the central state responded to the growing autonomy of provincial notables in ways that largely maintained their loyalty, traditional hierarchies in the visual realm were renegotiated rather than overturned.[47] Even if they faced greater competition from lesser patrons—and perhaps in part because they did—the sultans assiduously defended their position as the empire's chief builders and arbiters of taste. The revival of the imperial mosques is strong evidence to this effect, compelling us to consider how these buildings secured their patrons' place in the increasingly open field of architectural activity. This in turn means approaching the period's new style as a purposeful and carefully crafted idiom whose audiences—foreign as well as local—understood it in rather more semantically loaded terms than much of the scholarship has considered.

By focusing here on the mosques, I realize that I am to some extent perpetuating the long-standing bias in the study of Ottoman art toward imperially sponsored works located in the capital. My chief justification for doing so is that alternative avenues of inquiry can tell us only so much while the more obvious material has yet to be sufficiently dealt with. This is all the more so given that the refashioning of Istanbul into a modern imperial capital was one of the most eagerly and comprehensively pursued endeavors of the eighteenth-century Ottoman state, even in times of war. Indeed, the sultans themselves were deeply invested in the project, encouraged by their princely education to take an active interest in the arts. Writing in the reign of Selim III, the famous Ottoman-Armenian author and diplomat Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (d. 1807) noted that each of the eighteenth-century sultans excelled at a particular art, from calligraphy and goldsmithery to carpentry and muslin-painting.[48] There is, then, good reason to attribute a significant role to these rulers in determining architectural change. At the same time, it must be noted that by referring to any particular sultan, I am referring also to those members of his circle—his mother, consorts, courtiers, and viziers—who with him formed the sultanate as an institution. The propensity of the sources to describe what must have been collectively shaped projects as the personal achievements of the sovereign has forced me to retain this shorthand in my own discussion of the monuments.

This brings me to the question of the available sources. One of the reasons that the field has become such a hermeneutic free-for-all is that the Ottomans themselves have left us with no clear account of how and why they came to adopt a new style of building. Such lack of written explanation is consistent with a more general scarcity in the Ottoman tradition of aesthetic and architectural texts, quite in contrast to the abundance of European treatises of this kind. Nonetheless, there is no shortage of relevant Ottoman documents about the mosques, touching on everything from their physical construction to the ceremonies by which they were inaugurated. These sources—which include foundation deeds (*waqfiyya*s), payrolls, official and unofficial chronicles, and protocol registers—in many cases discuss and vaunt the mosques' architectural qualities, as too do inscriptions on the monuments themselves. Though their references to the architecture are often couched in highly conventional terms, a close and comparative reading of these texts can bring out the more specific aesthetic commentaries they offer, providing us with an appreciable, if sometimes opaque, sense of how the buildings and their novel style were received and discussed.

Alongside these more obvious sources, we are fortunate to possess a number of *rūznāme*s, journals kept at both the courtly and noncourtly levels that document notable occurrences in the day-to-day life of Istanbul, including the sultans' movements through the city. The significance of these journals to the study of architecture has yet to be fully recognized, even though they contain invaluable information regarding the various events—groundbreaking ceremonies, sultanic visits, inaugurations—that surrounded the buildings. As I shall demonstrate, such events should be considered on a par with the architecture itself in any discussion of the monuments, especially given the increasing emphasis in this period on sultanic visibility and spectacle. That the ruzname as a genre came into its own in the eighteenth century is proof enough of the amplified importance of the sultans' public appearances.[49]

In addition to the Ottoman documents, I shall make unapologetic use of contemporaneous Western sources, despite the recent trend to disparage such material as unreliable and prejudiced in its discussion of the empire.[50] European authors were no less obliged than their Ottoman counterparts to conform to certain literary norms, often parroting well-worn criticisms of the "Turks" and their culture, but these same sources also offer a good deal of information and insight, much of it complemented by the Ottoman documents. They show, moreover, that foreign observers were interested in and impressed by the city's eighteenth-century transformation, with the mosques receiving much attention in their accounts. Particularly useful is the more direct way in which these authors address the issue of architectural style, perhaps echoing the Ottomans' own unwritten discourses. While travelogues constitute the bulk of the relevant European writings, I also utilize diplomatic records such as journals and ambassadorial dispatches, which art historians have largely neglected. Written by well-informed outsiders, these documents greatly enrich our understanding of how Istanbul's sizable foreign community was implicated in the Ottoman court's practices of display.

Bridging the Eastern and Western sources are the works of European-educated Ottoman Armenians, who offer the fascinating perspective of cultural insiders usually writing for a foreign readership. Their descriptions of eighteenth-century Istanbul occupy a prominent place in this book. Another kind of document with strong cross-cultural resonances are the numerous European architectural books, manuals, and prints that were collected by the Ottoman elite in the eighteenth century and are still to be found in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.[51] These materials, many of which bear Turkish annotations, are among the most significant sources we have on the architectural climate of eighteenth-century Istanbul, providing a tangible record of the Ottomans' deep investment in understanding the visual traditions of the world beyond their empire.

My key document, however, is the architecture itself, and my approach throughout this book is to contemplate the buildings as logical and legible works from which we might infer motives, decisions, and outlooks that may never have made it to the written page. This close "reading" of the monuments has convinced me that the appropriate framework for discussing them remains, in spite of everything, the Baroque, though qualified as Ottoman rather than Turkish. While I am not the only scholar who continues to see utility in the concept of the Ottoman Baroque, it must be admitted that I am going against the revisionist grain by maintaining the term, which many have eschewed as being Eurocentric and unrelated to Ottoman discourses.[52] Nasser Rabbat, distilling a widely shared concern, has adduced the Ottoman Baroque as an egregious instance of a much bigger methodological problem of "categorising Islamic architecture after the Western stylistic sequence," which "has subjected the development of Islamic architecture to the rhythm of another architectural tradition." The result, Nasser argues, is "that some attributes of Islamic architecture have been glossed over when they were named after formally, or conceptually, comparable characteristics of Western architecture, of which Baroque Ottoman is the most conspicuous, even though the similarity was mostly skin deep and historically unsubstantiated."[53] Even earlier scholars who used the term willingly did so in an almost tongue-in-cheek fashion to describe a style that they believed had merely the veneer of being Baroque. Repeating some of the sentiments of Arseven and Kuban, Aptullah Kuran thus asserts that

> eighteenth century Ottoman architecture is basically a continuation of the well-established sixteenth-century classical architecture with overtones of mannerism on the one hand and Europe-inspired features on the other. The baroque in Europe emerged as a result of scientific discoveries. That it took root especially in the Catholic [*sic*] shows a relationship with the Counter Reformation. . . . Not being a part of these developments, the Ottoman world simply borrowed the forms of the baroque or the rococo without appreciating the philosophy behind those forms.[54]

Goodwin puts it more succinctly with his statement that "the uncompromisingly anti-baroque square form of the mosque which was dictated by the ordinances of religion could never be resolved."[55] Such assessments cast the architecture as doubly inauthentic, no longer purely Ottoman, but neither capable of becoming truly Baroque.

Quite apart from its problematization in the Ottoman context, the notion of the Baroque has come under attack also in its original home of Western art history.[56] Helen Hills, in her introduction to a 2011 volume of essays interrogating this very issue, characterizes the Baroque as "the grit in the oyster of art history," castigated in recent years "because it had no contemporary usage in the period to which it was subsequently applied."[57] And yet in the absence of any better alternative, art historians—Hills among them—continue to employ the Baroque as a helpful, if imperfect, way of addressing a series of connected visual traditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[58] This more circumspect usage not only rejects the negative connotations of decadence and bizarreness that the rubric once carried, but also moves beyond limiting criteria that define the Baroque in relation to any specific philosophy (the Counter-Reformation, for example) or geometrical precept (elongated forms over regular ones). After all, where would such a definition leave a monument like St. Paul's Cathedral (1675–1711) in London, an Anglican church whose domes are uniformly circular in plan?[59]

A more convincing and demonstrable commonality between the architectural products of the Baroque is their utilization of related repertoires of forms adapted from the all'antica vocabulary of the Renaissance. These repertoires might encompass anything from stately Corinthian colonnades to busy Rococo interiors; what they share is a bolder, more dramatic, and less canonical approach than we find in either the Classicism of the Renaissance or the more strictly codified Neoclassicism of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[60] (Throughout this book, "Classical" and its derivatives will be capitalized when referring to the legacy of Greco-Roman antiquity, whereas lowercase "classical" will be used when referring to the traditions associated with the Ottoman Empire's own fifteenth- and sixteenth-century "golden age.") There is, to be sure, nothing new about defining the Baroque as a flexible yet coherent stylistic category that enlivened its Classical source material. It was in 1915 that Heinrich Wölfflin (d. 1945), developing ideas he had propounded decades earlier, famously contrasted the ordered "clearness" of the Renaissance with the open-ended "unclearness" of the Baroque, which he regarded not as a debasement of Classicism, but as an inevitable desire to break free of its restrictions.[61] But while Wölfflin's portrayal of the Baroque—one of the earliest not to condemn the style—contains many astute observations, it is rooted in his belief that aesthetic change is an end unto itself, the manifestation of a recurrent and unending impulse whereby all classicisms must produce their own baroques. Leaving aside the more general issues one might take with this cyclical view of art history, the Baroque of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cannot be divorced from the circumstances in which it operated. This was no spontaneous scratching of a human itch—an antidote to the boredom with Classicism—but a multiglossic stylistic language of cognate expressions, a language that took shape at a particular moment in time and gained currency because it both fulfilled and furthered the goals of those who used it. It flourished, above all, because it was meaningful in its (early) modern context, providing a manifold apparatus by which to connote magnificence and power at a time when the increased movement of people, objects, and ideas gave new impetus to competitive and cosmopolitan shows of visual splendor.

Such an understanding of the Baroque also takes into account one of its most characteristic qualities, and that is its unprecedented worldwide extent. From Latin America to East Asia, the Baroque found favor in a multitude of regions where it took on a range of idiosyncratic but connected guises, becoming what has been described as "an international system of communication."[62] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, who has done much to draw our attention to non-Western varieties of the Baroque, sees the global perspective as a way of redeeming a term that he admits makes him uncomfortable:

> While in some sense the use of the term "baroque" in such cases may seem anachronistic, even ahistorical, its application may nevertheless still have merit, because it helps us to treat the monuments in which such forms appear not as derivative or provincial works, but as a parallel, comparable phenomena [*sic*] to other works so designated in Europe.[63]

It is along similar lines that I should like to reclaim the notion of an Ottoman Baroque. If the Baroque still has validity as a term for the multiple and dispersed traditions that currently fall under its purview, I believe it is apt also for the architecture of eighteenth-century Istanbul, a city physically and culturally part of the European continent. One of the reasons I am drawn to the Baroque as a concept is precisely its troubled history. Even in its "pure" Western form, the style continued long after Wölfflin's recuperation of it to be regarded as a degenerate offshoot of the Renaissance that withered in the face of Neoclassicism. The Rococo in particular was long seen as the apotheosis of Baroque decadence—ornamental and meaningless.[64] The very different evaluation that is now generally made of the European material is instructive for how the Ottoman case might also be rehabilitated. So too are recent interventions that have called for closer scrutiny of ornament itself, shining light on the ability of decoration—Baroque, Rococo, or otherwise—"to express meanings, collective memories, values, and sociopolitical hierarchies."[65]

But bringing the architecture of eighteenth-century Istanbul under the Baroque umbrella is not simply a matter of terminological or methodological convenience, much less an expedient by which to signal a loose resemblance between otherwise unrelated traditions.[66] Although scholars of all stripes have taken it for granted that the Ottomans' engagement with the Baroque remained at the level of formal borrowing, the buildings themselves, together with the responses they generated among contemporary observers, reveal that we are dealing with far more than the free-floating transposition of motifs. The new style would never have been introduced, and would certainly not have taken hold, in the absence of conceptual as well as aesthetic commensurability between Ottoman visual culture and its European counterparts. The artists and patrons who set about changing the fabric of Istanbul were, in other words, knowing and informed participants in the wider artistic discourse that would come to be labeled "Baroque." That the Ottoman version of the style looks so distinctive when compared to Western varieties (themselves far from unified) should not be taken to mean that its connection to them was feeble, confused, or incidental. On the contrary, its characteristic effect—at once locally rooted and internationally appealing—testifies to how fully the Ottomans considered Baroque forms to be applicable, and therefore adaptable, to their needs. My own use of the Baroque as a way of discussing this architecture is, then, not only a means to articulate my interpretation, but an important acknowledgment of what the Ottomans themselves were aiming for with their new manner of building, especially as showcased by the imperial mosques.

In pursuing my argument, I have taken an approach that is both chronological and thematic, dividing my five chapters according to the sultans' reigns and using each period to address a different aspect of the overall topic. While this diachronic arrangement may at first seem overly traditional, it comes directly out of the material itself, for one of my chief contentions is that the Ottoman Baroque's advent and unfolding were historically contingent processes that must be evaluated as such if their intents and effects are to be understood.

Chapter 1, which focuses on the reign of Ahmed III, takes as its starting point the return of the court to Istanbul in 1703 after prolonged periods of absence in Edirne. The nearly three decades during which Ahmed ruled initiated a concerted campaign to remodel the city and promote royal self-display, entailing new artistic trends and significant changes in the architectural profession. These developments coincided with, and were inflected by, intensified diplomatic and commercial activity with Europe. Although this period—traditionally discussed under the heading "Tulip Era"—predates the phenomena that are my main topic, it nevertheless introduced many of the concerns and conditions that would shape the rest of the eighteenth century.

It was under Mahmud I (r. 1730–54), whose reign is addressed in chapter 2, that the city's architectural transformation was set on a more novel and enduring course. In the wake of important military victories that ushered in an unprecedented period of peace on the empire's Western front, Mahmud and his elite oversaw the formation of a triumphal new Baroque style during the 1740s. Crucial to this process were the increasingly prominent communities of Ottoman Greek and Armenian artists, who used their European—and especially Italian—connections to create an altogether original mode of architecture that readily lent itself to symbolizing state vigor.

The earliest products of this new style were generally of smaller scale or limited application, but the innovative repertoire they established was soon channeled into what was to be the Ottoman Baroque's monumental public debut: the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, the subject of chapter 3. Begun by Mahmud I and completed by his brother and successor, Osman III (r. 1754–57), the Nuruosmaniye struck a remarkable balance between reviving and revolutionizing the imperial mosque as a building type. The result spoke simultaneously to native and outside audiences, concretizing the sultan's ceremonial dominance over Istanbul and tying the Ottomans' visual culture to the globally prestigious Baroque mode.

Covering the reign of Mustafa III (r. 1757–74), by which time the Ottoman Baroque had achieved canonicity, chapter 4 considers his three major mosques—the Ayazma, Laleli, and Fatih—as buildings that show a sophisticated awareness of the style's morphology, syntax, and historical and cultural contexts. Especially notable is the architecture's inclusion of numerous references to the Byzantine past, whereby the Ottomans could stake their own claim to the same antique heritage on which the European Baroque was founded. Such demonstrations of stylistic consciousness provide telling evidence of the Ottomans' largely unwritten architectural theories and discourses.

Chapter 5 focuses on the use of religious architecture by Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89) and Selim III to establish a new paradigm of engagement that brought them into heightened visual and conceptual proximity with their subjects, reasserting sultanic power in the face of renewed international warfare. Their endeavors yielded a number of regenerative modifications to Istanbul's streetscapes and suburbs, including two new mosques—the Beylerbeyi and Selimiye—that combined earlier innovations with an original kind of palatial façade. Accompanying a surge in royal patronage along the shores, the introduction of this palatial feature boosted the efficacy of the mosques in monumentalizing the ruler's presence and spreading his image—by now fully recognizable in the Baroque style—across the city.

So effective did this model prove that it became exemplary for the future, with several new pavilion-fronted mosques erected throughout the nineteenth century. These I discuss in my conclusion, where I also consider the afterlife of the Ottoman Baroque itself. Like the imperial mosques for which it was utilized, the style had ramifications well beyond its own time, setting the ambitiously cosmopolitan tone that would continue to define Istanbul's remaking until the end of the empire.[67]

CHAPTER 1

SETTING THE SCENE

THE RETURN TO ISTANBUL

The rise of the Ottoman Baroque was a phenomenon intimately tied to Istanbul, and thereby to the city's own eighteenth-century resurgence. Created out of Byzantine Constantinople after its conquest in 1453 by Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81), Istanbul became the Ottoman Empire's final and greatest capital, witnessing prolific building activity under Mehmed—nicknamed "the Conqueror"—and his successors.[1] Multiple religious foundations, civic buildings, and palaces were constructed in the century and a half that followed the conquest, but this architectural enrichment slowed considerably in the 1600s, as the city experienced a more general lull in its imperial life.[2] For much of the seventeenth century—and particularly its second half, when a string of grand viziers from the Köprülü family held sway—the sultans preferred to reside in the politically more tranquil setting of the former capital Edirne, which effectively became the empire's seat of government. Many in Istanbul were disturbed by this neglect of their city, and the situation grew worse in the aftermath of the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz, which deprived the empire of a number of its European lands following fifteen years of war against a Habsburg-led alliance. Humiliated by these losses, the then sultan, Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703), withdrew to Edirne and gave increasing power to his tutor and grand mufti, the unpopular and nepotistic Feyzullah Efendi (d. 1703). Tensions came to a head in 1703 with the so-called Edirne Incident, a rebellion led by Istanbul's janissaries that ousted Mustafa in favor of his brother Ahmed III. One of the demands of the mutiny was that the new sultan move the court back to Istanbul, which he did, though not without punishing the very rebels who had empowered him.[3]

The Edirne Incident provides a conveniently neat starting point for the Ottoman eighteenth century, the historiography of which, as noted in the introduction, has more than its fair share of fortuitous date markers. One result of this seemingly logical periodization has been a misleading tendency to view the century as an undifferentiated whole, an approach that has often backdated the Ottoman Baroque to Ahmed's reign and failed to recognize the particular context in which the style emerged.[4] Though one of my aims is to foster such a recognition, many of the political and cultural conditions that made the Ottoman Baroque possible did indeed have their origins in the decades preceding it. Above all, the return of the court to Istanbul in 1703 prompted a far-reaching effort to reassert Ottoman imperial identity, rendering the capital once again a locus of architectural patronage and encouraging new aesthetic departures. These developments did not immediately result in anything so revolutionary as the Baroque, and it was by no means inevitable that they should do so, but they did establish the framework that allowed such artistic novelty to follow. Only in light of what these earlier decades contributed—and failed to contribute—to Istanbul's revival can the more striking experiments of subsequent years be understood.

THE "TULIP ERA"? DEFINING EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

Few periods in Ottoman history have been as tidily packaged as that of Ahmed III, whose sultanate has become a well-known rise-and-fall tale.[5] The dramatic events of his reign lend themselves well to such narrativization. Following his accession to the throne, the sultan became embroiled in war with Russia when Charles XII of Sweden (r. 1697–1718), under attack from Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725), fled to the Ottoman Empire in 1709. The ensuing conflict led to some unexpected though modest victories for the Ottomans, who in 1715 also went on to retake the Morea, a territory in Greece that had been lost to Venice thirty years earlier. Alarmed by these successes, which reversed some of the Ottoman setbacks of the Treaty of Karlowitz, the Habsburgs entered the scene in 1716 and inflicted fresh defeats on the empire. The war was concluded in 1718 with the Treaty of Passarowitz, whereby the beleaguered Ottomans were compelled to cede the province of Serbia to Habsburg rule.[6]

It is at this point that the story enters its more famous and romanticized second half. Humbled by another damaging treaty, Ahmed changed tack and set the empire on a more moderate course under the guidance of a new grand vizier, his son-in-law Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha (d. 1730). War was replaced by a culture of peace and pleasure, the arts flourished, public and courtly festivities abounded, and relations with Europe grew warmer, as exemplified by the sending in 1720 of the first Ottoman ambassador to Paris, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1731) (fig. 4).[7] In consequence of the embassy, European artistic models purportedly became more available and appealing, and the first Ottoman printing press was established in 1727 by the Hungarian convert İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745) under the auspices of Mehmed Efendi's son Mehmed Saʿid Pasha (d. 1761).[8] These reformist tendencies, together with the court's perceived extravagance, are held to have angered the empire's more conservative elements, and in 1730, an Albanian former janissary called Patrona Halil (d. 1730) led a rebellion to dethrone Ahmed, who thus fell as he had risen.

Such is the appeal of this version of Ahmed's reign that its final twelve years, between Passarowitz and Patrona Halil, have earned the epithet of "Tulip Era" (*Lāle Devri*), a reference to the Ottomans' fondness—shared by their Western neighbors—for cultivating and displaying tulips during this time. Coined in the early twentieth century and popularized by the historian Ahmet Refik (d. 1937) in his 1915 book of the same name, this evocative term was part of a late Ottoman effort to rehabilitate İbrahim Pasha's vizierate, which had previously been condemned as a time of morally bankrupt excess.[9] Refik—himself a proponent of Westernizing reform—did much to recast İbrahim Pasha's tenure as an admirable if short-lived attempt at modernizing the Ottoman Empire in response to European models, an endeavor that affected everything from the military to the arts. This project supposedly proved intolerable to the empire's retrograde factions, who ultimately put an end to the enlightened initiatives of the vizier and his royal patron. Refik's conceptualization of the "Tulip Era" gained much currency in the twentieth century and remains popular today, though it has to some extent merged with the interpretation it sought to replace: while positively viewed for its reformism, İbrahim Pasha's vizierate never quite lost the stigma of profligacy, and it is this somewhat moderated form of Refik's account that has proved the most enduring.[10]

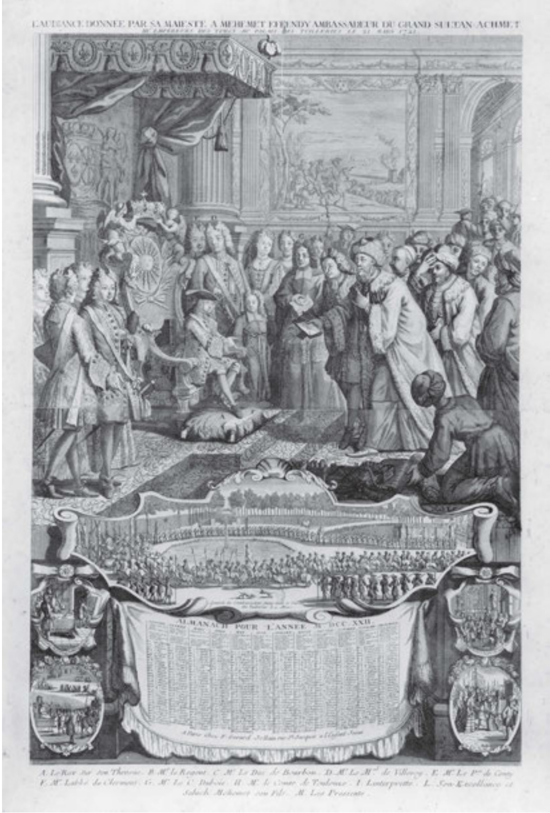

L'AUDIANCE DONNEE PAR SA MAIESTE A MEHEMET EFFENDY AMBASSADEUR DU GRAND SULTAN ACHMET

FIG. 4. View of Louis XV receiving Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi at the Tuileries Palace. By François-Gérard Jollain, Paris, 1721. Engraving on paper.

Recent scholarship, however, has rightly challenged much of this received wisdom. In a creative reuse of the established nomenclature, Ariel Salzmann paints a very different picture of what she calls the "age of tulips," one in which the Ottomans were equal sharers in an international early modern culture of consumerism and display, aptly symbolized by the globally prized flower. Salzmann describes the courtly spectacles so characteristic of this period as "a type of consumer jousting . . . which established the standards of shared material civilization," thus explaining the Ottoman court's lavish festivities as a serious enterprise fully in keeping with international practice.[11] Such an interpretation is in stark contrast to the traditional view that ascribes both the timing and the nature of the Ottoman "Tulip Era" to the empire's growing weakness vis-à-vis the West. Indeed, Salzmann's corrective is an important reminder that the Ottomans were still prominent world players with little need for external cues by which to define themselves. Europeans who observed the empire at the time were duly impressed with what they saw, and had no trouble reading Ottoman displays of cultural prowess. Among the most sympathetic and enthusiastic of these viewers was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (d. 1762), who famously wrote a series of letters recording her time in the empire between 1716 and 1718 as the wife of the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman government, metonymically named after the gate of the grand vizier's headquarters). Recounting the sultan's parade to an unspecified mosque, for example, she notes that the variously dressed participants "were all extremely rich and gay to the number of some thousands, [so] that perhaps there cannot be seen a more beautifull Procession."[12]

It is significant that Lady Mary watched the procession together with the wife of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac (d. 1738). Such shows of splendor were clearly intended to speak at the highest diplomatic levels, and Western political commentaries of the time, while recognizing the empire's diminished military capacity, continued to

FIG. 5. View of the Beşiktaş Palace, Beşiktaş, Istanbul, established in the seventeenth century, enlarged and remodeled throughout the eighteenth. By Louvet and De Clugny after Louis-Nicolas de L'Espinasse, from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* [. . .] (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1787–1820). Engraving on paper.

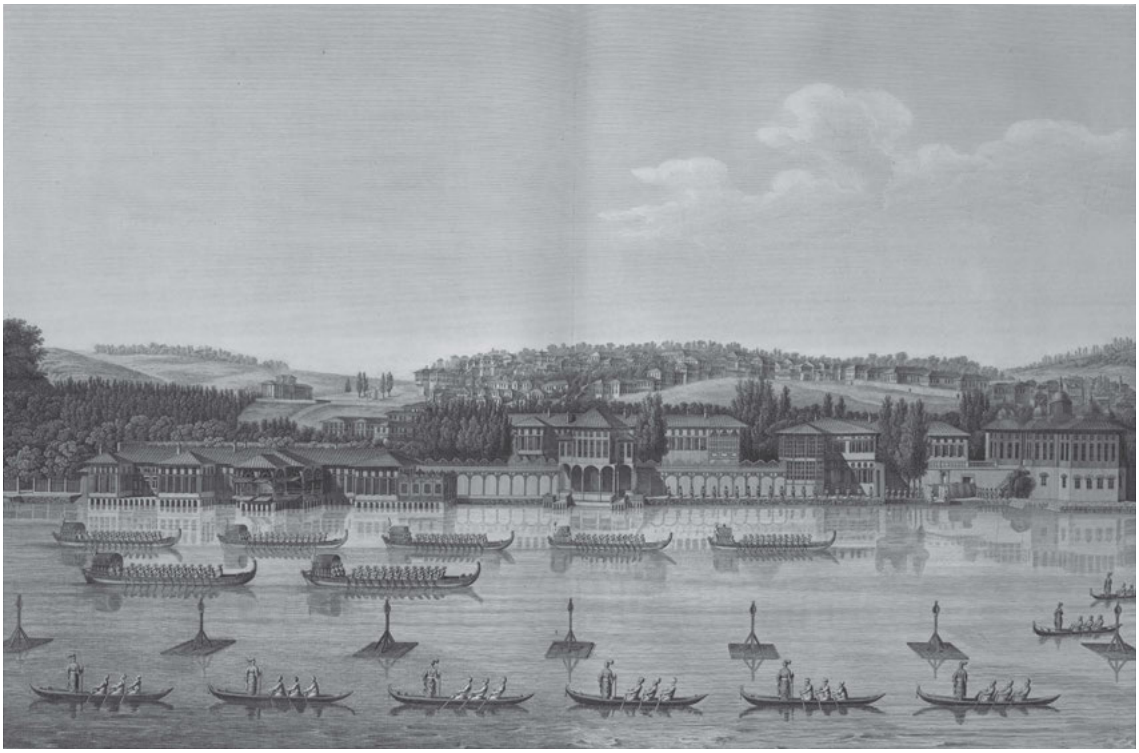
FIG. 6. View of festivities on the Golden Horn, with the sultan watching from a pavilion on the left and the grand vizier from a ship on the right. By Levni, from Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme-i Vehbī*, Istanbul, 1727–28. Opaque watercolor on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul [A. 3593, fols. 92b–93a].

acknowledge the Ottomans as a vital force. Bonnac himself, in a report of his embassy written for King Louis XV (r. 1715–74), describes one of his aims as being to ensure French interests in relation to the "movement or inaction of a power as considerable as that of the Turks."[13] France's rapturous reception of Bonnac's counterpart, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, further underscores the respect the Ottomans still commanded among their Western neighbors.[14] Even the Treaty of Passarowitz, though certainly unfavorable, was not without certain gains for the empire, most notably the Morea. The increase in courtly festivities that followed Passarowitz need not, then, be attributed to some post-defeat mood of escapism, but might simply reflect the fact that such activities—which in any case were not rare before 1718—became easier to stage in peacetime.

This last point alerts us to the domestic dimensions of Ahmed's reign. As much as the Ottomans were part of a commercially and diplomatically linked global network, concerns within the empire itself were just as influential to the developments of this period. The court's enthusiastic sponsorship of festivals and architectural projects should be seen as part of a larger effort to engage the public's attention after Istanbul was restored as the seat of government. As noted in the introduction, the city's waterways were transformed into ceremonial avenues lined with elite residences and pavilions that, in contrast to the more secluded character of earlier Ottoman palaces, afforded the populace unprecedented visual access to those who ruled over them (figs. 5, 6).[15] The intramural city too underwent extensive renovation, such that Maurice Cerasi has characterized the eighteenth century as the time in which "Istanbul took on its architectural and urban substrata, the backbone and the lustre that would give it a recognisable and unique appearance for two hundred years."[16] This comprehensive campaign was already well under way before 1718, and while the subsequent upturn in building activity may appear an effect of Passarowitz, it might just as well have been spurred by more local factors, including, as Tülay Artan has suggested, the need to restore the city after a major earthquake in May 1719.[17]

Whether through a changed cityscape or lavish festivities, such attempts to reinscribe the court's presence in Istanbul were clearly effective. The two-week circumcision celebrations held in 1720 for Ahmed's sons, for instance, excited much public interest and involvement, as recorded in the versified *Sūrnāme* (Festival Book) of Vehbi (d. 1736), with its vivid illustrations by Levni (d. 1732) (see fig. 6).[18] The new palace complexes built near the Golden Horn, meanwhile, became hubs around which social gatherings such as picnics and promenades flourished.[19] All this brings into doubt the long-held view that ordinary Ottomans resented the court's sumptuous displays; on the contrary, this culture of showy opulence thrived precisely because it was so successful in impressing, implicating, and even, as Shirine Hamadeh has shown, regulating the public by "preempt[ing] less orderly forms of celebration in the city and the suburbs."[20] Rather than resulting from a conservative or moralistic backlash, the toppling of Ahmed's regime was much likelier sparked by the outbreak of an unpopular new war on the Iranian frontier and the attendant rise in taxes.[21]

Are we, then, to reject altogether the notion of a Tulip Era as traditionally defined? Can Erimtan, who has written extensively on the topic, views the periodization in its entirety as a late Ottoman and early republican "literary creation that does not



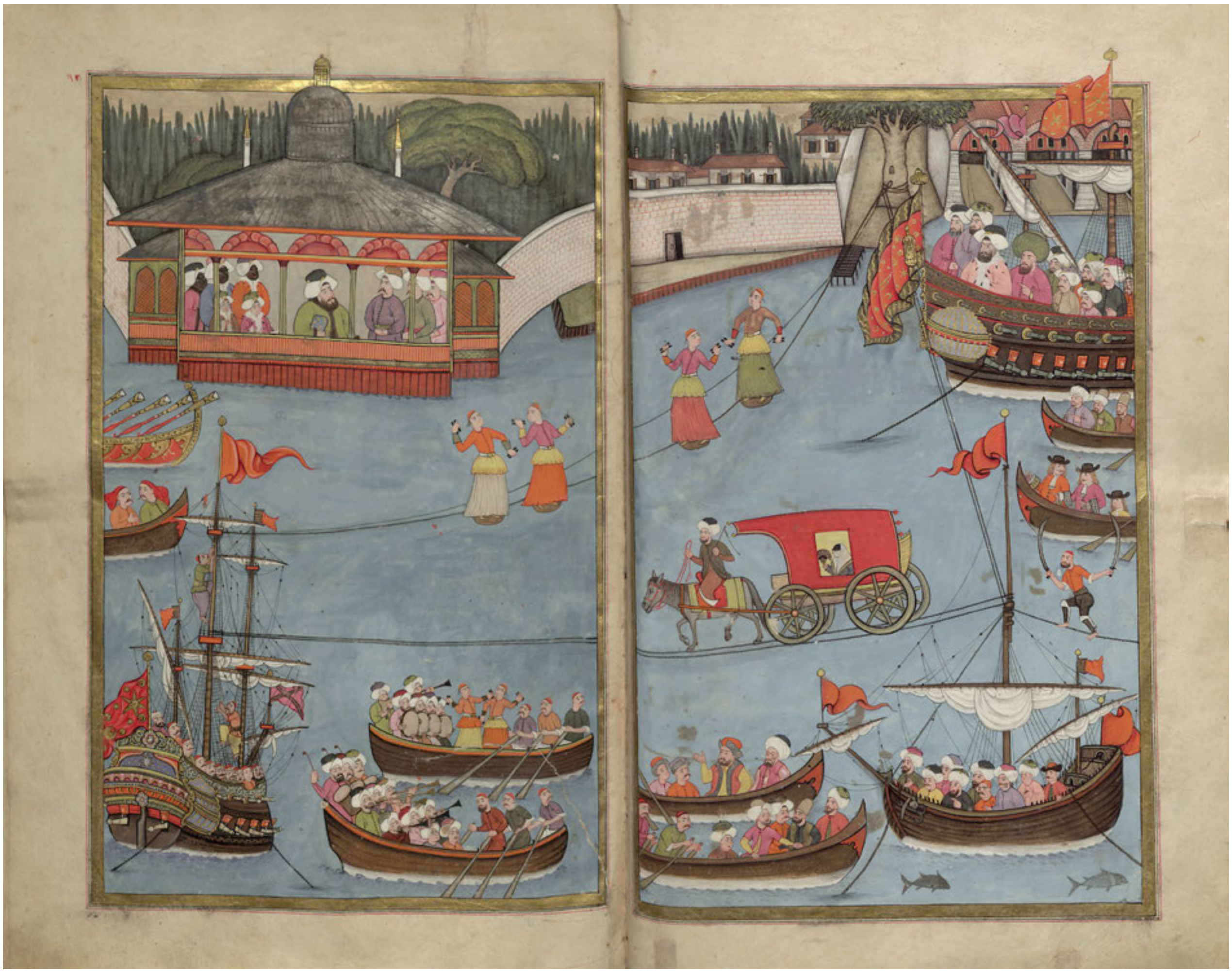


FIG. 7. View of the Palace of Saʿdabad, built 1722, and its surrounding parkland in Kağıthane, Istanbul. By C. N. Varin after Louis-Nicolas de L'Espinasse, 1790, from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* [. . .] (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1787–1820). Engraving on paper.

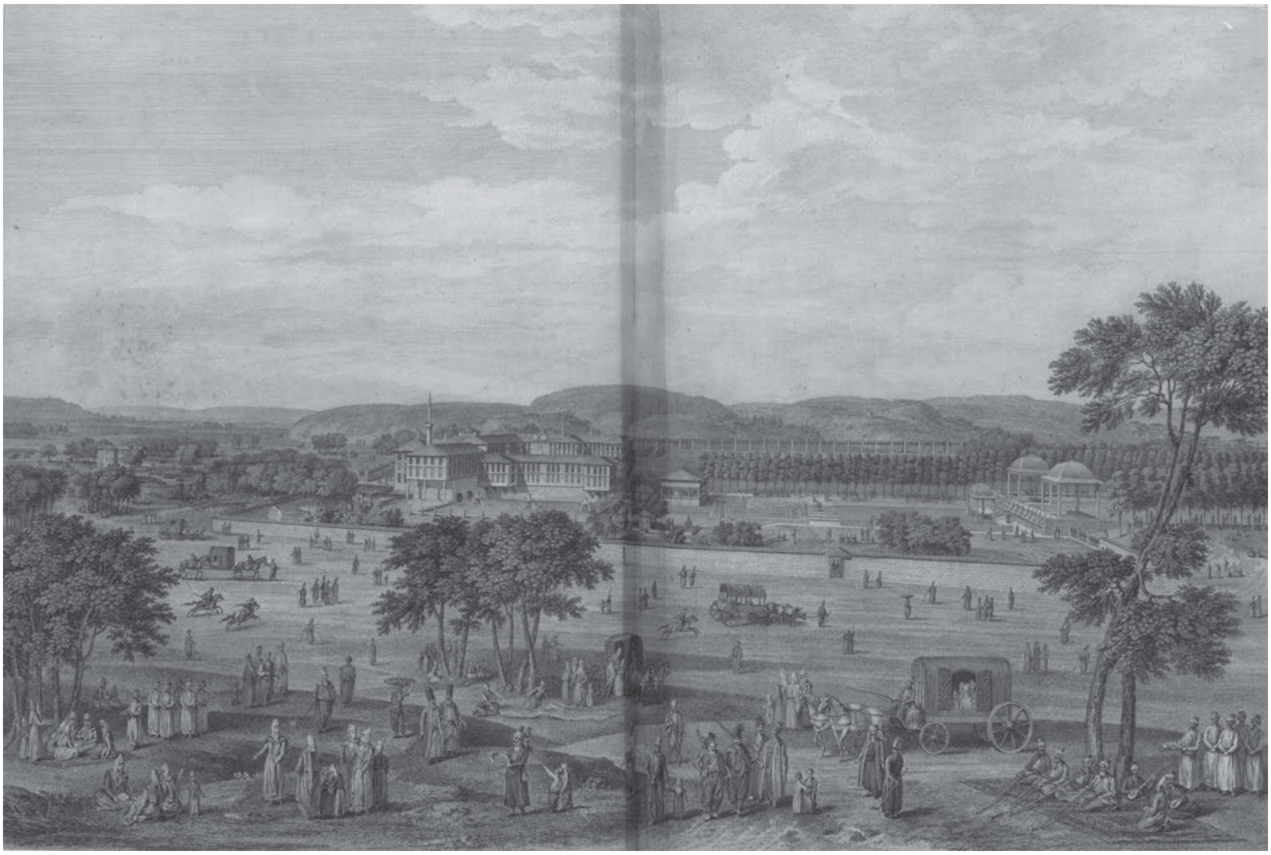
FIG. 8. View of women visitors to the grounds of Saʿdabad. By an anonymous Ottoman artist, from Fazıl Enderuni, *Ḫūbānnāme ve zenānnāme*, Istanbul, 1793. Opaque watercolor on paper. Istanbul University Rare Books Library [T. 5502, fol. 78a].

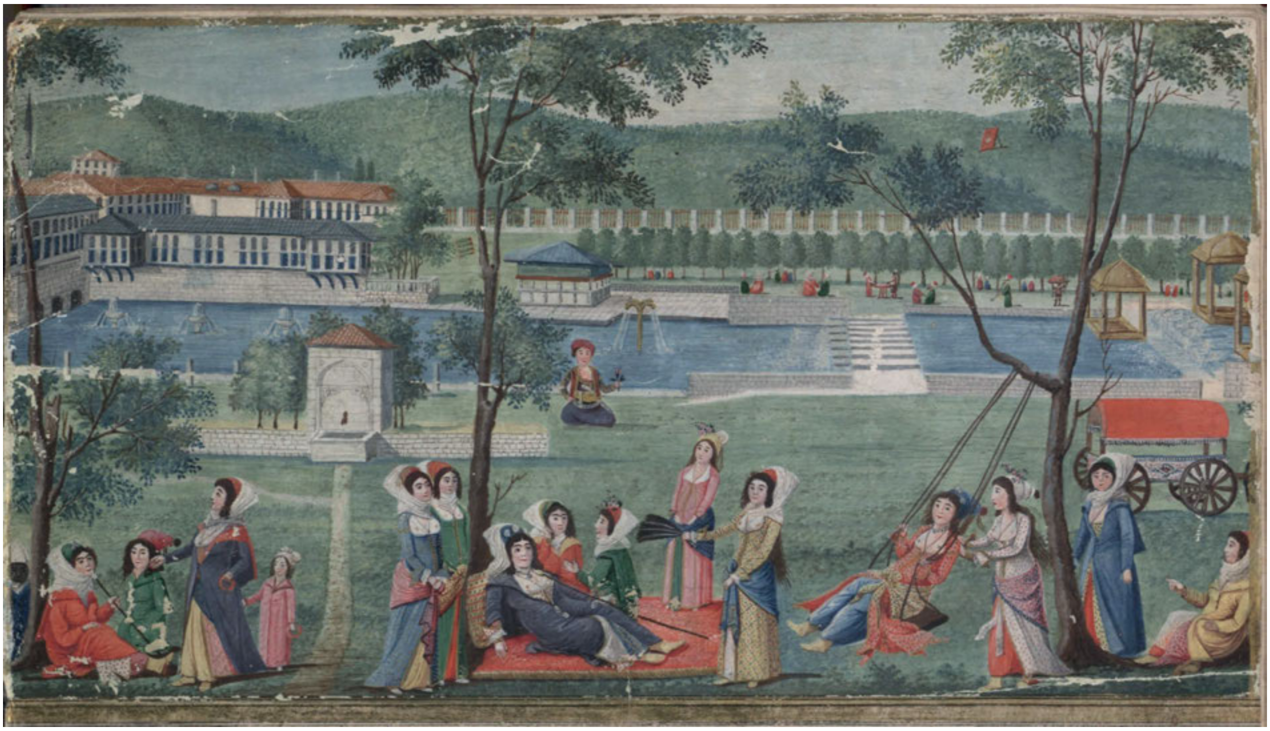
necessarily mirror the historical reality of 1718–30."[22] He vigorously disputes the most tenacious characterizations of Ahmed's reign, particularly as regards the supposed move toward Westernization, which he argues was the wishful invention of reformist early twentieth-century intellectuals. But such revisionism fails to explain the phenomena that fed older interpretations in the first place. Even if the idea of a self-contained twelve-year Tulip Era is ripe for debunking, Ahmed's reign did see certain developments that suggest a different sort of relationship with the West. It can hardly be coincidental that the first open admission by the Ottomans of the need to reform their military apparatus in line with their "Frankish" enemies was a document—recording a real or an imagined dialogue between a Muslim and a Christian officer—written immediately after the Treaty of Passarowitz, apparently for presentation to the sultan.[23] And nor is it merely fortuitous that the ensuing years were marked by heightened contacts with Europe, whether through closer diplomatic ties or the introduction of such Western technologies as the printing press.[24] These observations are not to perpetuate the old view of a humbled Ottoman Empire submitting to Western superiority, but rather to recognize that changing realities did indeed lead to new approaches in Ottoman dealings with Europe, a shift consistent with a more general intensification of cross-cultural interaction and curiosity during the eighteenth century. Much of the debate surrounding these issues has coalesced around a single architectural enterprise of which almost no trace survives, but which epitomizes the very problem of the "Tulip Era": the Palace of Saʿdabad.

SAʿDABAD AND THE DISCOURSE OF NOVELTY

In the summer of 1722, a new palace—Saʿdabad, the Abode of Felicity—was built under the direction of İbrahim Pasha for Ahmed III in the valley of the Kağıthane River, a tributary of the Golden Horn north of the walled city (figs. 7, 8). As part of the project, a stretch of the river measuring 1,100 meters was regularized into a tree-lined canal, the Cedvel-i Sīm (Silver Canal), and this fed by means of a weir into a large reflective pool fronting the palace. But the scheme went much further than a new royal residence: in a departure from established practice, the sultan encouraged his courtiers to build their own pavilions nearby, and the surrounding landscape became a popular suburban recreational ground for the city's inhabitants, who could stroll and picnic around the new palace and its satellites.[25]

This novel arrangement, which brought the ruling class and the ruled together in remarkable proximity, was celebrated in both art and literature. A well-known depiction of the site from a copy of the *Zenānnāme* (Book of Women), a poetic work composed by Fazıl Enderuni (d. 1810), depicts a lively day out in the palace garden, with a party of unveiled women freely enjoying themselves by the canal (see fig. 8).[26] Though the image dates from later in the eighteenth century and almost certainly exaggerates the freedom that women would have been permitted during their excursions, it is nevertheless suggestive of the sorts of activities that would have taken place at Saʿdabad. Closer to the date of construction, the poet Nedim (d. 1730) wrote several songs in praise of the palace and the culture of enjoyment that grew up around it. One composition, addressed to the





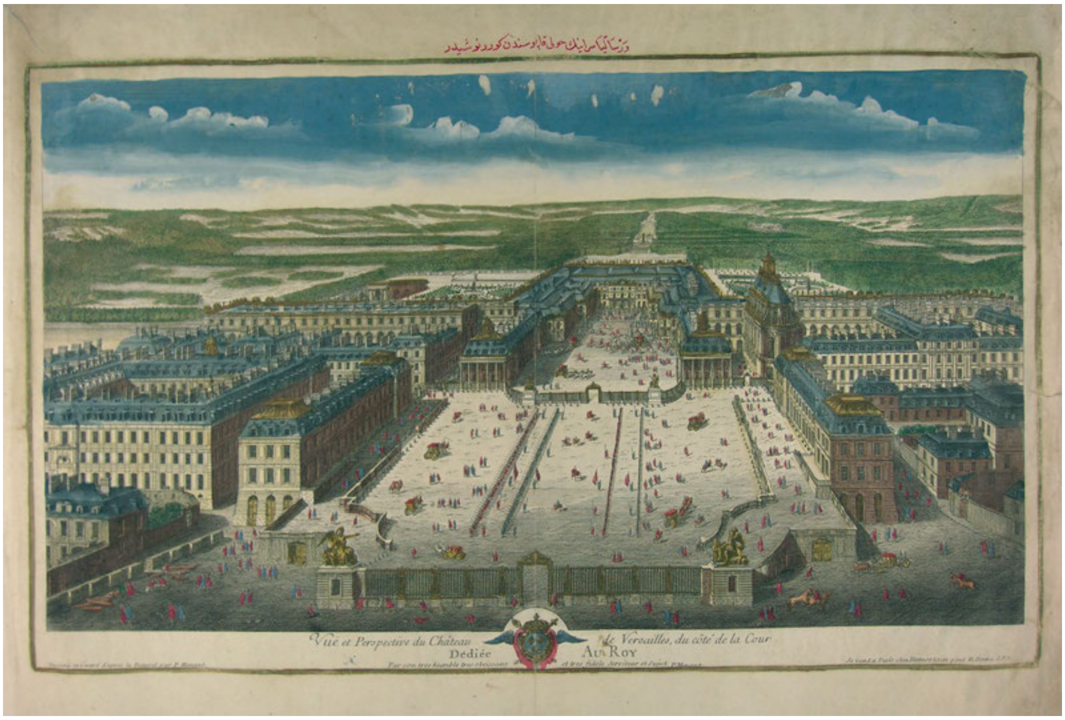

Vüe et Perspective du Château de Versailles, du côté de la Cour
Dédiée
Au Roy

FIG. 9. View of the Palace of Versailles, with an Ottoman inscription identifying the site. By Pierre Menant, from the series *Les Plans, Profils, et Elevations des Ville, et Château de Versailles* (Paris: Chez Demortain, [1716]). Colored engraving and ink on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul.

poet's beloved, even records the transportation provisions that linked the site to the city proper:

> Let us give a little comfort to this heart that's wearied so
> Let us visit Saʿdabad, my swaying Cypress, let us go!
> Look, there is a swift caique all ready at the pier below,
> Let us visit Saʿdabad, my swaying Cypress, let us go![27]

Saʿdabad can be considered an emphatic statement of the court's augmented architectural presence following the return to Istanbul. But while the motivation for the palace clearly relates to broader trends of the time, the unusualness of the final product is not so easily accounted for. Construction of the site followed on the heels of the previously mentioned embassy of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi to Paris, which took place between 1720 and 1721, and it has been commonplace to attribute the more novel aspects of the palace to French influences brought back by the ambassador, who wrote a widely circulated report of his journey.[28] Saʿdabad's basic configuration could, after all, be compared to that of the earlier and much larger Versailles, a suburban palace complex where the kings resided with their courtiers next to a series of publicly accessible gardens arranged around a cruciform canal (figs. 9, 10). Ahmed Refik in particular popularized the notion that Saʿdabad was an imitation of Versailles commissioned by the reformist İbrahim Pasha, a view that many (art) historians have continued to perpetuate.[29]

Revisionist scholars have tended to dismiss this idea as an unattested invention rooted in nineteenth-century Orientalism, and as early as 1977, the architectural historian Sedad Hakkı Eldem had shown that Saʿdabad's architecture was consistent with Ottoman tradition.[30] Although the palace itself was rebuilt and then destroyed in the

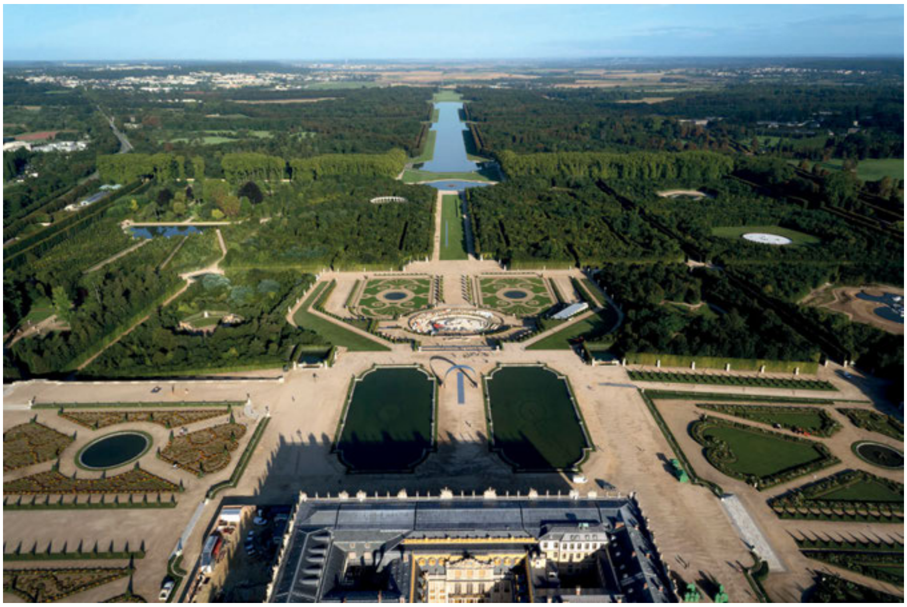


FIG. 10. Palace of Versailles, established 1623, expanded 1661 onward, aerial view toward the Grand Canal.

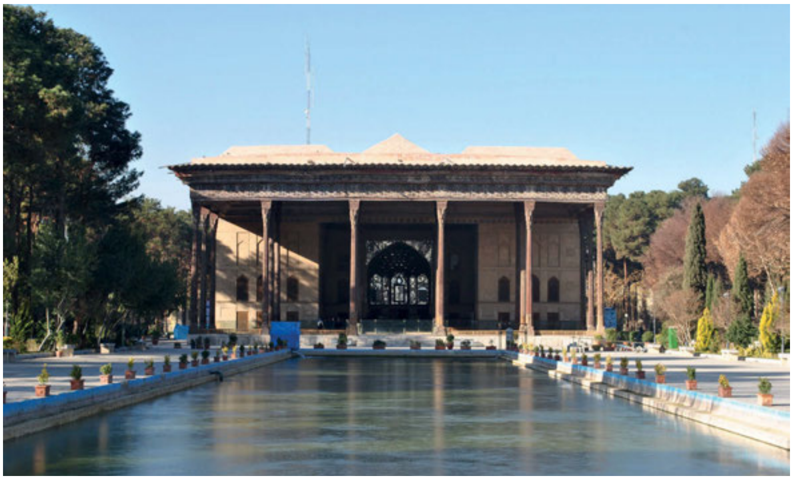


FIG. 11. Chihil Sutun Pavilion, Isfahan, 1647–1706.

nineteenth century (only a few remnants and the canal now survive), written accounts and artistic depictions of the eighteenth-century edifice demonstrate that it was indeed in keeping with earlier waterside pavilions, being an irregular complex of hipped-roofed halls and apartments with projecting upper stories borne on columns and corbels. Accompanying the palace proper and overlooking the pool was the Ḳaṣr-ı Cinān (Pavilion of Paradise), a richly decorated cruciform kiosk supported by thirty columns and marked in its center by a fountain; this too represented a traditional Islamic palatial type.[31] As for the more original features of the scheme, recent scholarship has argued that an Eastern source is likelier than a Western one, pointing out the similarities between Saʿdabad and the Chahar Bagh Avenue of Safavid Isfahan.[32] Developed in the early seventeenth century after Isfahan was made the new Iranian capital, the avenue was a wide promenade lined with trees and flanked by enclosed gardens and elite mansions. Running down the thoroughfare's center was a long waterway, and at its northeastern end was a palace complex that included the Chihil Sutun (Forty Columns), a pavilion built by Shah Abbas II (r. 1642–66) in 1647 with a multipillared portico set behind a reflective pool (fig. 11).[33]

The resemblances between this Safavid scheme and the later Saʿdabad are obvious enough to present a compelling alternative to the theory of French inspiration. Even Refik, paraphrasing the French historian Albert Vandal (d. 1910), himself noted the overlap with Isfahan in the same breath as he argued for a European origin for the palace.[34] More pertinently, Nedim, in another song praising Saʿdabad, declares that "it left Isfahan's Chaharbagh with scars of envy and admiration,"[35] thus confirming the relevance of the comparison in Ottoman eyes. It would be premature, however, to dismiss the idea of a connection also between Saʿdabad and its French counterparts. Far from being an Orientalist conceit of the nineteenth century, the view that the building referred to French models is as old as the construction itself, and, though not found in any contemporary Ottoman source, is recorded by European ambassadors who had firsthand knowledge of the palace. The earliest comment to this effect occurs in a dispatch sent by the Venetian *bailo* (ambassador) Giovanni Emo (d. 1760) in the autumn of 1722, very soon after the completion of Saʿdabad. Emo writes that a design of Fontainebleau brought back by Mehmed Efendi moved İbrahim Pasha to erect a similar palace "equal to the Sultan's dignity."[36] In his *Mémoire* of 1724, the French ambassador Bonnac refers in more general terms to how İbrahim Pasha "tried to imitate that which had been reported to him of the magnificence of our gardens and of our buildings."[37] Later in the century, Giambattista Toderini (d. 1799), a Jesuit abbot and Orientalist scholar who was part of the bailo's retinue in Istanbul between 1781 and 1786, would write that Saʿdabad was based on plans of Versailles.[38]

The earliness and persistence of these claims should caution us against rejecting outright their significance. Even if the available evidence shows that the architecture of Saʿdabad had little that was Western about it, and though the lack of agreement in the European sources as to its supposed French prototype hardly inspires confidence in their reliability, certain aspects of Ahmed's new palace do suggest a relationship, at least conceptually, to French models. That Mehmed Efendi brought back considerable information about the palaces of France is a known fact: his report on his embassy is replete—even inordinately so—with glowing descriptions of the various princely residences he visited, with particular attention given to their gardens. And after his return to Istanbul, he wrote a letter to the Maréchal de Villeroi requesting "the printed images of palaces and gardens that you promised."[39] Many such designs, mostly in the form of plans and engravings in printed books on architecture, survive today in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (see figs. 9, 13, 58, 61, 124, 182), and though it is not known precisely when they entered the sultan's collection, some almost certainly came back with, or through the agency of, Mehmed Efendi.[40] It would be unwise to suggest that Saʿdabad was actually modeled on such designs—for one thing, the letter to Villeroi seems not to have been received until after construction had begun—but it is likely that Mehmed Efendi's enthusiastic observations on French palaces excited the interest of the sultan and his court. Tülay Artan has argued that the unprecedented scheme constituted by Saʿdabad and its ancillary structures probably reflected something of the "relation between the king and the aristocracy that Versailles dictated."[41] The novel inclusion at the site of a canal—a feature previously unknown in Ottoman architecture but found in various French palatial gardens—further suggests a conscious engagement with French ideas.[42] While Isfahan too provides plausible sources for some of Saʿdabad's programmatic innovations, the rather narrow waterway of the Chahar Bagh Avenue was not especially close to the Istanbul canal in character or function. Moreover, the argument that an Iranian inspiration is any likelier or more appropriate than a French one only perpetuates the notion that Ottoman responses to Western models necessarily entailed an admission of weakness. Why should the Ottomans have been any less affected by what they knew of the palaces of France—the empire's oldest and closest European ally—than by what they did of those of Iran, a polity with which they were continually at war? The absence of any mention of a link to France in the Ottoman sources is not especially revealing given that such references would have been all but barred by Ottoman literary conventions, which favored more traditional Islamicate topoi such as Nedim's comparison with the Iranian capital.

Wherever its novel elements may have come from, Saʿdabad was evidently designed to be somehow "modern" in relation to existing Ottoman architecture, and it is hardly surprising that European commentators understood this newness in terms that made most sense to them. The comparisons drawn with French examples were not always flattering to Saʿdabad, but all Western accounts ultimately agreed that the palace's originality was key to its purpose and success. In Bonnac's words,

> Even though this copy [of French palaces] was less than mediocre and its situation not as good, he [İbrahim Pasha] thereby gave the people a sight that was all the more agreeable since it was not usual there, and that perhaps contributed in no small measure to curbing the tendency they had had for some time toward murmuring and revolt.[43]

This assessment again stresses the important role that courtly display had in winning rather than alienating Ottoman public opinion, but it also reminds us of the wider audience to which the sultan and his vizier were playing. Despite his lukewarm appraisal of Saʿdabad, Bonnac was among a larger group of foreign ambassadors and visitors—Eastern as well as Western—who were routinely entertained at the new palace, as recorded in Ottoman chronicles and in foreign reports and letters.[44] That the Ottomans cared what outsiders thought of their architecture is clear from a somewhat earlier project, described by the court historian Raşid (d. 1735), to repair and furnish the mansion of the Austrian ambassador in time for his visit to Istanbul in 1718.[45] In the case of Saʿdabad, the attempt to impress was largely effective, notwithstanding Bonnac's criticisms. A certain Monsieur de V—, who visited the site in 1724 as part of Bonnac's retinue, wrote a glowing account of the palace, the construction of which he associated positively with "the tranquility that the peace of Passarowitz had established."[46] Discussing the harem, he states that, "although quite small, it conveys the magnificence of the Prince through all the comforts that come together there," and he goes on to describe at length the Kasr-ı Cinan, with its fine marble cladding and rich carpets.[47] His account evinces a striking degree of interest and access on the part of Saʿdabad's European visitors. He writes that he joined Bonnac and his wife

> when they went to promenade there accompanied by the majority of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen who compose the body of the [French] Nation at Constantinople. Nothing

> was hidden from them or their suite, and what is more, the Bostangy-Bachi [*bostancı başı*, the chief of the palace gardener-guards] treated Their Excellencies to coffee and sherbet in the apartment of the Grand Seigneur [the sultan] himself. They as well as all their suite were served by Bostangis.[48]

Such was the ease with which the French party was able to look around the palace that the writer of our letter was even able to note down some of its inscriptions, which he translated into Latin for his correspondent.[49]

Like other Europeans, this anonymous Frenchman saw in Saʿdabad something to which he could relate: he too begins his account by rehearsing the story of the palace's origins in plans brought back from France by Mehmed Efendi.[50] But more than the architecture, it was the new culture of sociability staged at the site that struck him as familiar:

> It seems that the Turks have changed in temperament and spirit with this place of pleasure. You know, Monsieur, that they have never been promenading people, [but] they have become so; there are days when this place is as frequented as the Cour-la-Reine and the Champs Elisées [*sic*]. Locals and foreigners of all ages and both sexes go there in complete safety, and the ministers of foreign princes have the ease and convenience of finding there from time to time the Grand Vizier and the other ministers of the [Sublime] Porte always in good spirits and disposed to please them.[51]

It is important to note that although our author draws parallels between the emergent Ottoman fashion for promenading and French examples of the custom, he does not attribute the new trend to outside influences. Indeed, the rise of leisure was a global phenomenon of the eighteenth century, tied to an increase in commerce and consumerism that allowed an expanding portion of society in much of the world to partake in activities of recreation.[52] Nevertheless, the particular site in which the Ottoman version of this worldwide development was encouraged to flourish—the grounds of a palatial complex—suggests more than just a chance overlap with French analogues. Such sociability was promoted only inasmuch as it brought its participants under the purview of the state, and in this, Versailles offered a powerful model. Anticipating Saʿdabad, its gardens combined public accessibility with such diplomatic functions as the reception and entertainment of foreign notables.[53]

The advantages that this kind of mingling offered the ruler were already recognized in the late seventeenth century by an Ottoman-Egyptian janissary named Süleyman, who spent ten years living in France under Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) and recorded his observations in a memoir. Contrasting the relative remoteness of the Ottoman sultan at that time with the visibility of the French king, Süleyman found in favor of the latter, declaring that the ability of Louis's subjects to view him daily increased both their love and their esteem for him.[54] It was, as we have seen, local conditions rather than external stimuli that brought about a similar attitude to royal theatricality in eighteenth-century Istanbul, but knowledge of French practices of courtly display—themselves quite recently established—must have fed into the Ottomans' already changing notions of the ruler's image. Nebahat Avcıoğlu has explained this "new public and royal sensibility" as manifesting a kind of enlightened absolutism that emerged in parallel to European examples of the same approach, whereby "visibility and sociability were vital means for addressing the practical imperial challenges of holding onto power." Countering the memory of his turbulent rise, "Ahmed felt the need to use the city as a sign of his benevolence and omnipresence, and for this he had to combine both innovation and tradition."[55] The end result of Saʿdabad was far from imitative, and even European sources that stress its French inspiration never fail to note—for better or worse—the differences that preserved the palace's Ottoman character. The Ottomans, for their part, would surely have been pleased to know that foreign diplomats and visitors were speaking of the new complex in the same breath as the famed palaces of one of Europe's most eminent polities.

There is, then, much to support a general conceptual link between Saʿdabad and its French counterparts, resulting as much from an ex post facto discourse as from any intention on the part of the palace's designers and patrons. But I should like to go further and argue for the existence of more concrete correspondences that prove that Saʿdabad's cross-cultural qualities had been planned and embraced from the start. To begin with an example described in the anonymous letter, our author writes that "Monsieur the Ambassador of France has greatly contributed to the embellishment of this place by the present he made to the Grand Seigneur of forty fine orange trees, all carrying fruit; they are placed in their boxes at the edge of the canal to the two sides of the [Kasr-ı Cinan] Kiosk."[56] Gardens planted with fruit trees were traditional enough in the Ottoman context, but the presence of potted orange trees along a body of water would have introduced a distinctly French note to Saʿdabad's scheme, recalling, for example, the famous Versailles Orangery, and the once equally splendid orangery at Chantilly. The latter had made an especially good impression on Mehmed Efendi, whose report states that "the placement and arrangement of the lemon and orange trees were so pleasing and charming a delight that the eyes of those who looked at it could never be satiated."[57] That Saʿdabad's orangery came about as a gift from the French ambassador further underscores the importance of the new palace to both fostering and visualizing the practice of diplomatic exchange.

As to the actual workmanship of the palace, one of the most prominent features of the scheme, and very likely a response to Western models, was a columnar bronze jet rising out of the pool in front of the Kasr-ı Cinan and formed of four spiraled serpents whose heads issued water (see fig. 8). The obvious formal prototype for this feature—as noted in the palace's own time—was the ancient Serpent Column in Istanbul's Hippodrome (fig. 12),[58] but the idea of having such a jet in the first place was almost certainly taken from Western sources. While spouting fountains could already be found in the Ottoman context, they were generally incorporated into basins within the setting of a room or pavilion, as at the Kasr-ı Cinan itself; the concept of a freestanding jet—one of figural design to boot—in the middle of an open body of water was far less traditional.[59] In the West, by contrast, such fountains abounded, and it is surely significant that Mehmed Efendi repeatedly praised the examples he saw during his embassy. Speaking again of Chantilly, he notes that its grounds had so many fountains that,

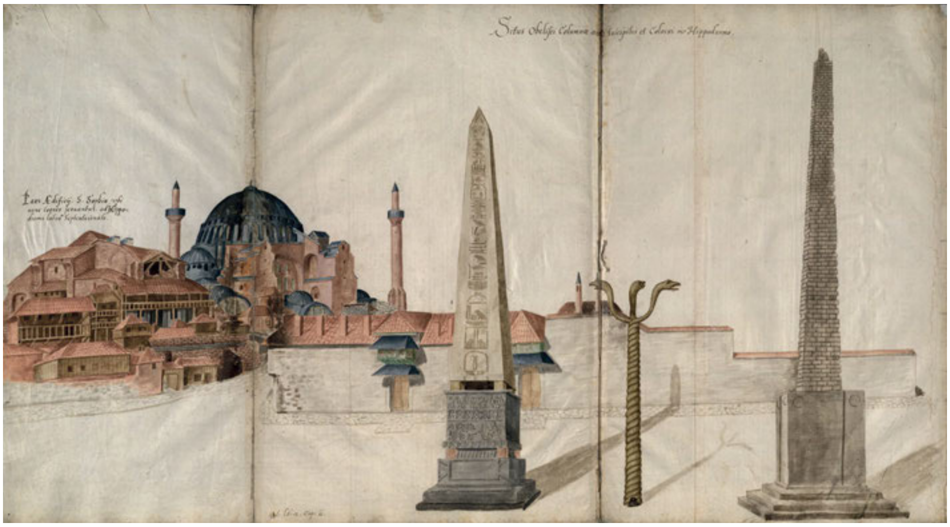


FIG. 12. View of the Hippodrome showing the Serpent Column before the removal of its heads. By an anonymous Habsburg artist, from the Freshfield Album, ca. 1574. Watercolor and ink on paper. Wren Library, Trinity College, University of Cambridge [MS O.17.2, fol. 20].

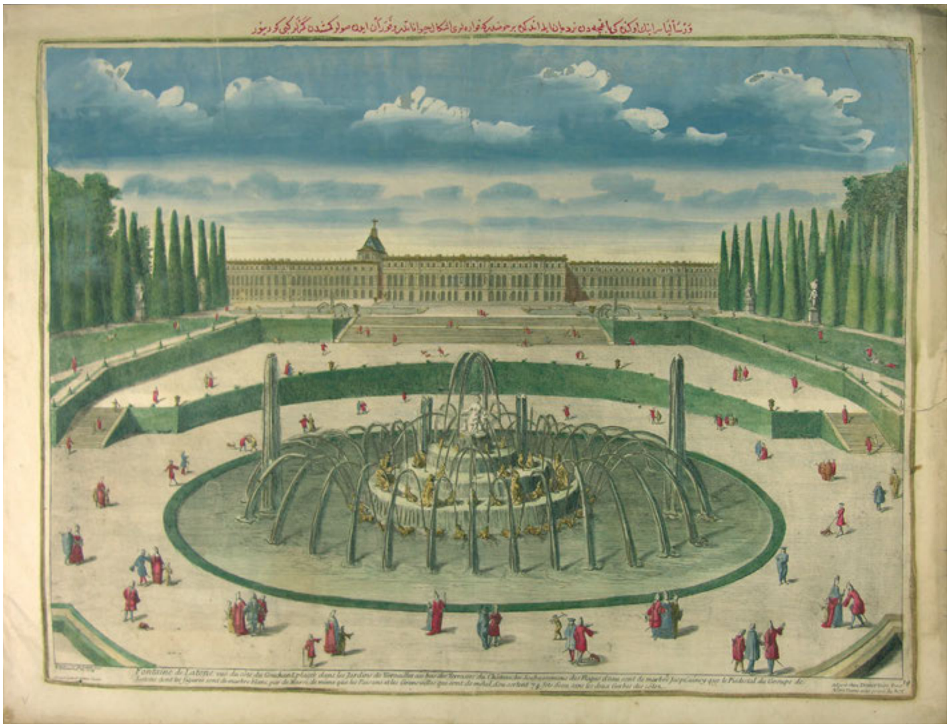


FIG. 13. View of the Latona Fountain at Versailles, with an Ottoman inscription describing the image. By G. Scotin after F. Delamonce, from the series *Les Plans, Profils, et Elevations des Ville, et Château de Versailles* (Paris: Chez Demortain, [1716]). Colored engraving and ink on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul.

"from whatever part of the palace one looked at the garden, one could see the jets spraying water to the height of two or three men"; and in his description of the Grand Cascade at the Palace of Saint-Cloud, he writes that "they have placed [there] jets one after the other, rendering them as dragons' mouths; it all flowed so delightfully that viewing it was necessarily delightful."[60] A good number of the European printed materials acquired by the Ottoman court in the eighteenth century are devoted to such waterworks (fig. 13).

The novel effect that an animal-spouted fountain of this kind would have created at Saʿdabad can be felt in Nedim's "Swaying Cypress" poem, whose opening stanza was quoted earlier, and which continues:

There to taste the joys of living, as we laugh and play about,
From the new-built fountain drink a draught such as [the paradisiacal spring] Tasnim
pours out,
There to watch enchanted waters flowing from the dragon spout,
Let us visit Saʿdabad, my swaying Cypress, let us go!

For a while we'll stroll beside the pool, and then another while
Off we'll go to view the kiosk, moved to marvel by its style;
Now we'll sing a ballad, now with dainty verse the hours beguile.
Let us visit Saʿdabad, my swaying Cypress, let us go![61]

Important to note here is the accessibility of the palace: like the French visitors discussed earlier, locals such as Nedim were clearly able to view the complex at close range, and they too recognized the originality of what they were seeing. As we might expect, the poet makes special mention of the Kasr-ı Cinan, the scheme's centerpiece, but equally significant is his singling out of the "dragon" (*ejderhā*) fountain, which recalls Mehmed Efendi's description of the "dragons' mouths" (*ejder ağızları*) at Saint-Cloud. What would have made this feature even more striking to viewers like Nedim is that its novelty was expressed in curiously recognizable terms: fashioned after a famous monument located in the very heart of the city, the serpentine jet would have seemed strangely familiar to Ottomans even as it surprised them by the unusual spectacle it produced. This combination of the new and the traditional, the local and the international, seems to have been among the defining qualities of Saʿdabad, and one of the reasons the palace was able to impress and engage the diverse audiences that it did.

THE TANGIBLE "TULIP ERA" IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

As important as Saʿdabad is for understanding the visual culture of Ahmed III's reign, the inevitable limitations of discussing a lost monument require us to turn to what actually survives of the period. Doing so only confirms that we are dealing with an architecture defined by its cosmopolitan reworking of an essentially traditional aesthetic repertoire. Some of the most significant examples of this material can be found in another elite setting, the Topkapı Palace, which had been established between 1459 and 1478 by Mehmed the Conqueror, and which remained the main residence of eighteenth-century sultans despite the proliferation of other palaces at this time. Ahmed was anxious to update the venerable site as a sign of his court's reoccupation of it: in 1705, soon after the return to Istanbul, a new privy chamber was built for him in the harem.[62] Used for dining and today known as the Fruit Room, the chamber is characterized by its busy and colorfully painted scheme showing bowls laden with fruit and pots full of flowers (fig. 14). The space is small, and there is little that is intrinsically precious about its workmanship, which consists mainly of painted wooden paneling, but the final product is far more impressive than the sum of its parts. While floral and vegetal imagery was well established in the Ottoman artistic canon, that of the Fruit Room is distinguished by its lively naturalism, which includes features such as modeling that reflect an acquaintance with

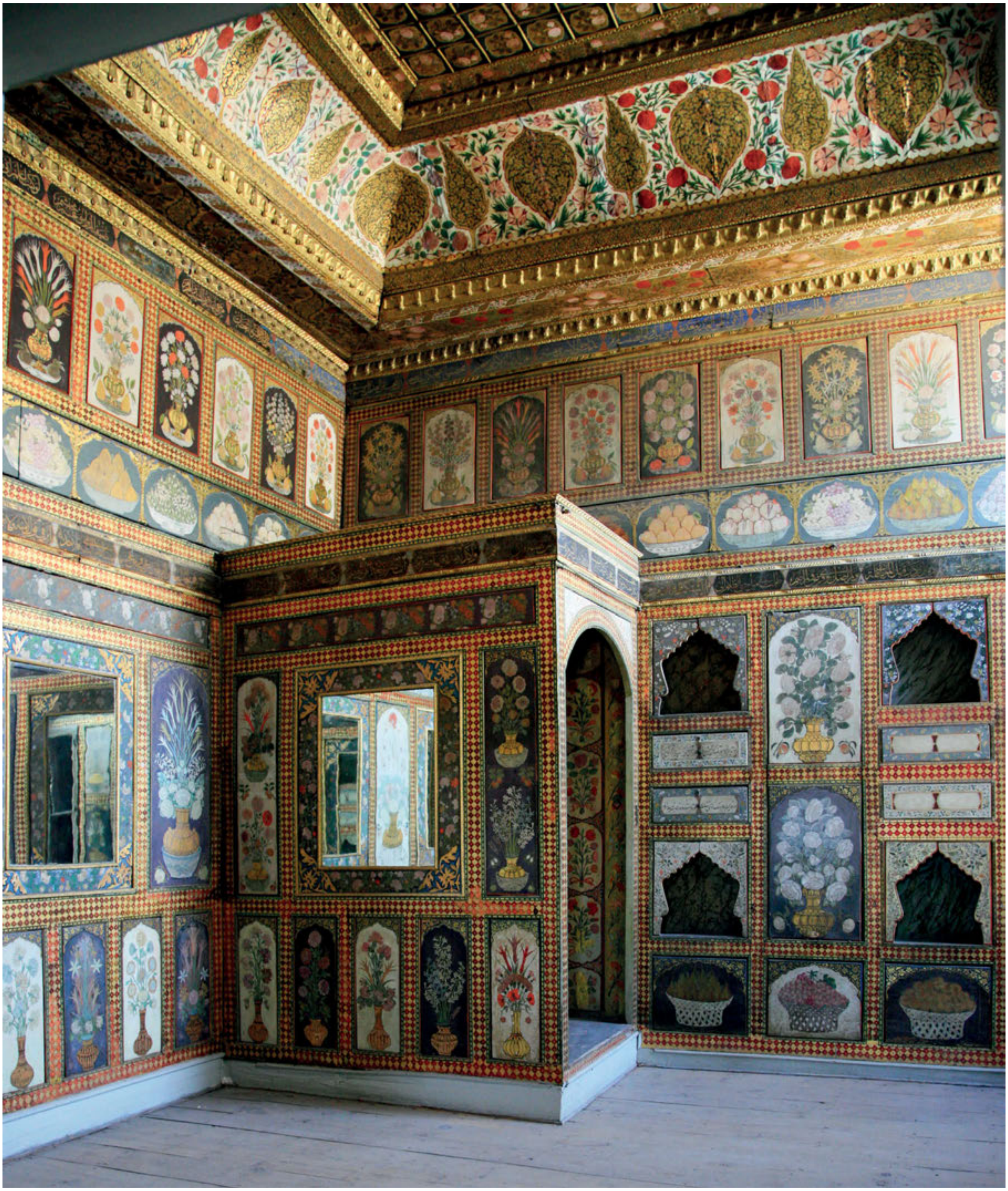


FIG. 14. Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, established 1459–78, Harem, Privy Chamber ("Fruit Room") of Ahmed III, 1705. (© Sibel Aisha / Dreamstime.com.)

European modes of depiction. The sense of exuberant novelty imparted by this paintwork transforms the room into something fully capable of holding its own against the larger and more expensively decorated spaces of the harem.

It is notable that the Fruit Room exhibits all the hallmarks of the style associated with the Tulip Era even though it was installed over a decade earlier. This alone reveals the problematic nature of the periodization, which somewhat arbitrarily tries to delimit a set of developments that in fact cut across Ahmed's reign, and even beyond it. The paintwork used in the room thus belongs to a technique called *Edirnekārī*, which, as its

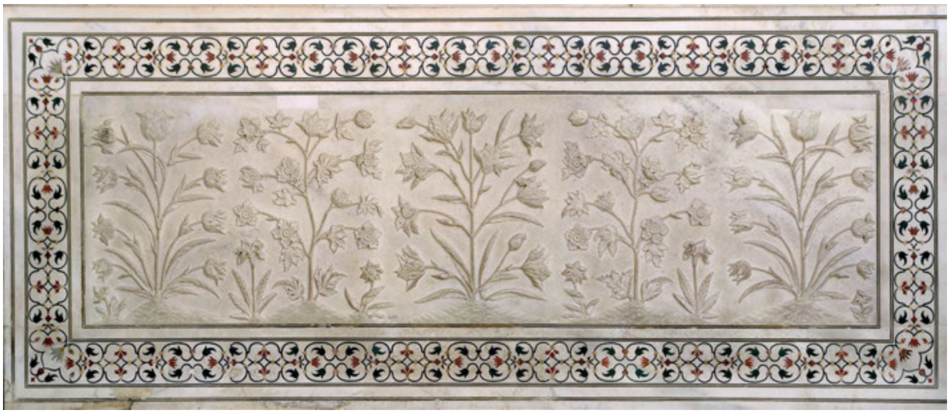


FIG. 15. Taj Mahal, Agra, 1632–48, marble dado with floral reliefs.

name suggests, originated in Edirne during the second half of the seventeenth century, paralleling the analogous creation of a naturalistic floral style—again responding to European examples—in seventeenth-century Mughal India (fig. 15).[63] The Fruit Room's dynamic scheme builds, then, on artistic departures that had begun already before the eighteenth century outside Istanbul, though it was not until Ahmed's reign that these experiments were marshaled in the establishment of a revived imperial aesthetic for the capital itself. Part of what made this new manner so successful was the ease with which it could be realized. The Fruit Room exemplifies the sort of cost-effective, rapidly executed project favored in these years. Saʿdabad, for example, was built largely of wood and, together with its grounds and ancillaries, completed in less than three months, much to the astonishment of the anonymous Frenchman whose letter was discussed earlier. Though this approach resulted in many ephemeral structures that are no longer extant, it was in its own time essential to facilitating the extensive architectural campaign that began Istanbul's eighteenth-century transformation.[64]

Not all the works of Ahmed's reign were of such light construction, however. Also as part of the sultan's renovation of the Topkapı Palace, a new marble-clad library was erected in 1719 in the third court, right behind the imperial Audience Hall (fig. 16).[65] With its arcaded portico, domed central hall, and sofa-lined *eyvān*s (vaulted spaces opening onto the central hall), the library very much perpetuates established architectural forms, an impression strengthened by the inclusion of such features as *muqarnas* (geometric stalactite) column capitals, shutters inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and reused seventeenth-century tilework. This traditionalism, which harks back to a style of architecture established in the sixteenth century, is representative of what has been characterized as a kind of Ottoman "neoclassicism" during Ahmed's reign, an approach that ran alongside the fresher manner typified by the Fruit Room.[66] The library itself testifies to these two aesthetic strands: not only is the building rather new as a type—Ottoman libraries did not exist as independent structures before the late seventeenth century[67]—but it also incorporates several novel features that soon differentiate it from older architecture. The door into the building is boldly crowned by a slightly concave carved semicircular sunburst (fig. 17), a motif that had its origins in earlier Ottoman art but did not come into real prominence until the early eighteenth century. The sudden proliferation of this half-sunburst—very different from the more usual pointed

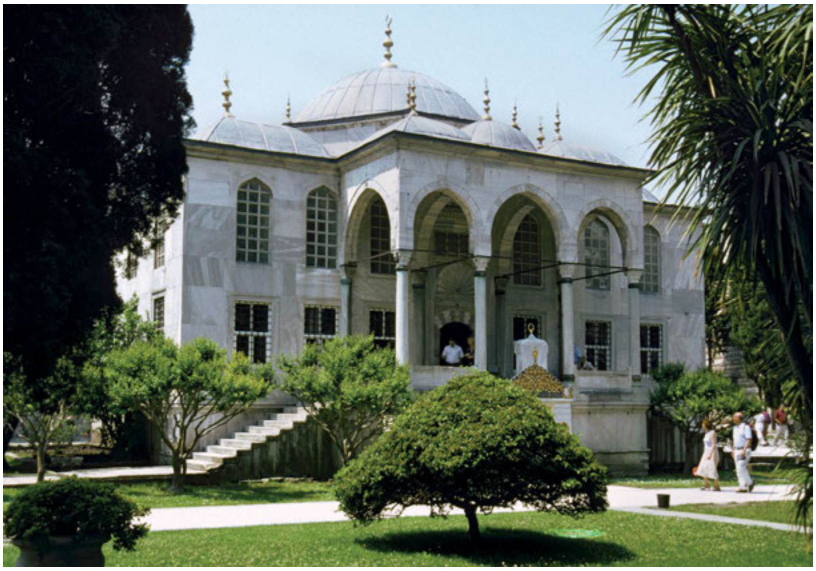


FIG. 16. Topkapı Palace, Library of Ahmed III, 1719.

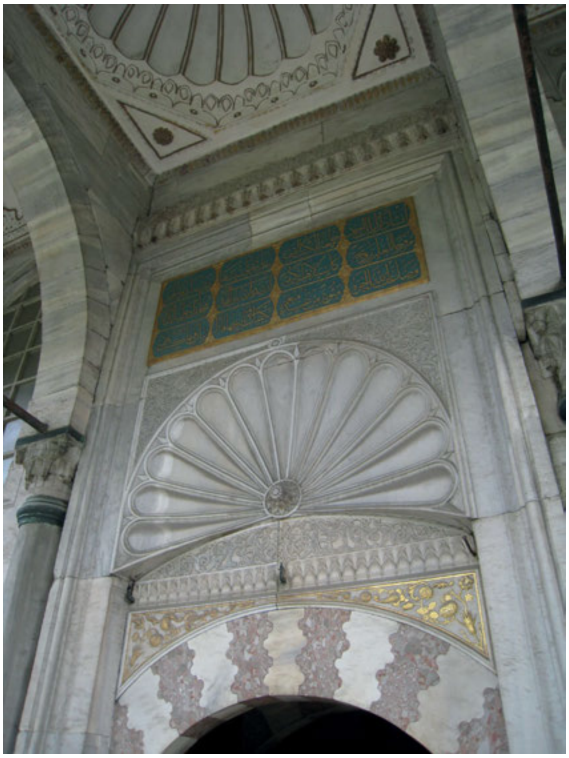


FIG. 17. Topkapı Palace, Library of Ahmed III, carved marble sunburst over the entrance.

arch and muqarnas conch—may well have had something to do with the passing resemblance it bore to the shell niche so popular in European architecture. As with the serpent jet at Saʿdabad, then, we have here the rejuvenation of an older local form for cross-cultural ends. In the case of Ahmed's library, the effect is both to confirm and to enliven the largely traditional conception of the building.

A more audacious combination of old and new can be seen in another project relating to Ahmed's remodeling of Topkapı, this time completed in 1728 just outside the Imperial Gate (Bāb-ı Hümāyūn), the main entrance into the palace. Here, in the middle of the large *meydān* (public square) marking the juncture between the palace and the

Hagia Sophia, Ahmed built a monumental fountain for the distribution of water, fashioned as a large marble-clad rectangular block with a wide-eaved roof topped by five small cupolas (figs. 18, 19).[68] In the center of each side of the block is an arched recess containing a spigot and basin, while at each of its corners is a curved *sebīl* (a kiosk for the serving of water) with grilled windows. Such meydan fountains (usually without sebils) were already in existence by the seventeenth century, but Ahmed's version was of unprecedented size and magnificence, resembling an inside-out pavilion that brings the splendor of the palace out onto the street.[69] Every part of the building is profusely decorated with motifs drawn from the full range of the Ottoman artistic repertoire. Flanking the arched basins on three of the façades are niches with triangular muqarnas-decorated hoods (fig. 20), and running above the grilled sebil windows are friezes of *rūmī* (stylized arabesque) scrolls and geometric interlace. The effect is almost one of conscious historicism, and indeed, just below the roofline is a band of polychrome *chintamani* (wave-and-spot) tiles recalling classical Iznik ware, produced by a local workshop that had been established at Tekfur Sarayı in 1719 for the purpose of making such revivalist ceramics.[70]

Countering this sense of traditionalism, however, is the overwhelmingly original way in which these forms have been utilized: they are brought together with a luxuriance that is very different from the more restrained aesthetic of the classical period, on a kind of building that did not exist before the seventeenth century. Even such seemingly revivalist elements as the tilework frieze turn out to be more than they seem, for

FIG. 18. Fountain of Ahmed III, Istanbul, 1728. (© Boris Breytman / Dreamstime.com.)

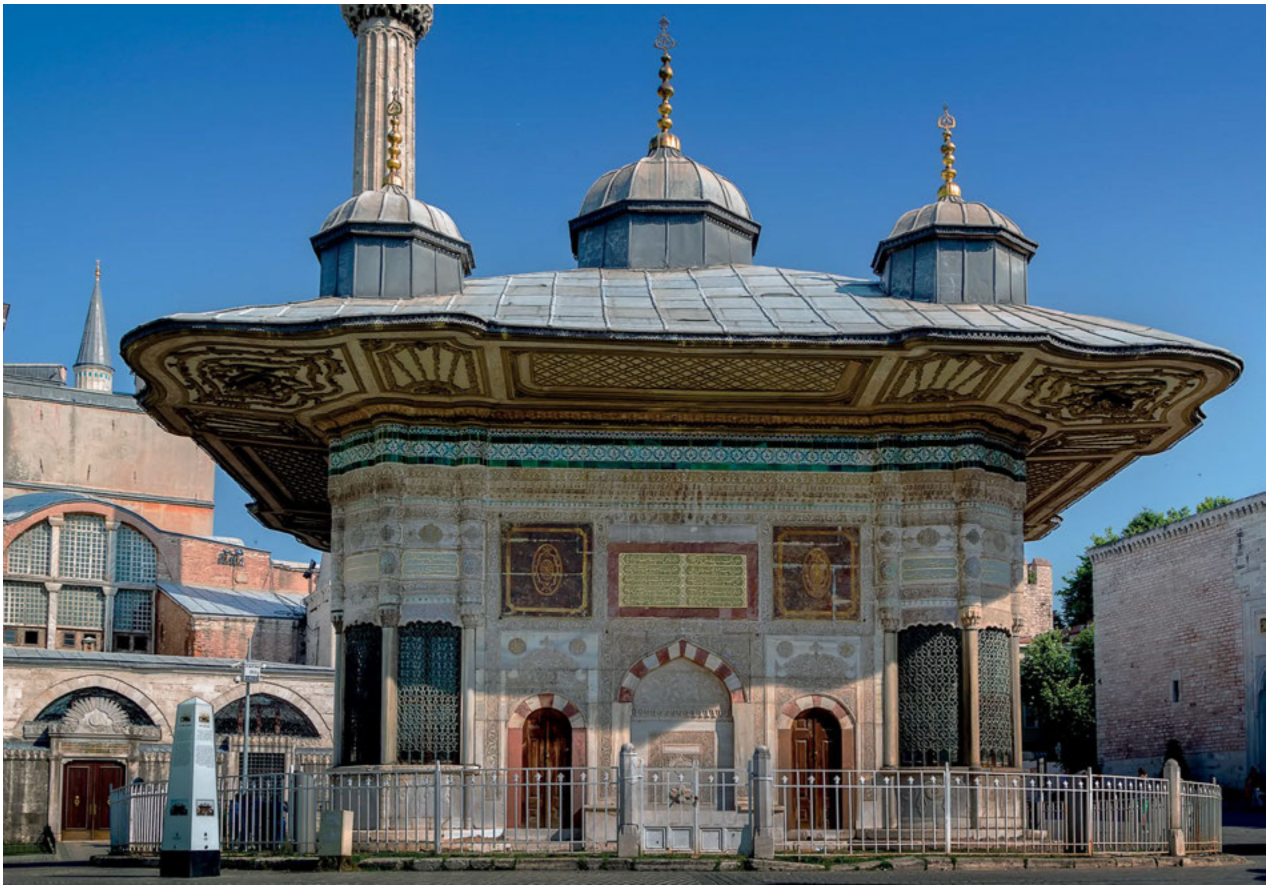
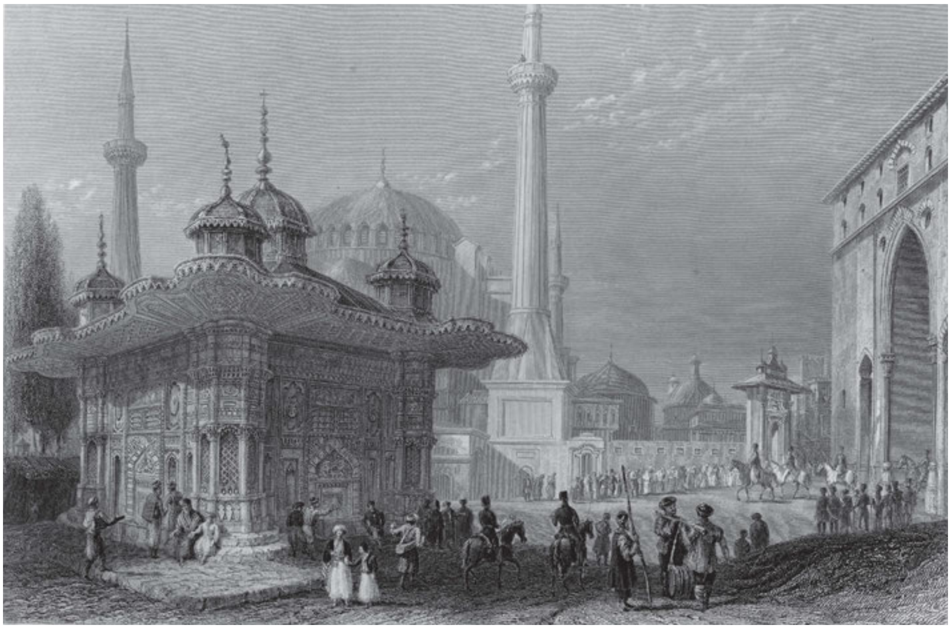
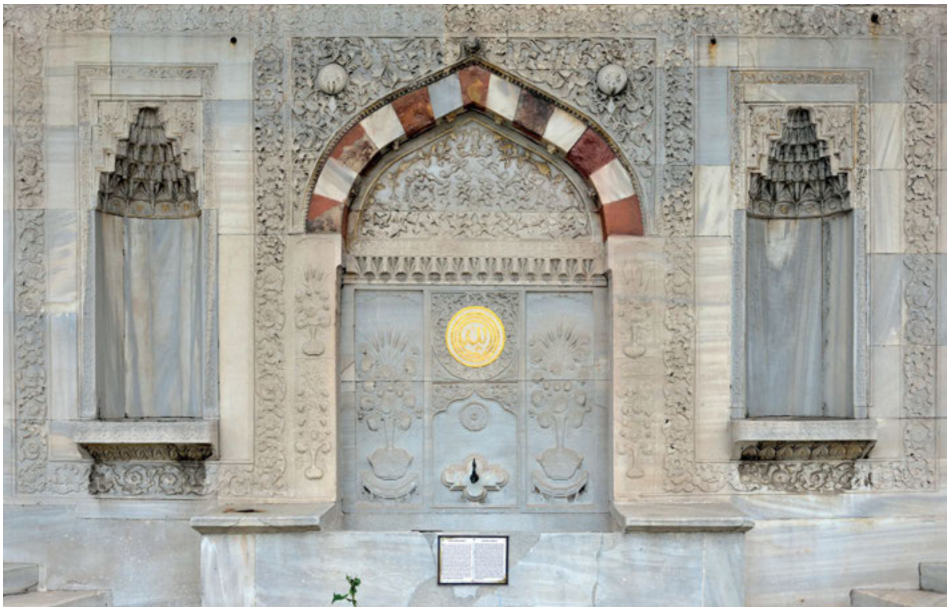


FIG. 19. View of the Fountain of Ahmed III and the square surrounding it, with the Imperial Gate of the Topkapı Palace to the far right and the gate of the Hagia Sophia imaret in the background. By Thomas Higham after William H. Bartlett, from Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: G. Virtue, 1839). Engraving on paper.

FIG. 20. Fountain of Ahmed III, detail of façade.





actual sixteenth-century Iznik tiles seldom showcase chintamani to the extent that we see in the output of Tekfur Sarayı.[71] Moreover, this innovatively combined panoply of established forms is interspersed with a variety of newer motifs that underscore the fountain's untraditional character. In addition to relief depictions of floral bouquets reminiscent of those painted in the Fruit Room, the scheme includes vegetal scrollwork that, while compositionally related to the traditional rumis elsewhere on the fountain, is distinguished by its naturalism and plasticity, qualities exhibiting knowledge of Western models (figs. 21, 22). Once again, the result is simultaneously familiar and strange—the Ottoman arabesque has been reconfigured in response to, rather than abandoned in favor of, the foreign model, so that the end result, for all its aesthetic scope, still sits comfortably in its local context.

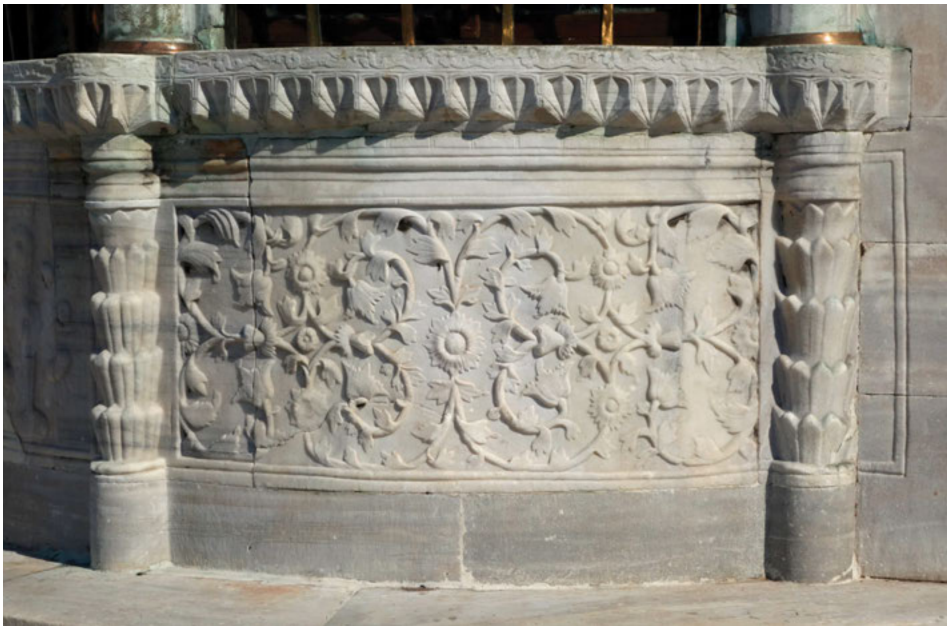


FIG. 21. Fountain of Ahmed III, carved marble panel at one of the corners.

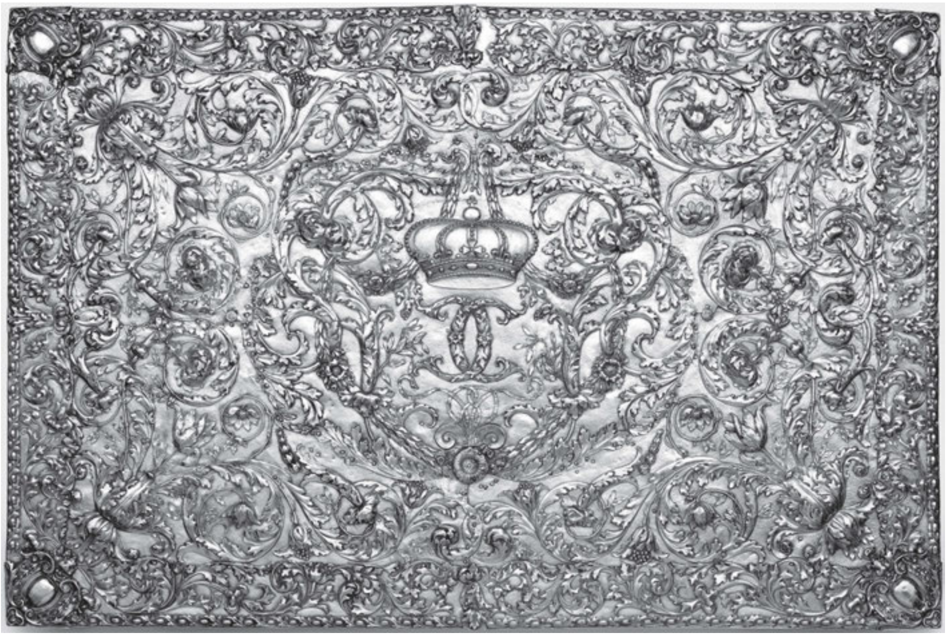


FIG. 22. Detail of the top of an English side table, ca. 1670. Chased and embossed silver on an oak frame. The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, London.

Indeed, outside the art-collecting elite, few Ottomans who saw the fountain in its own time could have been aware of its diverse sources of inspiration, though many would certainly have recognized its originality. Like Saʿdabad before it, the fountain quickly became a significant new social hub, combining a valuable public service with an impressive decorative program that must have been a talking point among the building's users.[72] Those responsible for the building had clearly intended to create such a landmark, and its scheme includes highly legible poetic inscriptions that praise the sultan for revitalizing the square in which the monument stands: "He made this place flourish, establishing a new scheme, . . . and bestowed freely the water of delight."[73] One did not have to be able to read these inscriptions to have been struck by the social and visual difference the fountain made.

What is remarkable about this transformative project—as with so much of the architecture of Ahmed's reign—is its relative economy of means. Though smaller than many classical monuments, the building more than compensates with its dense and splendid ornamentation, which produces a princely jewel-like effect. The merits of this approach—besides being quicker and cheaper to implement—can be gauged by comparing the fountain with the much larger fifteenth-century Imperial Gate facing it (see fig. 19).[74] Despite the sheer size and dignified sobriety of the gate, it is the fountain that steals the show with its lively and diversified program. That the later structure so knowingly refers back to past Ottoman tradition only emphasizes this contrast: by revitalizing an old stock of motifs, the fountain was able to take its place among the city's existing fabric while also proclaiming itself the product of a changing context.

To be sure, such aesthetic syncretism was not in itself new. Ottoman art had long brought together borrowings from different traditions, a predictable trait given the geographical extent and cultural diversity of the empire itself.[75] Nevertheless, the eighteenth century witnessed an undeniable intensification of cross-cultural—and especially European—citations, and it is worth expanding on the framework in which this shift both occurred and resonated. The Westernizing elements of later Ottoman art were less a symbol of growing interaction with Europe than they were an unsurprising result of it. In the increasingly porous and traversable world of the early eighteenth century, such amplified cross-cultural references were all but inevitable, and they went beyond the realm of architecture. A similar development can be seen in contemporary Ottoman painting, especially the works of the court painter Levni, whose illustrations of Vehbi's *Sūrnāme* have already been mentioned (see fig. 6). With their stacked arrangement of figures, crisp delineation of forms, and bright colors and patterns, Levni's pictures have much in common with earlier Ottoman painting, and even the very fact of the *Sūrnāme* can be considered a conscious nod to the past, for the production of such profusely illustrated royal manuscripts had declined in the seventeenth century. Yet Levni's art was no mere throwback. Like the period's architecture, it fruitfully absorbed ideas of Western derivation—among them modeling and atmospheric perspective—to create an updated mode of Ottoman art that was still recognizably canonical.[76] Levni would not have had to look far for suitable models: besides having access to Western prints circulating in the empire, he might also have seen the works of the prolific Flemish-French painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (d. 1737), who had been working in Istanbul since 1699 under the patronage of numerous European residents and visitors.[77] The boom in trade, travel, and diplomacy that marked this period would have made it almost impossible for such contacts and borrowings not to take place.

And neither was this a one-way process. Engravings after Vanmour's depictions of Ottoman figures, together with costume albums by Ottoman painters themselves, proved to be extremely popular and influential in Europe (fig. 23),[78] where artistic traditions were being similarly enlivened and redefined by the inclusion of elements adapted from foreign sources. Eastern textiles and ceramics were particularly inspirational in this regard, with Western responses ranging from blatantly imitative wares to more creative assimilations in painting and room decor (fig. 24). Under such labels as turquerie and chinoiserie, this precolonial kind of Orientalism was an enduring fashion throughout the century, and though—as I shall discuss in subsequent chapters—the equation becomes less tenable in later years, Ottoman visual culture during Ahmed's reign can very aptly be compared to its no less cosmopolitan European counterparts.[79]

This cross-cultural dialogue resulted in a heightened degree of mutual intelligibility when Easterners and Westerners saw each other's art. In her description of the palace of the late grand vizier Damad Ali Pasha (d. 1716), which had recently been built near Istanbul's Asian suburb of Üsküdar, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had no trouble evoking the edifice for her Italian correspondent, despite her initial claim to the contrary:

> I have a great mind to describe it to you, but I check that Inclination, knowing very well that I cannot give you, with my best description, such an Idea of it as I ought. It is situated on one of the most delightful parts of the Canal [that is, the Bosphorus], with a fine wood on the side of a Hill behind it. The extent of it is prodigious; . . . and the whole adorn'd with a profusion of marble, gilding, and the most exquisite painting of fruit and flowers. The Windows are all sash'd with the finest cristaline Glass brought from England, and all the expensive Magnificence that you can suppose in a Palace founded by a vain young Luxurious Man with the wealth of a vast Empire at his Command. But no part of it pleas'd me better than the Apartments destin'd for the Bagnios. There are 2 exactly built in the same

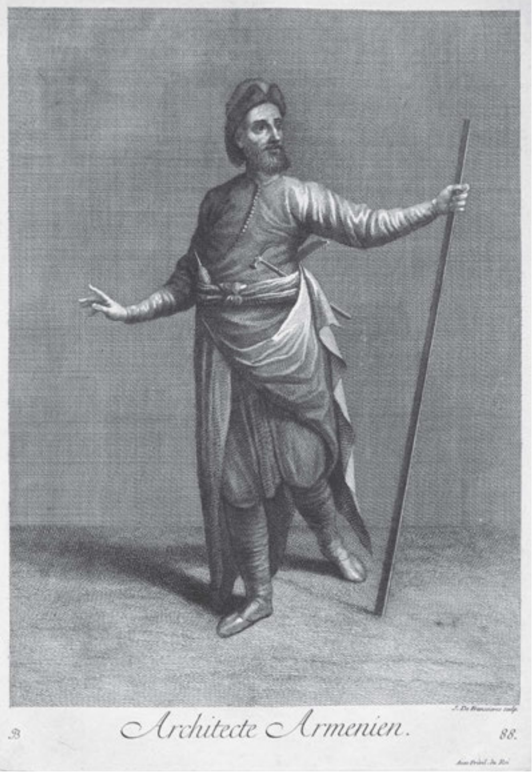


FIG. 23. View of an Ottoman-Armenian architect holding a measuring stick. By J. de Franssieres after Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, from Vanmour, *Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant* (Paris: Chez led. Sr. Le Hay, le Sr. Duchange, 1714). Engraving on paper.

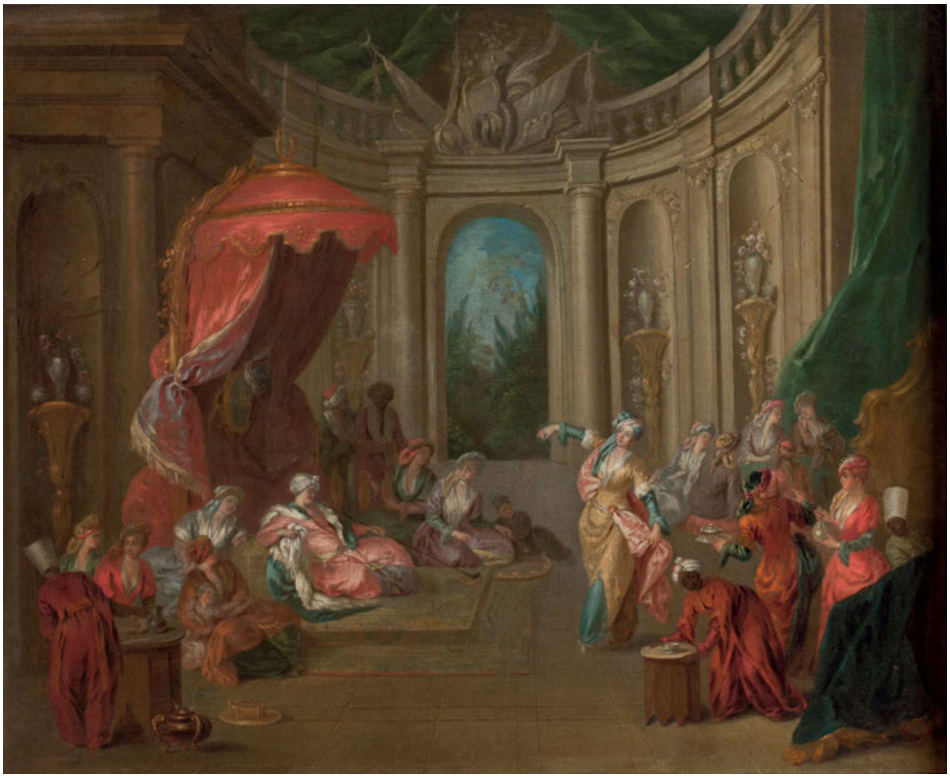


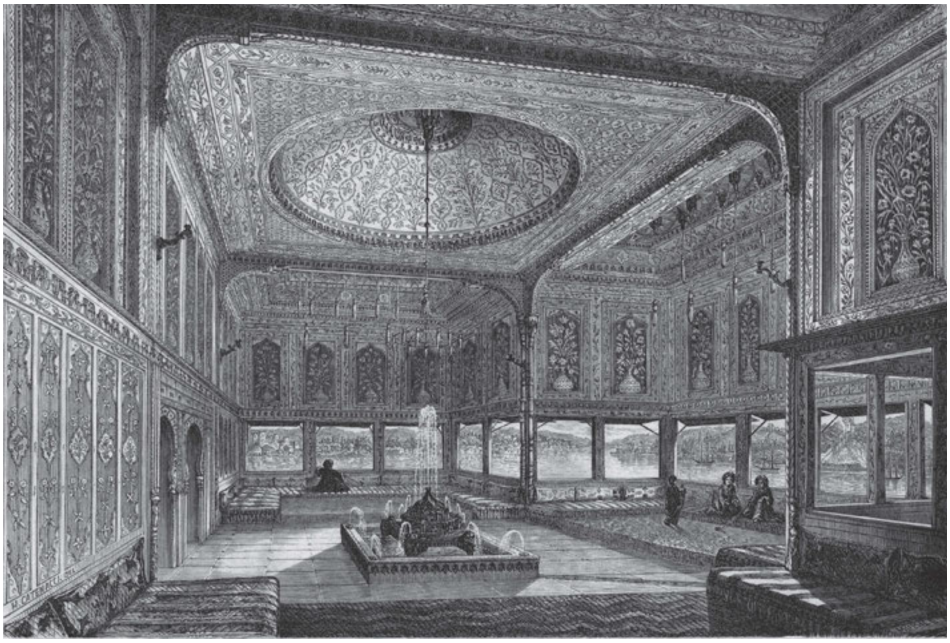
FIG. 24. Jean-Baptiste Pater, *Sultan in the Harem*, ca. 1730. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

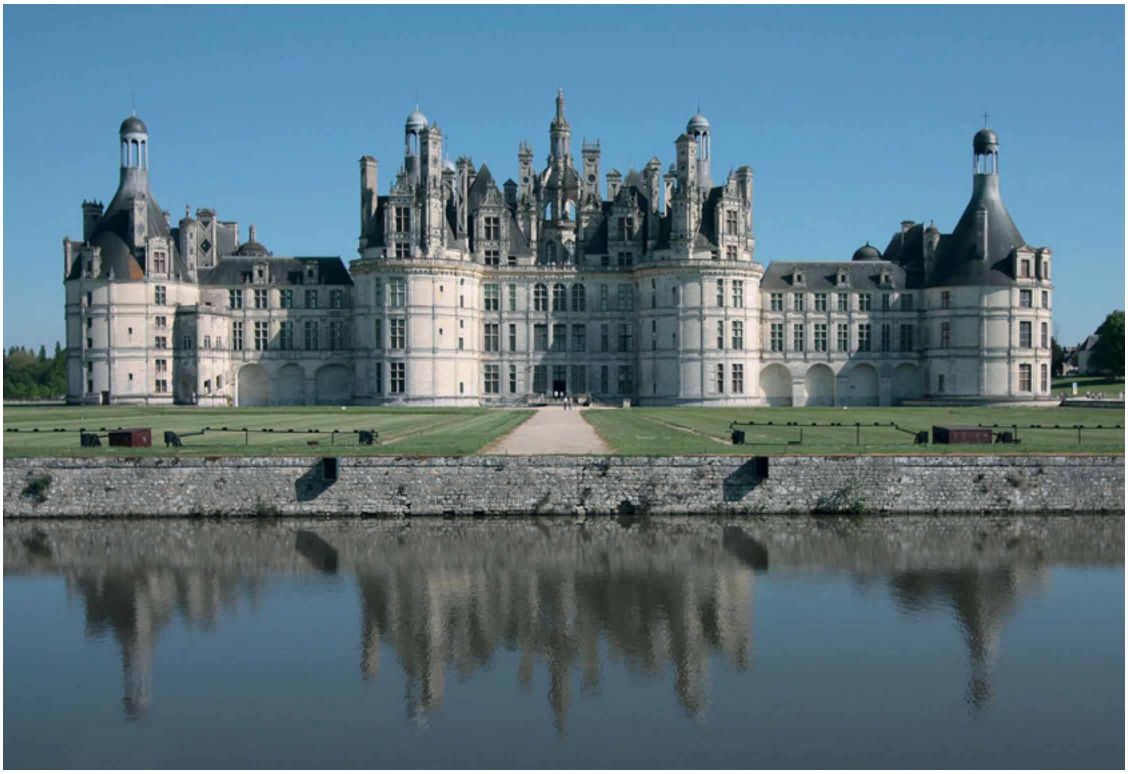
> Manner, answering to Another; the Baths, fountains and pavements all of white marble, the roofes gilt, and the walls cover'd with Japan china; but adjoyning to them 2 Rooms, the upper part of which is divided into a sofa; in the 4 corners falls of water from the very Roofe, from shell to shell of white marble, to the lower end of the room, where it falls into a large Basin surrounded with pipes that throw up the water as high as the room.[80]

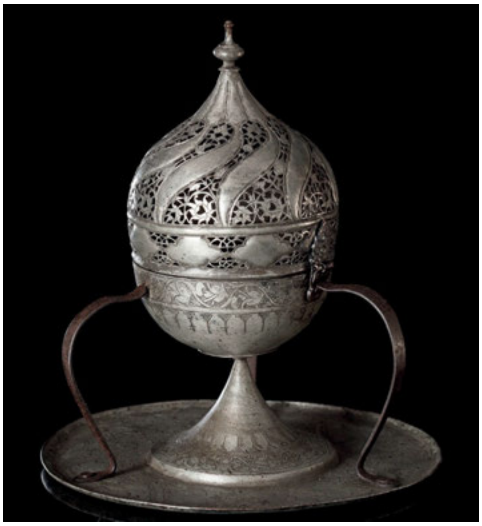
From the floral paintwork and English glass to the (supposedly) Far Eastern tiles and marble fountains, almost all of the elements recounted by Lady Mary would have struck a chord with European audiences, familiar with such features from their own palaces.[81] Certain parts of the Ottoman building were, of course, unusual by Western standards, as revealed by Lady Mary's fascination for the rooms preceding the baths, but the description overall is remarkable for what it tells us of shared transregional fashions in this period. It should be noted that Lady Mary's visit to the palace took place in 1718, several years before Saʿdabad was built, and yet we already see a fully developed Ottoman taste for waterside residences ornamented with lively fountains, in this case of the interior variety. Damad Ali Pasha's palace, which has not survived, was only one instance of this taste, of which other examples remain extant (fig. 25). The innovations that would soon after follow at Saʿdabad were thus very much grounded in existing local practices, even if the specific forms they took were not, and this would explain why features like the canal and dragon-spouted water jet were so comfortably incorporated into their Ottoman setting. Indeed, to Lady Mary and other European observers, the Bosphorus and Golden Horn already constituted pavilion-lined canals, so that Saʿdabad, for all its novelty, can hardly have come as a very great surprise.

From the Ottoman perspective, too, European artistic traditions could seem strangely recognizable. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi may have wondered at many things he saw in France, but there was much that also struck him as familiar. Writing of the sixteenth-century Château de Chambord, he compares the overall form of the

FIG. 25. View of the interior of the Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha Yalı, Anadoluhisarı, Istanbul, 1699. By Hercules Catenacci after Adalbert de Beaumont, from *Le Tour du monde: Nouveau journal des voyages* 7 (1863): 13. Wood engraving on paper.





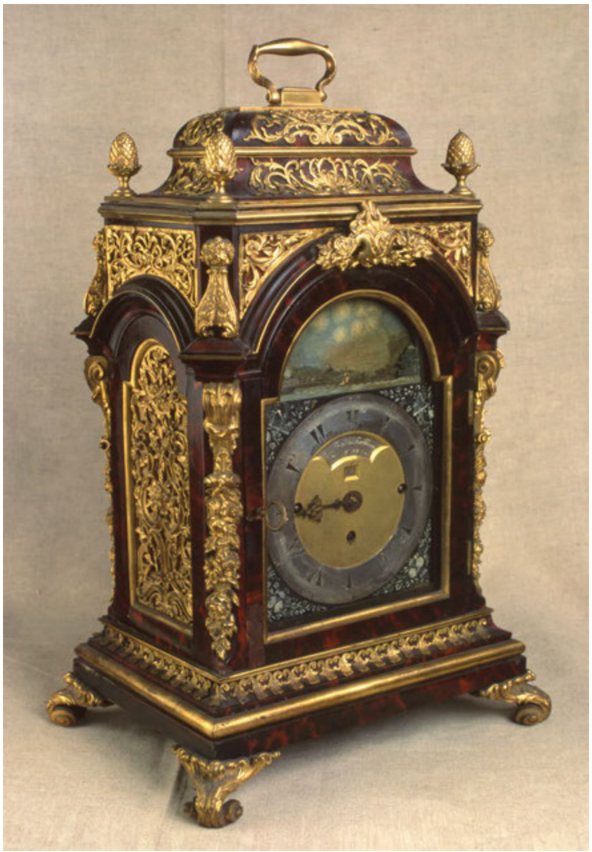


prominently towered palace to a six-domed incense burner, and likens its carvings to the decorations of a table clock (figs. 26, 27).[82] Most table clocks in the Ottoman Empire were brought from Europe, and even locally made pieces were based on these foreign examples, which, together with other luxury imports, would have contributed in no small measure to exposing elite Ottomans to Western artistic forms (fig. 28).[83] Mehmed Efendi's recollection of these clocks only confirms the extent to which such items had already introduced him to the kinds of motifs he would later see in France. One should not, however, overlook the equally telling reference to an incense burner, a quintessentially Ottoman category of object. Though the resemblance between the palace's silhouette and a burner can only have been coincidental, it is significant that Mehmed Efendi displays the same facility as Lady Mary in portraying foreign works to his own audience, notwithstanding his analogous insistence on the indescribability of the things he sees. To return to his account of Chantilly, he is particularly struck by the palace's situation in the middle of a lake, observing that "when one looks out from the windows of the lower story, one is satiated with the pleasure of a *yalı*,"[84] a kind of waterside mansion familiar from Istanbul (see fig. 25). Rather than reflecting an inability to understand foreign forms, this type of translation reveals the extent to which travelers in this period of increased East-West contact were primed to recognize something of their own in the culture of the ostensible other. It is against the background of this robust dialogue that we must understand the cross-cultural transfers and reformulations that inform so much of the period's artistic production.

FIG. 26. Château de Chambord, 1519–47.

FIG. 27. Ottoman incense burner, late seventeenth–early eighteenth century. Tinned copper.

FIG. 28. English table clock made by Markwick Markham for the Ottoman market, London, ca. 1765. Ormolu-mounted red tortoiseshell. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.



THE AGE OF MASTER BUILDERS: THE CHANGING FIELD OF ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE

As well as being a time of notable stylistic developments, Ahmed's reign saw significant shifts in the field of architectural practice itself, at least with regard to elite construction in Istanbul. Whether these resulted from the contemporary changes in taste or gave rise to them is difficult to judge, and it is safer and probably more accurate to imagine the two processes as being intertwined and mutually reinforcing. In any event, the altered professional landscape that emerged in the early 1700s was to obtain for the rest of the century, and would play an increasingly important role in facilitating the more radical architectural innovations of the years following Ahmed's reign.

The shifts in question began with the loosening of the traditional institutional framework of the *miʿmārān-ı ḫāṣṣa*, the corps of imperial architects, which, in addition to architects proper, encompassed specialists in a range of skills including carpentry, painting, and stonemasonry.[85] Established in post-conquest Istanbul, the corps grew during the sixteenth century into a well-organized and highly efficient state office under the chief architect Sinan, whose own role combined the duties of a creative director and minister of public works.[86] For most of the seventeenth century, the corps' membership numbered between thirty and forty men (up from the seven or eight who composed it before Sinan's tenure), with about one-third of these individuals being Ottoman Greeks and Armenians.[87] This sizable Christian contingent reflected—and in fact underrepresented—the involvement of non-Muslims more generally in Istanbul's construction industry, where they usually accounted for more than half the workforce.[88] Little seems to have changed in the corps' post-classical organization and makeup until the last years of the seventeenth century. In 1691, an investigation by the chief architect found the corps to be overstaffed, and the number of members listed in the yearly wage registers suddenly dropped from thirty-four to eleven, with only one Christian remaining. Even before this slash in membership, the non-Muslim element had fallen from nine out of thirty-four men in 1685–85 to two out of thirty-four in 1688–89. The corps remained in this much-reduced state until 1696–97, when it was joined by two additional Muslims. It was also at this time that its members ceased receiving their salaries from the palace's *küçük rūznāmçe* office, which remunerated state employees on a monthly basis, and instead began to be paid out of the *ḫarc-ı ḫāṣṣa*, the privy purse of the imperial household. This switch was made at the request of the chief architect, who perhaps felt that the privy purse was a surer source of income.[89] After this date, the corps no longer appears in the annual küçük ruznamçe registers, and nor can its members be found listed in the far less systematic records of the harc-ı hassa. Tracing the group's history from this point onward is thus extremely difficult.[90]

The reasons for these institutional changes remain obscure. One factor may have been the Austro-Ottoman war of 1683–97, which took a large toll on the empire (resulting in the Treaty of Karlowitz) and might well have created an unfavorable environment for architectural patronage. It is also possible that the corps, which continued to be based in Istanbul, suffered from the court's long absence from the capital during the second half of the seventeenth century. But this cannot have been the whole story. A peculiar detail of the late seventeenth-century wage registers is the sudden drop in the number of non-Muslim members even before the corps was more generally reduced. Given that Christian architects were, as we shall see, actually growing in prominence at this time, their rapid departure from the corps suggests that we are dealing less with a significant decrease in architectural activity than with a transformation of the building profession itself. The imperial corps appears to have lost its preeminence as teams of builders outside the official institutional framework came to the fore in the years around 1700. Alongside this shift, the chief architect's creative input began to dwindle, and the post became increasingly nominal and bureaucratic.

These developments are vividly recorded in the Latin history of the Ottoman Empire written by Dimitrie Cantemir (r. 1693, 1710–11; d. 1723), the erudite Moldavian noble who was twice appointed Prince of Moldavia by the Ottomans before rebelling against them and fleeing to Russia. From 1687 to 1710, between his two short reigns, Cantemir was effectively exiled in Istanbul, which makes his description of the city's architects an important firsthand account.[91] He begins by relating the duties of the chief architect, the *miʿmār aġa*, who emerges as something between a department head and inspector:

> His principal business is to oversee all the new buildings in *Constantinople* and the Suburbs, and take care that they do not exceed the height allowed. He hath the inspection of all common builders, usually called *Calfa* [*ḳalfa*] or *Chalife* [*ḫalīfe*]; and can punish or fine them, if they bring out any building but a finger's breadth further than they should into

> the street, if they make an oblique angle, or build too slightly, even though the owner should not complain. It often happens that the *Mimar aga* knows not so much as what a cubit is, nor understands the least thing of architecture; for being a place of profit, it is given not to the best architect, but to him that is most in favour with the Vizir. A man cannot build what he pleases, unless he has first bribed the *Mimar aga* with presents.[92]

Particularly interesting here is the ambiguous relationship suggested between the chief architect and those whom Cantemir calls "common builders." Derived from the Arabic *khalīfa*, or lieutenant (whence also the English "caliph"), the terms *ḫalīfe* and *ḳalfa* were synonyms, the latter being more usually applied to non-Muslims.[93] The sense of "assistant architect" implied by the words' etymology is somewhat misleading: though many halifes and kalfas did indeed work under the chief architect within the imperial corps, others appear to have operated at least semi-independently and would best be described as master builders in their own right. Cantemir indicates as much by describing the sometimes troubled interaction between these builders and the chief architect, who can hardly have been in full control of them if he saw fit to penalize their infringements.

Among this emergent group of "common builders," the non-Muslim kalfas were especially important. Having noted the restrictions placed on Christian houses and churches, Cantemir goes on with a hint of irony to tell us of the Ottomans' reliance on Christians for their own major projects:

> But when they have any considerable edifice to build, as a *Jami* [congregational mosque] or a palace, they make use of *Greek* or *Armenian* Architects. For these last are excellent workmen; whereas the *Turks* can seldom or never arrive at any perfection. Which is not owing to their natural stupidity: for, by their skill in the Mathematicks and other sciences, they plainly show, that they are, if not superior, yet at least no way inferior in understanding, to other nations; but the reason is, because the more noble *Turks*, or such as have been ennobled on account of their learning and courage, . . . though they apply themselves to the Mathematicks, yet abhor all handy-crafts, as mean, and unbecoming their nobility.[94]

The rise of these Greek and Armenian architects was a striking development (see fig. 23). While non-Muslim builders and craftsmen had always played a large role in Ottoman architecture, they had previously done so in the context of the imperial corps. Their emergence as an enterprising and semiautonomous force—contracted by the chief architect but not necessarily part of the state apparatus—marked a new phase, and one that would permanently affect the course of Ottoman architectural practice.[95]

Sources from later years bear out the changes indicated by Cantemir. Registers of the architects' corps are sporadic after the switch from the küçük ruznamçe, but two lists surviving from 1761–62 and 1801 show that its numbers had once again risen, reaching fifty-two men by the time of the later document. Yet only one of the named individuals—a kalfa among the thirty-five or so members of the 1761–62 register—is a non-Muslim, despite the overwhelming predominance of Greek and Armenian architects in these years.[96] Though once again well staffed, the corps was a different kind of organization by the later eighteenth century, focused on specialized engineering tasks: indeed, the 1801 list was drawn up shortly after the corps was absorbed into the Imperial School of Engineering (Mühendisḫāne-i Berrī-i Hümāyūn), which had been established in 1795.[97] The corps' almost exclusively Muslim members now worked alongside autonomous teams of Christian kalfas who had become the driving force behind civil architecture, with the chief architect playing an administrative role as the nominal head of operations. The high degree of independence enjoyed by Christian masters in this new climate is demonstrated by the case of the Greek kalfa Kozma, who, having distinguished himself as a stoneworker at the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, successfully appealed in 1762 for permission to open his own timber shop in Tophane.[98] These far-reaching professional developments were somewhat belied by the persistence of official discriminatory measures that insisted on a Muslim chief architect and denied Christian builders the title of miʿmar (architect) proper, a situation that prevailed into the late nineteenth century.[99]

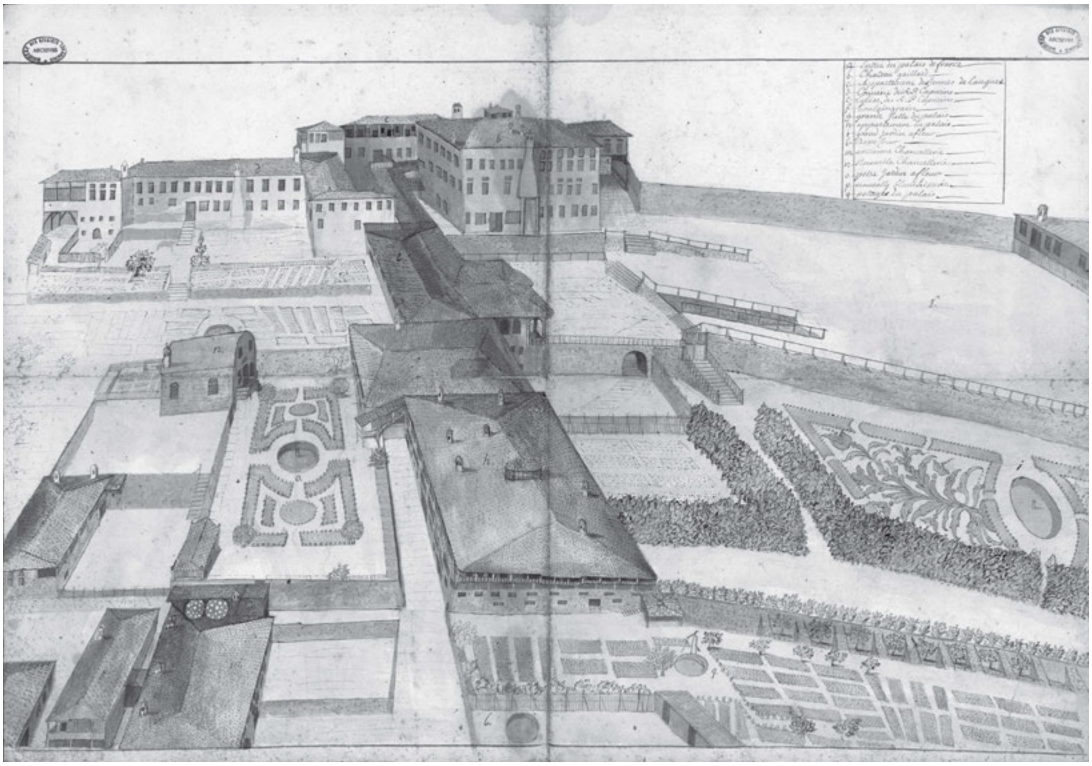
To return to the early eighteenth century, it is difficult to determine the precise reasons for the kalfas' swift ascendency at this time. Cantemir's explanation—that the mathematically minded Muslims turned their nose up at manual arts—is certainly simplistic, but it may reflect a distinctive prestige that the architectural profession had acquired among the Greek and Armenian communities, whose ability to make careers for themselves was limited in certain other spheres of Ottoman life (the bureaucracy, for example). As well as offering opportunities for occupational advancement, the building trade also allowed non-Muslims to distinguish themselves in ways that made a virtue of their dhimmi (non-Muslim subject) status. In particular, they benefited from the unparalleled access they had to Europe through their communities' long-standing mercantile networks, using their knowledge of international trends to answer and even fuel the increasingly cosmopolitan tastes of the period, a point I shall expand upon in chapter 2. It was, in short, their entrepreneurial willingness to respond to the changing times with their own characteristic resources that allowed non-Muslim architects to flourish as they did in the eighteenth century.

A fascinating though neglected record of this new professional landscape is a report written in 1722 by the French royal architect Pierre Vigné de Vigny (d. 1772), who had been sent to Istanbul from Paris to draw up plans for the renovation of the Palais de France, the French embassy.[100] Established in about 1600 and located north of the Golden Horn in the district of Pera, where most of Istanbul's foreign residents lived, the Palais had already twice been rebuilt, most recently in the 1670s after a fire. Nevertheless, it had fallen into disrepair by 1721, when the ambassador Bonnac initiated plans to reconstruct it as an edifice that would, to quote Vigny, "befit the grandeur of our nation, which is the most highly regarded in this country."[101] The timing of the project—more or less coincident with Saʿdabad—is in itself significant, further demonstrating the competitive and showy spirit that fueled architectural patronage in this period. Written in Istanbul nearly six months after his arrival there, Vigny's report is rich in information on the city's building trade, whose practices and resources he set about researching. And because it concerns a project that was not sponsored by the state or a member of the court, the report is especially important for what it tells us of Ottoman architects and craftsmen working outside the imperial institutional framework, even if the construction would ultimately require the approval of the chief miʿmar.

Vigny begins his report with a description of the Palais's existing state, supplementing his account with views and diagrams (fig. 29). These images show that the grounds of the embassy were laid out in the formal French manner, with parterres and a jetted pool. The Palais itself, however, is both described and depicted as an entirely Ottoman affair, an irregular wooden construction with hipped roofs, inset wooden domes, and projecting outdoor galleries. This indicates that Western models in landscaping and waterworks had already made their way to Istanbul by this period, even as building techniques remained local in nature. The designers of Saʿdabad need not, then, have looked far for such models when creating the palace's garden. As for the Palais's architecture, Vigny is highly critical of its Ottoman mode of timber construction, which he likens to "the wooden cabins our peasants make in France." Rejecting the explanation that such architecture better withstood earthquakes, he instead attributes its ubiquity in Istanbul to "the extreme ignorance of the workers and the poor choice of materials."[102]

Vigny was nevertheless a pragmatist, and he saw that to rebuild the Palais without reference to its Ottoman context would have been impracticable and prohibitively expensive. He therefore turned away from his initial plan, which was "to build the palace entirely of stone and [do] the rest according to the method of Paris," and contented himself with a sort of Franco-Turkish mélange that would feature decorations "in the Turkish style." Some of these local techniques are praised in Vigny's report as "so beautiful and novel that our French people would not be disgusted by them," and he is especially approving of Ottoman paneled ceilings, which he says "are infinitely more beautiful than those of France and produce an admirable effect." They would, he adds, work very well in the Palais's audience hall, whose walls could be hung with portraits of the French kings.[103] Vigny's proposed fusion of styles capitalizes to a large degree on the cross-cultural legibility of artistic forms that we saw reflected earlier in Lady Mary's writings. He likens the Ottoman tilework intended for some of the embassy's walls to the faience cladding of the carp pool at Marly, adding that such decoration "produces a rather beautiful effect." And after suggesting that fleurs-de-lis be placed "in as many places as possible," he notes that these flowers "already pass for ornaments among the Turks themselves," occurring, for example, on Ottoman ships.[104] True to his words, Vigny's accompanying designs for the new Palais essentially show a wooden Ottoman mansion with a few Europeanizing elements—notably a more regular floor plan and window arrangement, a main entrance set within a pedimented semivault, and fleurs-de-lis finials on the roofs (fig. 30). So "Turkish" was the overall result that Vigny was compelled to revise his proposal after returning to Paris. The modified scheme, which incorporated rusticated stone façades, was never realized, probably because of the expense it entailed, and the Palais would remain in its seventeenth-century state until it was reconstructed in a Neoclassical mode in the 1770s.[105]

To return to Vigny's design as it was originally conceived, his decision to build in a local manner was based largely on his dependence on a native workforce. He is as am-



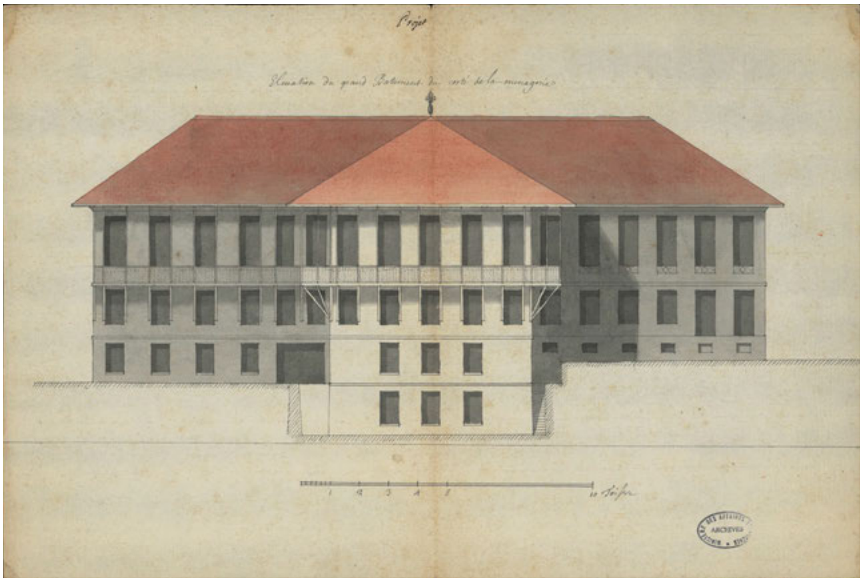


FIG. 29. Pierre Vigné de Vigny, aerial view of the Palais de France in Istanbul, 1722. Ink and wash on paper. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes.

FIG. 30. Pierre Vigné de Vigny, proposed design for the rebuilding of the Palais de France in Istanbul, 1722. Ink and wash on paper. Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes.

bivalent in his report about these local builders as he is about the Ottoman style itself, though his willingness to collaborate with them suggests that his recognition of their expertise outweighed his predictable complaints about their perceived shortcomings:

> I consulted not only my own eyes but also certain architects of my acquaintance who, despite their ignorance in many matters, still possessed as much knowledge in some others, from which I profited. This was not without trouble: the difficulty of their language, which was more unknown to me than their manner of building (for they have a jargon in their art just as we do in ours), was a great obstacle.[106]

While cognizant of what he had to learn from his Ottoman counterparts, Vigny believed that they too stood to be educated, and to this end, he intended to nominate eight French craftsmen to guide them “to work in the French manner.” Introducing such techniques into their work would, he opines, “not produce a bad effect,” and the resultant building, although no match for the town halls of France, would at least “be something more perfect than one [currently] sees in Constantinople.”[107] Patronizing as they are, these words ultimately bespeak the lively nature of the Ottoman architectural profession, with Vigny acknowledging the existence of accomplished and informed architects and of capable and willing craftsmen, even if he considers them to be in the minority. He also makes clear that these individuals were working in a well-defined industry that had its own professional terminology and that flourished outside the state system.

The builders with whom Vigny dealt included both Muslims and Christians, as evidenced by his complaint that “the Armenians and Turks do everything with elbow grease and scaffolding” (*a force de bras et d[’]echafauds*) because of their ignorance of machinery.[108] This reference to Turks and Armenians mirrors Cantemir’s mention of (Muslim) halifes and (Christian) kalfas, with “Armenian” serving as a shorthand for all Ottoman Christians. Vigny uses the same nomenclature when elaborating his criticism of Ottoman timber construction, in what is perhaps the most important passage of his report:

> I forgive the Turks for building in a manner so light that they cannot even be sure of transmitting their houses to their heirs, for it is an almost unpardonable crime to appear rich. But unfortunately, all the foreigners and Christians inhabiting that country [also] conform to this manner, and it has become customary; and I believe that they will never change given their natural indolence, which robs them of an inclination for the arts; and if not for the Armenians who are many in number, and if not for the presence of some renegades from Europe, I believe that it would be even worse.[109]

The distinction that Vigny here draws between Muslim incompetence and (relative) Christian skill was a hackneyed assertion among Europeans, echoing the sentiments of Cantemir, but his reference to renegades is new and noteworthy. Given that he does not mention these individuals again, it would be tempting to dismiss the significance of Vigny’s remark if not for an unpublished corroborating document I found in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul. This document—a petition to the sultan dated 1710—was evidently written by an Ottoman scribe on behalf of the unnamed individual it concerns. Its content is remarkable enough to be quoted in full:

> May God, Exalted and Almighty, render immaculate the imperial being of His Most Excellent and Noble Majesty my Sovereign, Amen.
>
> The petition of his slave is this: That this slave of his is of the people of the land of France, and being that I have perfect proficiency in the art of architecture [*ṣanʿat-ı miʿmārīde kemāl-i mahāretim olup*], I have the ability to build such great buildings as fortresses, great mosques, and great bridges, as well as the proficiency to create and produce such wondrous arts as that of skillfully bringing my Noble Sovereign’s galleons ashore and lowering them back into the water when necessary—arts that would, with the

> help of God Almighty, keep each of our Noble Emperor's galleons from rotting for a hundred years; because of which I have come before the Imperial Stirrup with the desire to be taken into its service, and to be honored before it with the honor of Islam, under the guidance of my countryman and his [the sultan's] slave, the doctor Mehmed. So that, after [my conversion to] Islam, I might be taken into my Noble Sovereign's exalted service and not be in need of anyone [else], and so that this slave of his, after being honored with Islam, might join the ranks of the slaves of the Imperial Stirrup and be spared hardship, I have presented my petition to his Imperial Stirrup.
>
> The decision is my Gracious Sovereign's to make.[110]

This was not the first time a Western artist hoped to build for an Ottoman sultan—witness, for example, Leonardo da Vinci's (d. 1519) unfulfilled project to construct a bridge over the Golden Horn for Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512).[111] Nor would it have been unprecedented for a European architect to be accepted into the Ottoman state's service, as demonstrated by the case of the Portuguese captain Francesco, who was active during the 1530s as a naval architect in the imperial corps.[112] Indeed, the later eighteenth century would see a large number of Europeans—in particular Britons, Frenchmen, and Swedes—find employ as shipbuilders, which is interesting in light of the emphasis placed by our petitioner on his skills in naval engineering.[113] Whether or not he was accepted into imperial service is unknown—for one thing, his adoption of a Muslim name would have made him all but untraceable as a Frenchman in subsequent records. Based on Vigny's largely reliable if prejudicial account, it seems safe to say that such renegade architects could be found working at least outside the imperial corps, and this may provide further context for understanding the increase of novel cross-cultural elements in Ottoman building during the eighteenth century.

Nevertheless—and in the absence of further records—the idea of Western involvement in the Ottoman architectural profession should not be exaggerated. There is little to indicate that any European architects played a role in imperial building until the very end of the eighteenth century, even after which such participation would remain unusual. The evidence for renegades is scarcer still: beyond the anonymous petition and Vigny's report, references to such convert architects are absent from the Ottoman and European sources, which rather confirm the predominance of native non-Muslim kalfas. Even Vigny says nothing to suggest that these renegades could be found in any sizable number—if they could, he would presumably have suggested recruiting them instead of the Ottoman builders he describes with such condescension.

But if the petition has little overall impact on how we reconstruct Istanbul's eighteenth-century building trade, it is far more significant for what it implies of the period's cross-cultural mobility and receptivity. The petitioner's eagerness to emphasize his French origins shows that he, perhaps along with his translator, felt his Western background to be a selling point. This in turn evinces the cosmopolitan setting in which such foreign know-how would be deemed a desirable supplement to local tradition. While outsiders like our petitioner may have benefited from and contributed to this stylistically diversified milieu, its originators and principal shapers were Ottoman artists themselves. Their fluency in European forms would, as we shall see, only increase in subsequent years, and it is their later output that best reveals how and why eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture engaged so productively with the arts of the West.

A FALSE START? THE LEGACY OF THE "TULIP ERA"

There is an established misconception that Ahmed III's fall in 1730 was marked by the wholesale destruction of Saʿdabad, the frenzied act of a population seething at the excesses of the court. In fact, it was the 120 or so elite residences located near the palace that were razed, following a decree by Ahmed's nephew and successor, Mahmud I; Saʿdabad itself was left undamaged and would remain standing until 1809, when it was rebuilt.[114] Depictions of the palace and its grounds from the second half of the eighteenth century show what continued to be a flourishing site of leisure around a royal complex, complete with its famed serpent jet (see figs. 7, 8). Indeed, far from being an object of popular condemnation, Saʿdabad was, as I have discussed, a persuasive part of the sultan's image-making apparatus, even if the empire's worsening financial circumstances did lead to widespread frustration with İbrahim Pasha's regime. That the rebels of the Patrona Halil Revolt focused their anger on Saʿdabad's satellites rather than the palace proper shows that it was against administrative mismanagement that they were reacting, not imperial spectacle per se.

The association of Ahmed's reign with moral decrepitude did not take long to emerge, however, and with it came a certain conflation of the period's perceived extravagances and its architecture. Writing in the late eighteenth century on the construction of Saʿdabad, the unofficial—and mostly uncomplimentary—historian Şemʿdanizade Süleyman Efendi (d. 1779) accused İbrahim Pasha of having "permitted the spread of vice and debauchery in the pavilions that were being built," as when the vizier supposedly bantered with convict laborers about their flirtations with Jewish women at the site.[115] Such viewpoints reflect the biases of a later commentator more than they do the realities of the time in question, but it is nonetheless significant that the material legacy of Ahmed's reign offered little that might counteract this impression of frivolity. The lavish patronage of what came to be known as the "Tulip Era" centered on pavilions and festivities, and though these were serious and effective endeavors in their own day, they lent themselves to being appropriated into later narratives of indecorousness.

Notable in this regard is the fact that Ahmed's sultanate failed to endow the reinvested capital with a new mosque erected in his name. To be sure, the comprehensive building campaign accompanying his rule did include a number of religious foundations, but the sultan's own role in this realm was inconsequential. Çorlulu Ali Pasha (d. 1711), one of İbrahim's predecessors as grand vizier, established a mosque-madrasa complex in 1708–9, and in 1720, İbrahim himself built a *dārü'l-ḥadīs̱* (a college for studying the traditions of the Prophet) accompanied by a masjid (a small chapel mosque) and an exquisitely carved sebil. Situated in the center of Istanbul along its principal thoroughfare, these works constituted important additions to the city, though both are rather compact affairs whose mosques form very small components.[116] Eclipsing them in grandeur is the mosque complex that Ahmed's mother, Emetullah

Rabiʿa Gülnuş Sultan (d. 1715), erected in Üsküdar between 1708 and 1710, to be discussed further in chapter 3 (see fig. 93). While much of the literature erroneously claims that this mosque was built by the sultan in his mother's name, sources from the period, together with the monument's own inscription, announce the work as her own.[117] Thus Ahmed himself was far outshone in this branch of patronage by his ministers and mother, and even her mosque, royal as it is, technically stands outside the capital proper in one of its suburbs. Perhaps it is partly for these reasons that the architectural idiom developed under Ahmed would not long outlast him before giving way to a different approach, one that restored the centrality of religious construction while embracing even more thoroughly the potential of stylistic change. This new mode—the Ottoman Baroque—would prove a far more enduring statement of Istanbul's roused imperial status than the architecture of the so-called Tulip Era.

CHAPTER 2

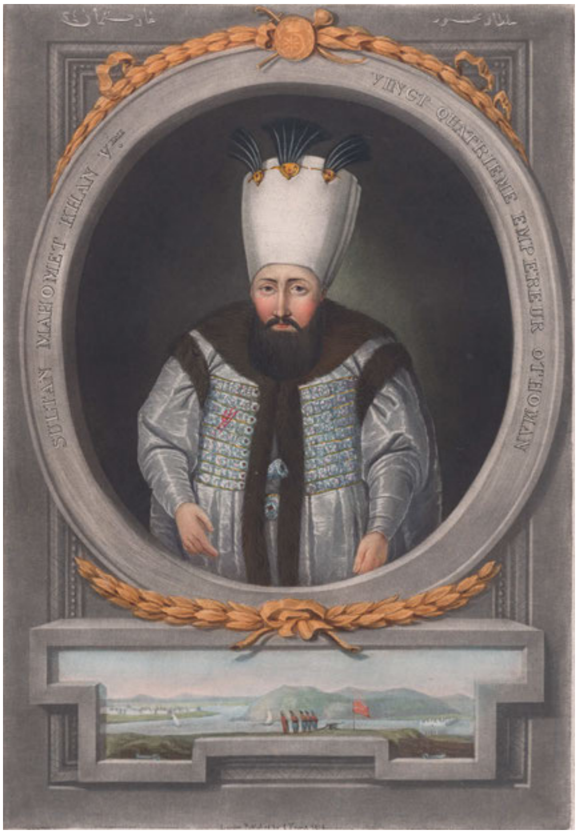
PLEASING TIMES AND THEIR "PLEASING NEW STYLE"

MAHMUD I AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE OTTOMAN BAROQUE

Mahmud I cut an unlikely figure as sultan when he ascended the throne in 1730 (fig. 31). A hunchback in his thirties who had spent his life in princely seclusion, Mahmud owed his unexpected rise to the violent revolt that had brought down his uncle Ahmed III. The mutineers intended to make a puppet of the new sultan, and their leader, Patrona Halil, even rode beside him as he went to the shrine complex of Eyüp to be girded as ruler. But Mahmud would soon emerge a far more capable leader than anticipated.[1] Backed by his government and by a population weary of the rebels' unruly behavior, the sultan ordered the execution of Halil and his men before suppressing an ensuing janissary rebellion in 1731. Istanbul's merchants and craftsmen, many of them Christians and Jews, were particularly supportive of Mahmud, hoping for more stable trading conditions and further encouraged by the sultan's promise to rescind the taxes of his predecessor.[2] Lord Kinnoull (d. 1758), the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte, remarks in a contemporary dispatch that the rebels "have made the Grand Signor stronger by showing the Janissaries that the merchants and tradesmen of the city will always be ready to join his favor unless he should make himself hated by some new impression."[3] As if to bear out these words, a rebellion caused by food shortages nine years later mobilized little popular support, and even the janissaries joined in swiftly crushing it.[4]

The success with which Mahmud established his authority in the capital was reflected in his international dealings. War with Iran continued intermittently until 1746, and though the conflict had no clear winner, the Ottomans came out of it relatively well, holding on to the hotly contested city of Baghdad. The situation on the western front, meanwhile, was notably more favorable. A Russian attack on the Ottoman Black Sea port of Azov sparked war between the two empires in 1736, with the Habsburgs joining the fray a year later in support of their Russian allies. Despite facing the combined armies of two imperial foes, the Ottomans won a number of Balkan victories that forced Austria to concede defeat in September 1739 with the Treaty of Belgrade, which undid much of the damage of Passarowitz by restoring Serbia and other territories to Ottoman

FIG. 31. Portrait of Mahmud I (misidentified in the French caption as Mehmed V). By John Young after Konstantin Kapıdağlı, from Young, *A Series of Portraits of the Emperors of Turkey, from the Foundation of the Monarchy to the Year 1815* (London: William Bulmer & Co., 1815). Hand-colored mezzotint on paper.



control. The Habsburg surrender compelled the Russians to sign their own peace treaty at Niš a month later, and though the agreement gave them possession of Azov, it prevented their making further incursions into Ottoman land. Largely positive for the Ottomans, these negotiations secured a peace with Europe that would last until 1768, the longest in the empire's history.[5]

Mahmud's achievements at home and abroad have received scant recognition in modern historiography, where his reign has been largely overshadowed by the more turbulent years preceding and following it. Eighteenth-century observers, however, were rather more appreciative of the sultan's accomplishments, which lay precisely in his ability to keep his realm free of conflict. The official chronicler, Subhi (d. 1769), celebrated Mahmud's period as nothing less than an Ottoman renaissance, likening the sultan to his famed sixteenth-century ancestor Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66) and attributing to him the revival of the empire after a series of less illustrious reigns. Mahmud's conquests, according to Subhi, meant that "the entire human race came to enjoy tranquility and security under his just and equitable protection."[6] While such a rhapsodic portrayal is to be expected of a court historian, other writers, including Europeans under no obligation to flatter, also shared a high opinion of Mahmud. A dispatch written in 1750 by Sir James Porter (d. 1776), one of Kinnoull's successors as British ambassador, thus praises the sultan as "so humane & good a prince that none but the headless wretched, unthinking crowd can wish him ill."[7] Porter's viewpoint would be reaffirmed two years later when Mahmud, responding to public demand, executed his powerful and unpopular chief harem eunuch, Moralı

Beşir Agha (not to be confused with his predecessor Hacı Beşir Agha). Where a lesser ruler might have been tainted by association, Mahmud, as Porter tells us, handled the affair with aplomb:

> [T]he whole was concluded . . . with the greatest quiet, & Tranquility: The Grand Signior, having entertained, a numerous Populace with his usual Presence, Various Sports, & Magnificent Fireworks; Without any sign of disgust, or uneasiness on his, nor Rebellion on their side.
>
> This was enough, to convince the Publick, that there was no more, any Reason, to fear a Sudden Revolution in respect to the Grand Signior; Who since that Time, has appeared more Firm, and Secure on his Throne, than He ever was before; Governing alone; making the [Sublime] Porte, as formerly, the sole canal of his Power; and exerting Himself, with so much superiority and activity of Mind, as to shew himself a Prince of Resolution & Ability.[8]

Porter's words vividly attest to the importance of spectacle in asserting the sultan's legitimacy in the eyes of his subjects. Scholarly focus on the preceding "Tulip Era" has obscured the fact that Mahmud's reign, though lacking its own period label, was no less characterized by extravagant shows of sultanic magnificence. Another "Tulip Era" trait that continued, and indeed grew, under Mahmud was a culture of diplomacy. Having earned the title of ghazi (victor) after his army's defeat of the Habsburgs, the sultan avoided any further conflict with the West, instead preferring to cultivate good relations with his traditional enemies. Porter's predecessor, Sir Everard Fawkener (d. 1758), welcomed what he saw as an unprecedented development, remarking on the existence of "a greater connexion than ever between the Porte & the several Powers of Christendom," and Porter himself observed that "[t]here was never a time . . . in which the Grand Signior, was more firmly resolv'd to live in quiet, and friendship, with all his neighbours than the present."[9] The French, despite having mediated the two treaties of 1739, favored a more aggressive stance toward the Habsburgs and Russians and were less pleased with this new Ottoman pacifism, considering Mahmud too preoccupied with his taste for entertainment and luxury.[10]

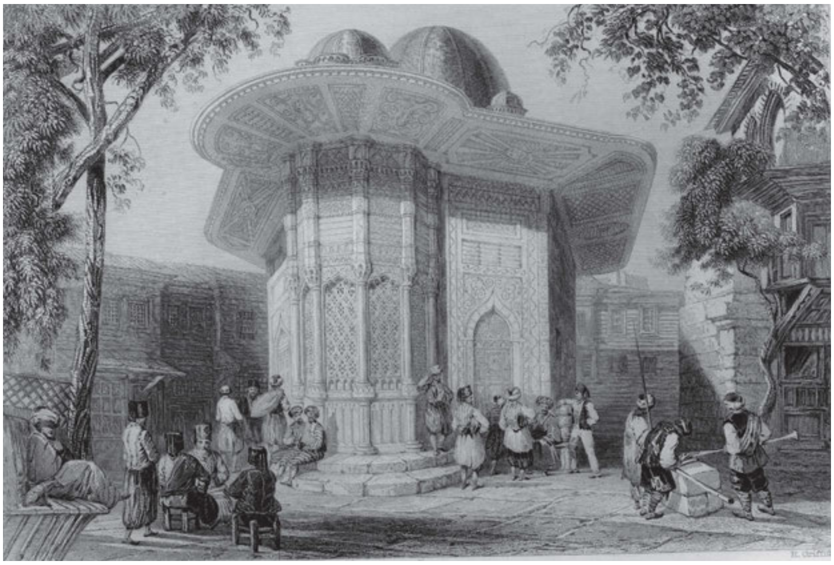
Nevertheless, France remained the empire's chief ally, and exchanges between the two powers intensified in these years. In 1741, partly to iron out issues arising from the Treaty of Belgrade, Mahmud sent Mehmed Saʿid Pasha to Paris as Ottoman ambassador, the same post that had been held by his father, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed, some twenty years earlier.[11] French residents within the empire further strengthened Franco-Ottoman ties. The enterprising manufacturer and merchant Jean-Claude Flachat (d. 1775) lived in Istanbul between 1740 and 1755, gaining the confidence of several influential members of the court, particularly the eunuchs, and eventually being appointed the sultan's *bezirgan başı*, or chief merchant, as recorded at length in the travel account he wrote upon his return to France.[12] Another important Frenchman in Ottoman service was Claude Alexandre, Comte de Bonneval (d. 1747), an aristocratic army officer who arrived in Istanbul in 1729, converted to Islam, and took the name Ahmed. While retaining ties with France even as a renegade, Bonneval was made a pasha and appointed to oversee reforms to the corps of bombardiers, a project that included the establishment of a military technical school (*hendeseḫāne*) in the suburb of Üsküdar in 1734.[13] This, the first Ottoman reform to draw on Western expertise, occurred against the backdrop of a treatise written and published in 1732 by İbrahim Müteferrika, who examined the reasons for the empire's recent military losses and suggested a course of action like that undertaken by Peter the Great of Russia.[14] Rather than signifying interminable decline, the measures pursued under Mahmud to strengthen the Ottoman army reveal a pragmatic and resourceful dialogue with the West. That the empire went on to do so well in its conflict with the Habsburgs is proof enough of the strategy's success.

Besides his fruitful endeavors in the political sphere, Mahmud had a deep and sustained interest in the arts, particularly architecture. He enthusiastically continued the refurbishment of Istanbul begun by Ahmed III and, within a matter of years, set the city on a new architectural course intended not only to outshine his predecessor's legacy, but also to monumentalize his own considerable achievements as sultan.

C-SCROLLS AND SEA CHANGE: THE STYLISTIC REVOLUTION OF THE 1740S

Mahmud demonstrated his eagerness to build from the very start of his reign, picking up Ahmed's mantle in a show of dynastic continuity. Indeed, his first major project—to provide much-needed water to the suburb of Galata—had been initiated by his predecessor in 1729, shortly before the change in regime. By bringing Ahmed's embryonic plan to fruition, Mahmud made the enterprise his own.[15] Central to the project was the construction of a major new hydraulic system—including the monumental Bahçeköy Aqueduct—to carry water from the Belgrade Forest, but for the inhabitants of Galata, the scheme's most obvious architectural consequence was the creation of some forty new fountains throughout the district. These were sponsored by various levels of the Ottoman elite and ranged from fairly small wall installations to large-scale freestanding buildings. Belonging to the latter type and prominently located along the shore, the three grandest were the meydan fountains of the grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha (d. 1758) at Kabataş, the *vālide sulṭān* (queen mother) Saliha Sultan (d. 1739) at Azapkapı, and Mahmud himself at Tophane (figs. 32, 33).[16] Although he funded only one of the fountains, the sultan was effectively able to claim responsibility for the lot, for it was his pursuit of the project that necessitated the involvement of other patrons in the first place. The official chronicler Mustafa Sami (d. 1734) thus discusses all the fountains collectively as "the charitable works of the Emperor of Islam," regardless of their individual sponsors, and he also tells us that the project's completion was marked by a royal ceremony where robes of honor were distributed.[17]

The fountains themselves make clear Mahmud's status as patron-in-chief. Their versified inscriptions almost invariably point to the preeminence of the sultan, hailing him as the bringer of water and the originator of the scheme. His own fountain—a massive marble-clad cube hosting multiple spigots and crowned by a broad-eaved dome—far outshines the others in scale and opulence, and a fulsome poem legibly inscribed along its upper walls leaves us in no doubt of Mahmud's patronal seniority:



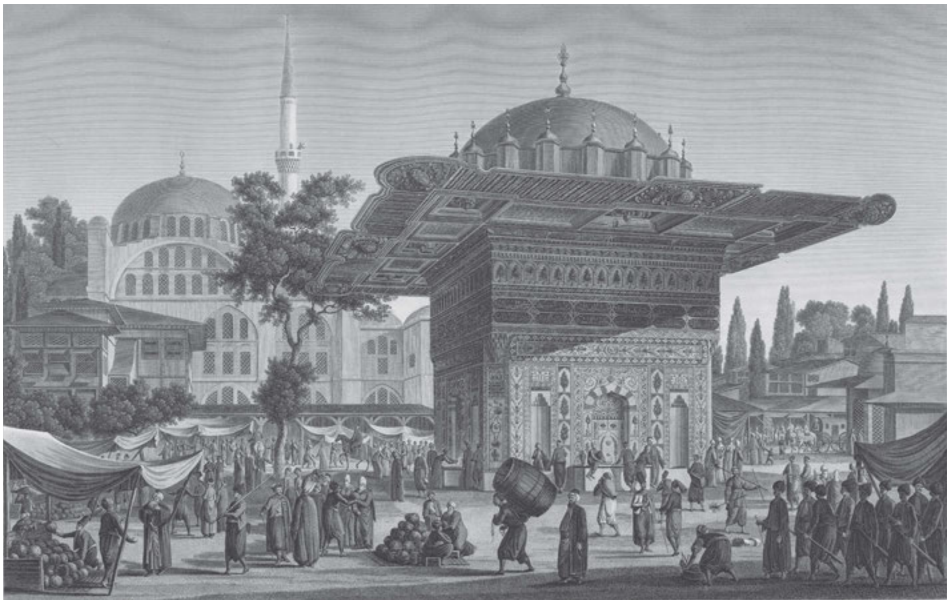


FIG. 32. View of the fountain of Saliha Sultan, Azapkapı, Istanbul, 1732. By Henry Griffiths after William H. Bartlett, from Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: G. Virtue, 1839). Engraving on paper.

FIG. 33. View of the Fountain of Mahmud I, Tophane, Istanbul, completed 1732, with the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque (1578–81) in the background. By Duparc after Antoine Ignace Melling, from Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris, Strasbourg, and London: Treuttel et Würtz, 1819). Etching on paper.

> Not only Tophane but all four directions
> Have been quenched with pure waters of boundless benevolence;
> Each of the fountains flows with grace,
> Raining goodness to put out the fire of thirst;
> Foremost among them stands this fountainhead,
> Its exalted imperial style being rich in ornament.[18]

The ornament to which the inscription refers is a dense program of marble carving that combines established Ottoman motifs like the muqarnas and arabesque with more novel forms suggestive of Iranian, European, or even Mughal inspiration, including fleshy vegetal scrolls and reliefs of potted fruit trees (fig. 34).[19] Like the project itself, this "exalted imperial style" came to Mahmud from the preceding period—it is the same "Tulip Era" manner exemplified by Ahmed III's fountain outside the Topkapı

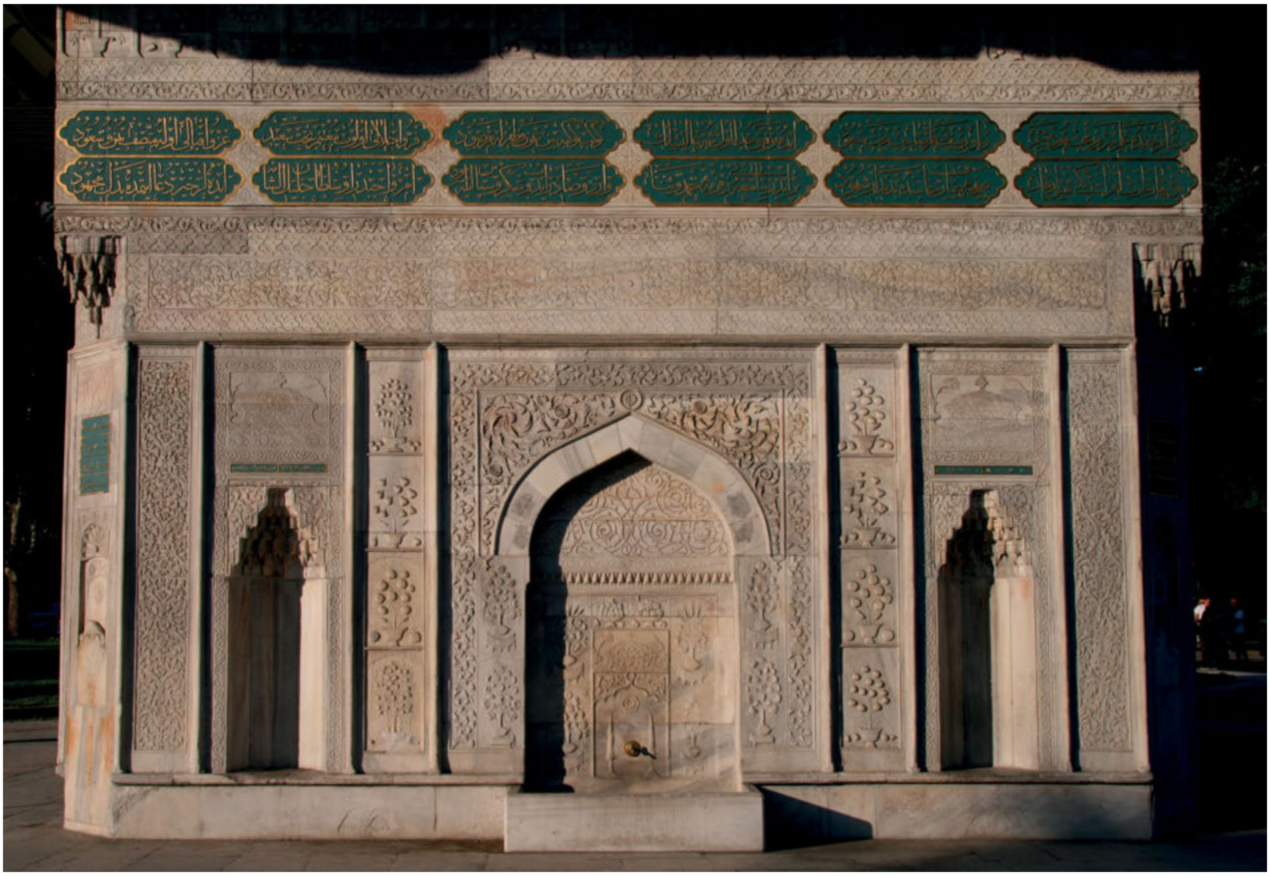


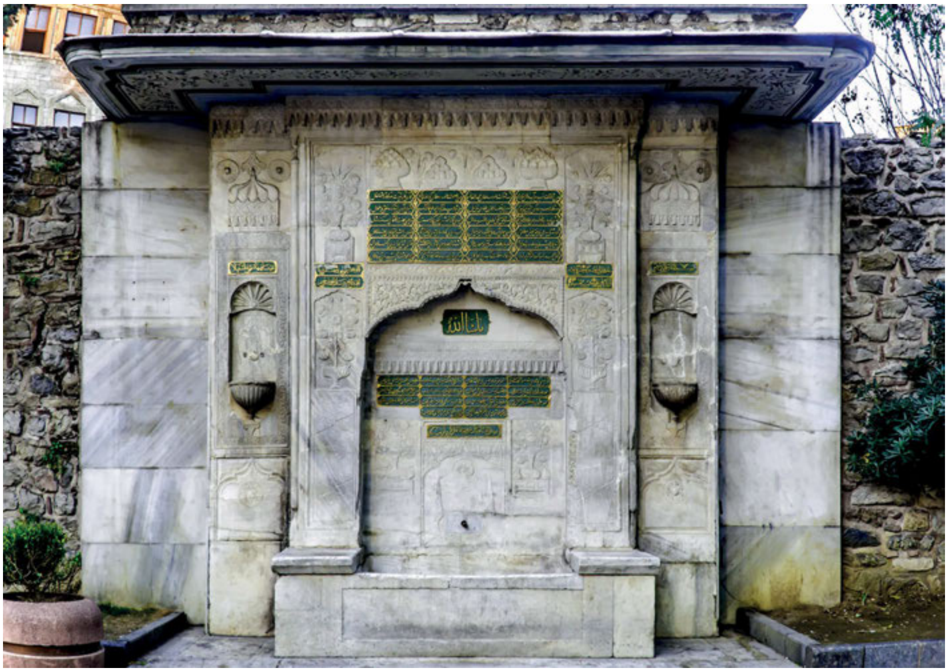
FIG. 34. Fountain of Mahmud I, façade clad in carved marble.

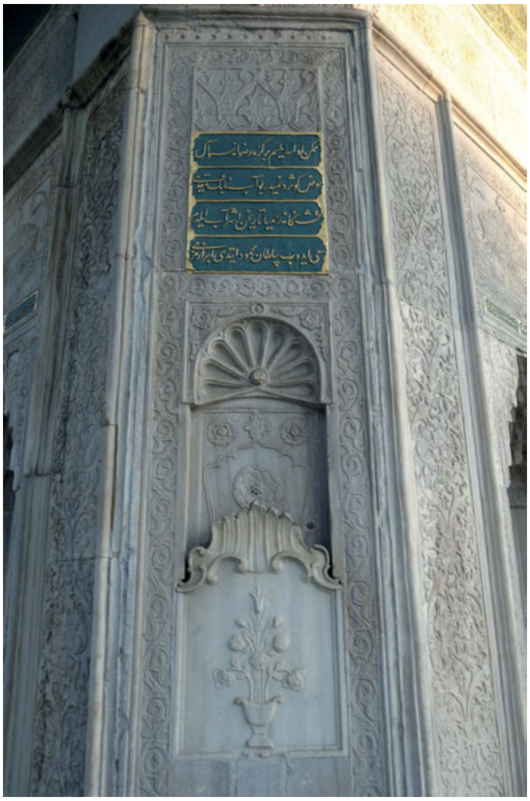
FIG. 35. (opposite top) Fountain of Defterdar Mehmed Efendi (known as the Bereketzade Fountain), Galata, Istanbul, 1732. (© Zeynep Ayse Kiyas Aslanturk / Dreamstime.com.)

FIG. 36. (opposite bottom) Fountain of Mahmud I, corner fitted with a later Baroque panel.

Palace as well as a smaller meydan fountain he had erected the same year in Üsküdar, on Istanbul's Asian shore.[20] The Tophane Fountain resembles a much-aggrandized reworking of the more compact, less decorated Üsküdar structure, and although lacking the multimedia polychromy and sinuous contours of its counterpart near the Topkapı Palace, it is taller and more edificial in appearance. Such competitive engagement with these earlier works allowed the recently enthroned Mahmud both to coopt and to rival the architectural mode associated with his predecessor.[21]

The visual, verbal, and ceremonial declaration of sultanic primacy that accompanied the Galata waterworks project is instructive for how we should understand changing patterns of patronage in eighteenth-century Istanbul. Recent scholarship has emphasized that a growing number of well-to-do denizens of the city had the means to commission architecture in this period, leading to a corresponding proliferation of smaller-scale, nonroyal structures that challenged the stricter social hierarchies of earlier years.[22] But the case of the Galata fountains, which represented members of the bureaucratic class as well as notables, shows that this burgeoning patronage base posed no real threat to royal predominance. On the contrary, the sultan was able to use this development to his advantage by essentially delegating work for which he would receive overall credit.[23] Far from diminishing the splendor of his own monument at Tophane, the fountains of Mahmud's subordinates acted as satellites to it, disseminating the "exalted imperial style" throughout Galata while referring back through their inscriptions and ornament to the scheme's sultanic centerpiece (fig. 35). The location of





the project added to its impact, for not only was Galata less built up than Istanbul's walled core, but it also lay adjacent to Pera, home to most of the capital's Western residents. The Tophane Fountain in particular became a famous landmark: European engravings depict it as the hub of a thriving marketplace (see fig. 33)—"the most busy and populous spot on the peninsula of Pera,"[24] to quote one nineteenth-century observer—where the sultan's beneficence could enjoy maximum visibility.

With its energetic richness, the "Tulip Era" style that Mahmud had inherited was well suited to his first major architectural undertaking. It did not, however, survive long into the new reign. At each of the four chamfered corners of the Tophane Fountain, fitted into an otherwise quintessential "Tulip Era" niche, is a panel carved with a bouquet and crowned by a feathery leaf-like pediment that, in true Baroque fashion, emerges from a broken arch of C-scrolls (fig. 36). Their undisguised relationship to European models instantly distinguishes these panels from the more synthesized decoration of the rest of the fountain, and both their design and their curious placement inside the niches (they block once-functional basins) reveal them to be later additions probably dating to the mid-eighteenth century.[25] The bold and unexpected way in which the panels announce themselves is emblematic of the Ottoman Baroque as a whole. It is an important yet neglected fact that the new style did not appear gradually, but rather burst onto the scene in an already developed form at the start of the 1740s, displacing the other architectural idioms of Istanbul within a decade. There had been little to anticipate this change even in the most cosmopolitan of "Tulip Era" buildings,

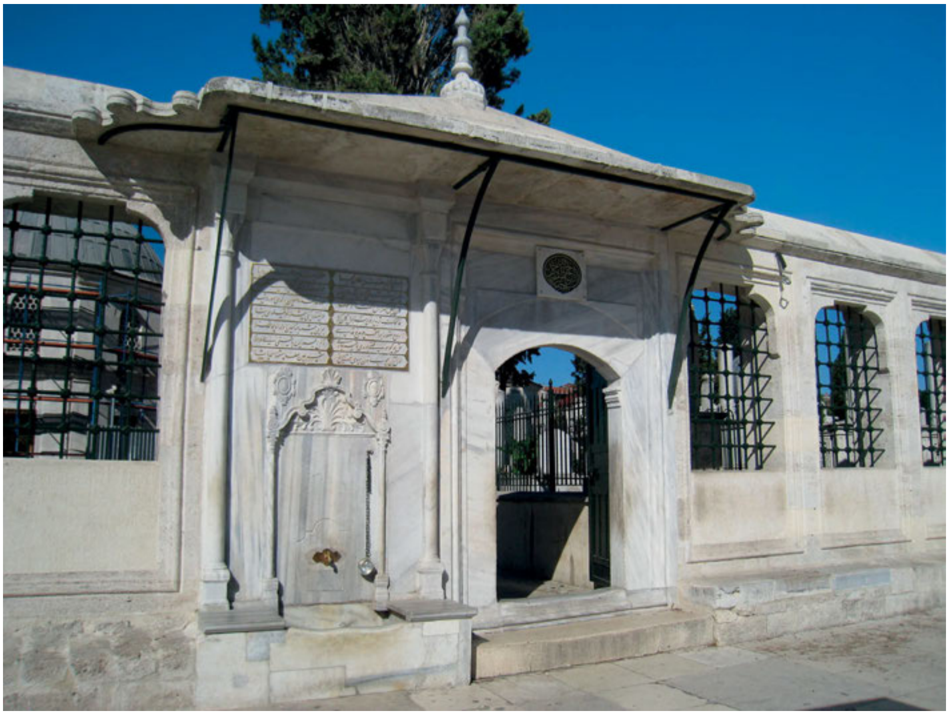
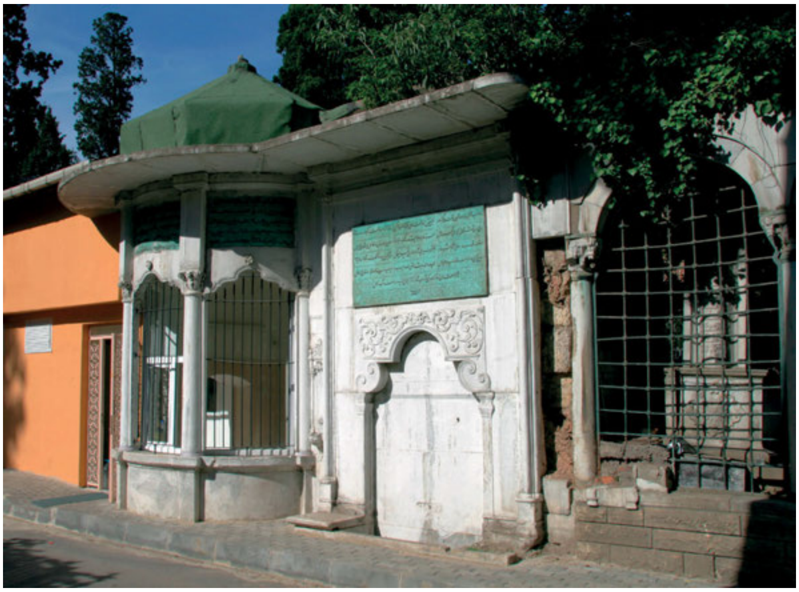


FIG. 37. Fountain of Nişancı Ahmed Pasha, fitted into the southwest wall of the cemetery of the Fatih Complex, Istanbul, 1741–42.

where Westernizing elements composed a relatively limited part of the overall mix. While the first third of the eighteenth century had certainly breathed new life into the architectural fabric of Istanbul, it had done so by revitalizing rather than repudiating the classical Ottoman manner, whose sober and circumscribed use of decorative carving thus gave way to a lush plasticity. This concentrated ornamental effect was retained by the Baroque, but it was now achieved using a different set of motifs far removed from earlier Ottoman practice: round and mixtilinear arches replaced pointed ones, muqarnas dissolved into curvilinear scrolls, and fleshy vegetal designs supplanted geometric arabesques. Whatever artistic freshness the "Tulip Era" had brought, the Baroque constituted an altogether more sweeping essay in stylistic novelty.

This transformation cannot be explained as reflecting popular or spontaneous changes in taste; such a rapidly far-reaching shift can only have been the result of a deliberate, concerted effort orchestrated at the highest levels, all the more so given that the four earliest dated examples of Ottoman Baroque architecture to survive are of elite patronage. Of these works, which all bear the Hijri (Islamic) date 1154 (March 1741–March 1742), three form a related group of outdoor water-providing structures. One is a wall fountain (originally belonging to a pair) commissioned by the grand vizier Nişancı Ahmed Pasha (d. 1753) and built as part of a new gate into the cemetery of the mosque complex of Mehmed the Conqueror (now known as the Fatih Mosque), among the most important sites in the whole city (fig. 37; see fig. 186).[26] The remaining two works in this group are sebil buildings, one near Dolmabahçe and the other next to the tomb of the thirteenth-century saint Karaca Ahmed (Karacaahmet) at the cemetery named after him in Üsküdar (figs. 38, 39).[27] They comprise in each case a bowfront sebil with a domical vault and grilled windows, and a flanking wall fountain set within a niche. Both buildings stand beside small graveyards fronted by arches, which were preexisting at Karacaahmet



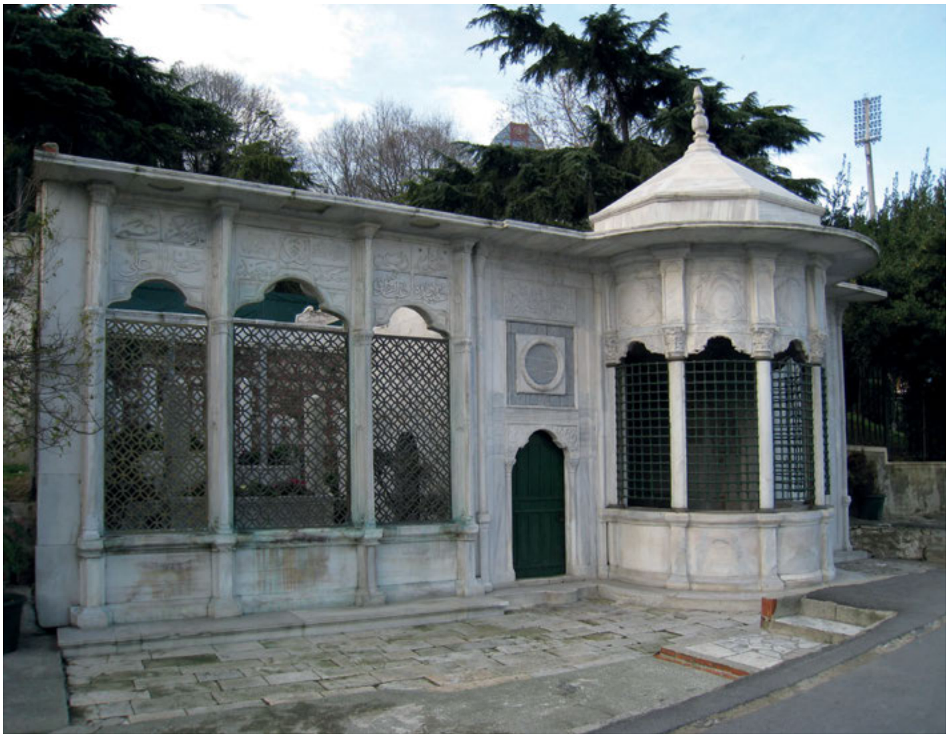


FIG. 38. Sebil of Saʿdeddin Efendi, Karacaahmet, Istanbul, 1741–42.

FIG. 39. Sebil of Mehmed Emin Agha, Dolmabahçe, Istanbul, 1741–42.

and constructed together with the sebil in the case of Dolmabahçe. At Karacaahmet, the graveyard contains the resting place of the patron, Saʿdeddin Efendi (d. 1759–60), who was the son of the chief military judge (*każʿasker*) Feyzullah Efendi and who dedicated the fountain to the memory of his deceased daughter. The founder of the Dolmabahçe structure, the cavalry captain (*sipāhī aġası*) Hacı Mehmed Emin Agha (d. 1743–44), is buried somewhat unusually in the sebil itself.

All three of these works are entirely clad in carved marble and exhibit a rich stock of Baroque motifs that include C- and S-scrolls, naturalistic vegetal designs, and Classicizing scallop shells. Most impressive of the group is Mehmed Emin's sebil,

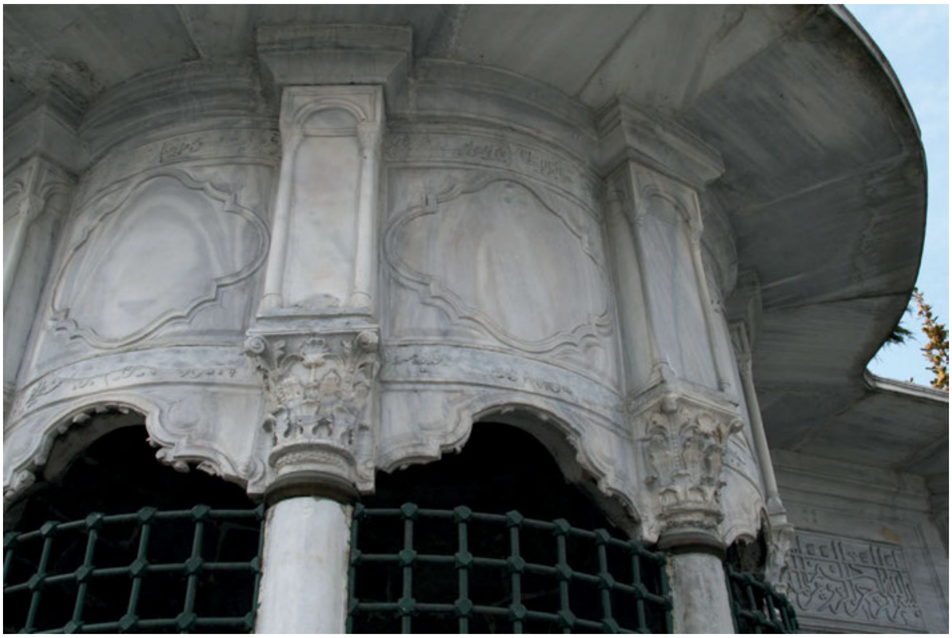
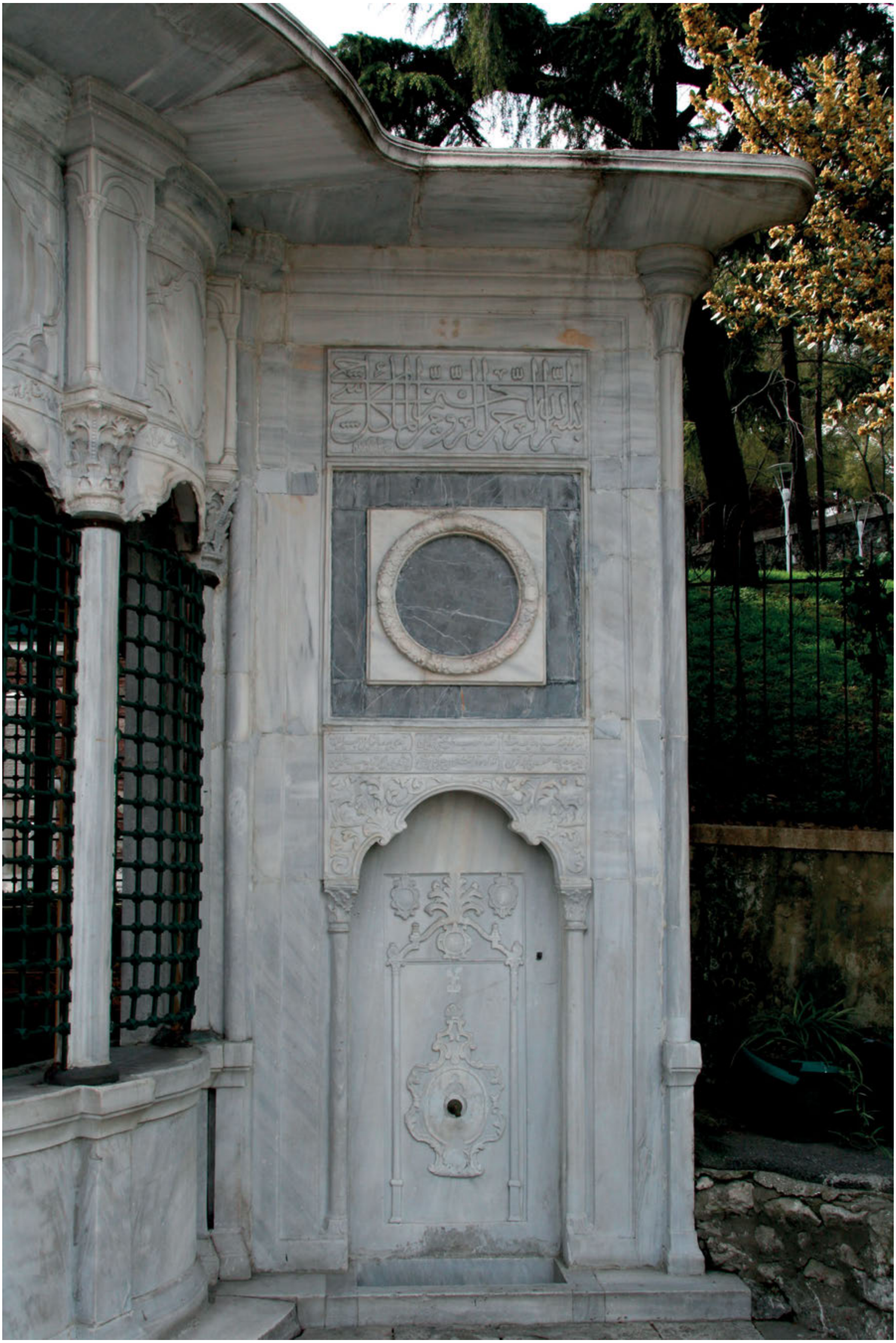


FIG. 40. (above) Sebil of Mehmed Emin Agha, upper part of the sebil kiosk.

FIG. 41. (opposite) Sebil of Mehmed Emin Agha, fountain niche flanking the sebil kiosk.

distinguished in particular by its column capitals, which are beautifully carved in close imitation of a true Corinthian, and by the gray stone roundels with garland frames that flank the projection (figs. 40, 41). Above these roundels, and appearing prominently elsewhere on the building, are traditionally calligraphed inscriptions, their presence casting into further relief the novelty of the rest of the scheme. The Karacaahmet sebil too has many of these features, including a cruder rendition of the Corinthian, while Ahmed Pasha's fountain niche closely echoes its counterpart at Mehmed Emin's building. These commonalities suggest that the same, or related, groups of artists were involved in the three projects; indeed, the overlaps between Ahmed Pasha and Mehmed Emin's works are precise enough to prove shared craftsmanship.

Something else the structures have in common is a remarkably confident, even audacious, treatment of the source material. The capitals of the Mehmed Emin sebil, for instance, elaborate the standard Corinthian model by adding bead molding to the underside of the corner volutes and replacing the central fleurons with shells. Such embellishment is in the same spirit as other varieties of Baroque, particularly the Italian, where playful enlivenment of the Classical orders is not infrequent. But in the Ottoman case, this unrestrained quality goes much further. The columns of the Mehmed Emin sebil thus support entablature-like blocks that, in stark contrast to their equivalents in European architecture, are carved to resemble blind arches springing from diminutive colonnettes. This uncanonical approach to European precepts runs throughout these pioneering Ottoman Baroque works, and is executed with such flair that the artists responsible must have been as cognizant of Western models as they were willing to reshape them. We are dealing, then, with an aesthetic that is original not only with reference to earlier Ottoman art, but also in relation to its own Baroque sources. While there is nothing obviously "Ottoman" about the way in which the motifs have been altered, the final effect is so distinctive and coherent that the revised forms, for all their foreign provenance, become inextricably tied to the locus of their modification,

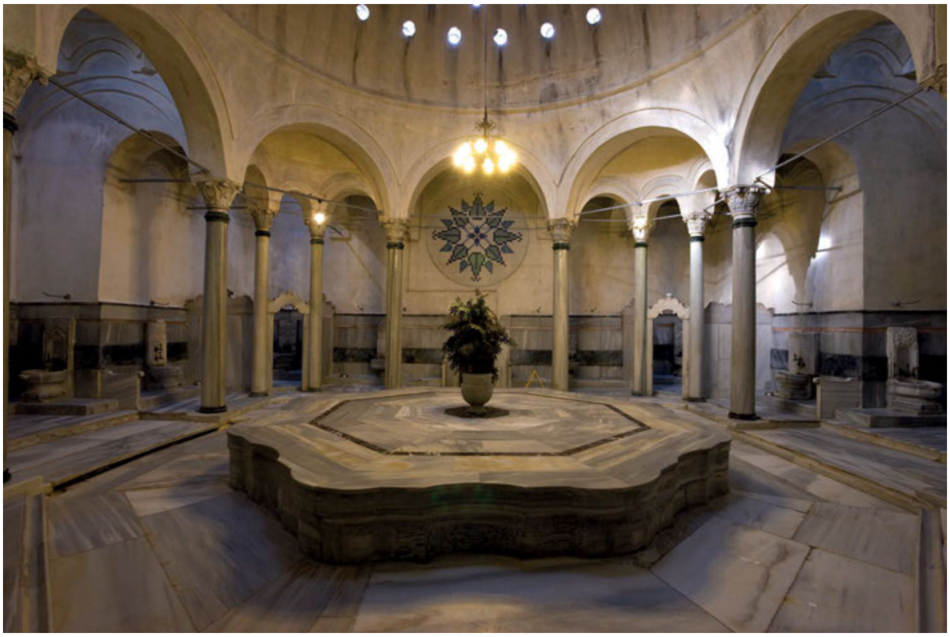


establishing themselves—and the structures they decorate—as products of Istanbul. In other aspects, too, the buildings are unmistakably localized: besides their plentiful incorporation of calligraphy, they remain typologically conservative, differing little from earlier sebils or fountains in plan and overall shape. Their relationship to local tradition does not, however, mitigate the sense of newness. It is precisely because they are recognizably Ottoman that the structures stand out so much from what came before them, just as the comparison they invite with European architecture only emphasizes their divergence from it.

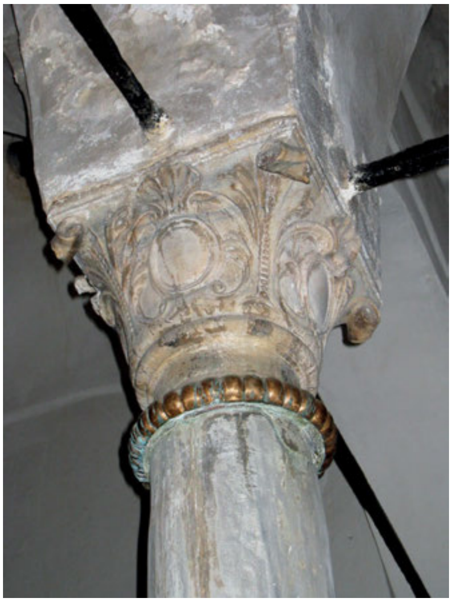
The importance of these first Ottoman Baroque works as an artistic watershed is underscored by their contemporaneity. Even allowing for the loss of material, it is notable that the earliest dated buildings in the style should have appeared all at once and with a stylistic repertoire that was already fully fledged, as if conceived behind the scenes before being brought into the cityscape. Why should these structures in particular have introduced such change? Neither the works' location nor individual patronage provides an obvious explanation for their novelty: they are spread across all three peninsulas of Istanbul, and there is nothing to suggest that the men who commissioned them had any special interest in fostering new fashions. Indeed, in the very year that his sebil was built, Mehmed Emin erected a wall fountain near the Fatih Mosque that is entirely traditional in appearance, consisting of a pointed-arched niche with rosettes in its spandrels.[28] Even the sebil itself demonstrates such coexistence of old and new, as inside the building, visible through its Baroque windows, are a muqarnas-hooded mihrab and a tombstone (Mehmed Emin's own) ornamented with arabesques.

To turn to the works' inscriptions, these too shed no direct light on questions of taste or artistry. Saʿdeddin Efendi's sebil does, to be sure, describe itself as "cheerful" (*müferriḥ*) and "novel" (*nevpeydā*) in design, though without further elaboration, and all three inscription programs are largely devoted to praising the founders for their munificence.[29] But the texts also emphasize the men's dignified status, and it is this that constitutes the most telling link between the structures. Rather than look for individual factors to account for each case, we should view these works collectively as products of a corporate undertaking among the Ottoman upper class. All three of our patrons were members of this group, with the two highest ranking—Mehmed Emin Agha and Nişancı Ahmed—responsible for the finest of the works. Regardless of any personal stake they may have had in matters of art, these men possessed the means and social background to participate in what must, within their circles, have been understood as an emergent elite mode, one closely enough tied to state interests that the marble for Mehmed Emin's sebil was acquired in part by imperial decree.[30]

That the Ottoman Baroque arose under such circumstances is confirmed by the fourth example of the style that dates from the pivotal year of 1741–42: a large public bathhouse built by Sultan Mahmud himself (fig. 42).[31] Located in the busy central neighborhood of Cağaloğlu, this was the last of Istanbul's monumental double hammams (baths with separate sections for men and women), and arguably the most distinctive. It differs from the three works just discussed in not displaying its novelty on the outside: the building, which follows a traditional plan, presents an unremarkable brick-and-stone exterior. The interior, however, is filled with marble fixtures epitomizing the new style,



from elaborate washbasins carved with scrolls and fronds, to Corinthianizing columns that support round arches. Though clearly related to what we saw in the contemporaneous sebils and fountain, the craftsmanship here takes on an individualized, princely quality befitting Mahmud's sponsorship. The column capitals are thus grander and more distinctive than their counterparts at Mehmed Emin's sebil: less closely modeled on the Corinthian, they dispense with the usual acanthus leaves and instead feature elegant shell-topped oval cartouches that are mounted like gemstones between bead-studded foliate corner volutes (fig. 43).



The Cağaloğlu Hammam is important proof that the Ottoman Baroque was from the outset associated with an elite culture of patronage in which the sultan loomed large. The building would have been a busy site of public congregation, accommodating men and women of all ranks, and while they may have been unmoved by its nondescript exterior, they were surely struck by the novelty that awaited them in the space where they actually bathed. As if to anticipate such a reaction, the inscription above the main entrance into the bathhouse boasts of its uncommon qualities, declaring that "the emperor's architect was dumfounded by its exalted design," and that "the corps of painters lost their heads to its elegant decoration."[32] These words are unusual for how emphatically they refer to the building's artistic attributes and impact, and they would seem to verbalize a conscious recognition of the change that such architecture was heralding. Moreover, in stressing the royal nature of the scheme, the inscription bears out Mahmud's role as arbiter of taste, so that the sebils and fountains with which the bathhouse shares its date become, as it were, reflections of this new sultanic mode. What the Galata waterworks project had achieved a decade earlier through the preexisting "Tulip Era" approach was now being repeated in terms that truly distinguished Mahmud and his reign.

FIG. 42. Cağaloğlu Baths, Istanbul, 1741–42, interior of the caldarium.

FIG. 43. Cağaloğlu Baths, column capital.

BUILDING IN TRIUMPH: THE OTTOMAN BAROQUE AS A STATE STYLE

The royal underpinnings of the Ottoman Baroque's launch are key to explaining why the style emerged when and as it did. The start of the 1740s was an important juncture for Mahmud and, by extension, his realm. His victory over the Habsburgs and signing of the Treaties of Belgrade and Niš had taken place in 1739, followed a year later by his suppression of the attempted revolt in Istanbul. It is surely no accident that the style came into being in the wake of these successes, precisely when the sultan—now entering the second decade of his reign—had proved himself domestically and internationally as a strong ruler firm on his throne. This was the ideal moment to signal the security and achievements of Mahmud's sultanate by unveiling a triumphal new mode that could also celebrate the resurgence of the Ottoman state itself. That the style in question recalled the architecture of the empire's very rivals rendered the message all the more forceful. Later developments—and specifically the construction of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque—would make explicit the relationship between the Ottoman Baroque and Mahmud's defeat of his enemies, as will be discussed in chapter 3. Few visual strategies could have conveyed the empire's revivification as effectively as this architectural rebranding of its capital.

The Ottoman Baroque's inaugural year was quickly followed by other structures that further established its place in the city, with the sultan leading the way among patrons. Much of his attention was lavished on the symbolically redolent Hagia Sophia, which, under the name Ayasofya, had served as the empire's principal mosque ever since its conversion in 1453 (fig. 44). Though today largely overlooked, Mahmud's contributions to this sixth-century Byzantine monument amounted to one of the most important architectural campaigns in its history.[33] As well as building the nearby Cağaloğlu Baths as a revenue-generating dependency, the sultan added several new structures to the body and precinct of the Hagia Sophia itself. The earliest, dated 1739–40 (1152), was a library fitted into the monument's southwest flank and communicating with its interior through grilled marble arcades (fig. 45). This was followed in 1740–41 (1153) by a primary school and domed ablution fountain in the exterior court (fig. 46).[34] Completed just before the first examples of the Ottoman Baroque, these structures are largely in keeping with the style of preceding decades. The library, for instance, is clad with reused Iznik and Kütahya tiles, and though the arches that screen its entrance are round, they are borne by muqarnas column capitals and support a balustrade of geometric interlace. But such motifs disappear with the last of Mahmud's Hagia Sophia additions, an *ʿimāret* (public soup kitchen) opened in January 1743 (1155) and filling the northeast corner of the mosque's precinct, diagonally across from the Imperial Gate of the Topkapı Palace.[35]

Although built not long after Mahmud's earlier works at the mosque, and linked to them by an inscription over its secondary gate that mentions all three projects, the imaret postdates the switch to Baroque and loudly proclaims as much in its design. Its main gate is a lofty marble-clad frontispiece hosting a round-arched door and crowned by a broad-eaved vaulted roof (figs. 47, 48). Flanking the door, which is preceded by curvilinear stairs, are two niches set with scallop shells and crowned by voluted

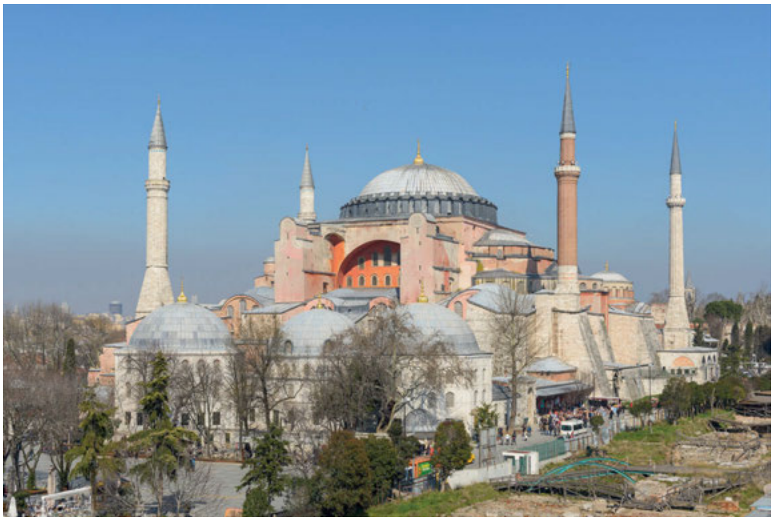


FIG. 44. Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, 532–37 with later additions.

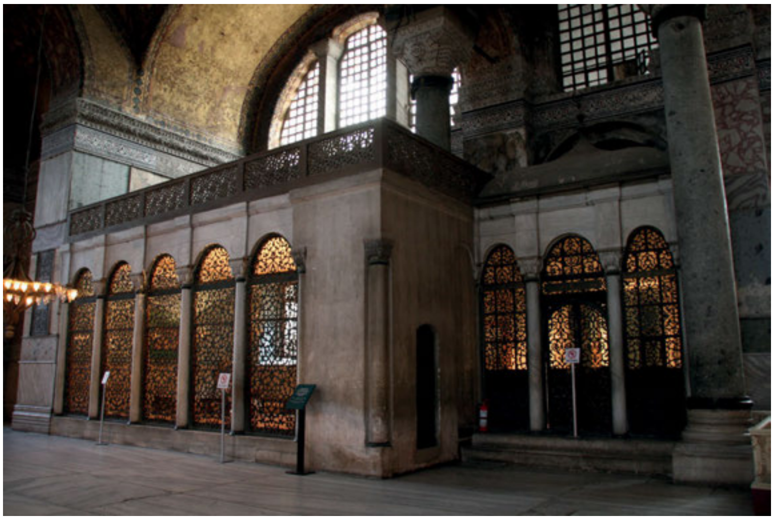


FIG. 45. Hagia Sophia, Library of Mahmud I, 1739–40.

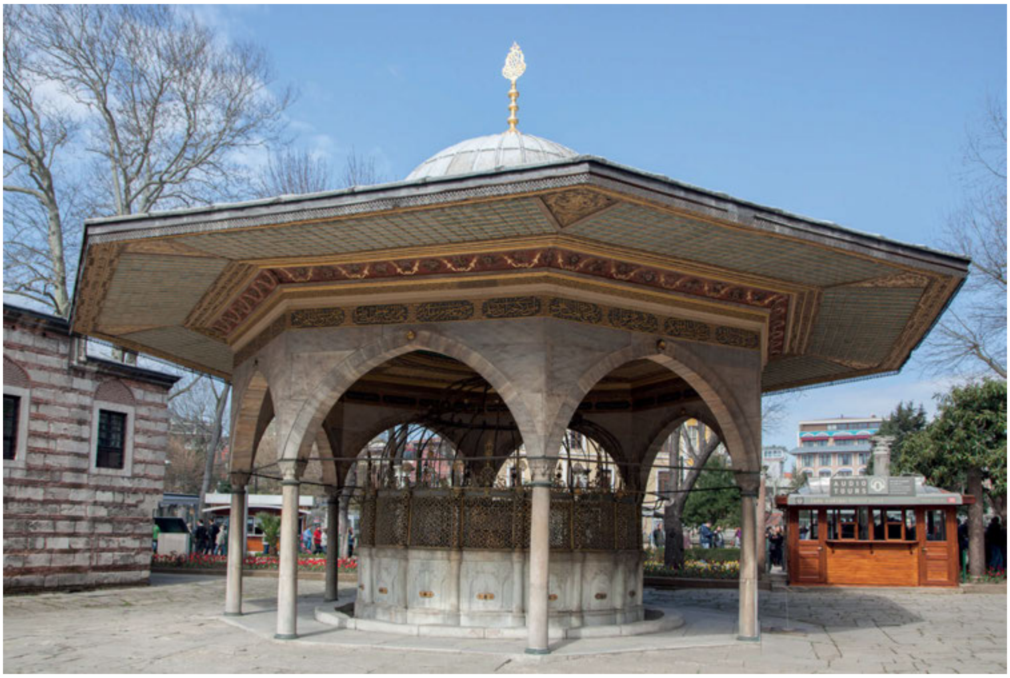


FIG. 46. Hagia Sophia, ablution fountain, 1740–41.

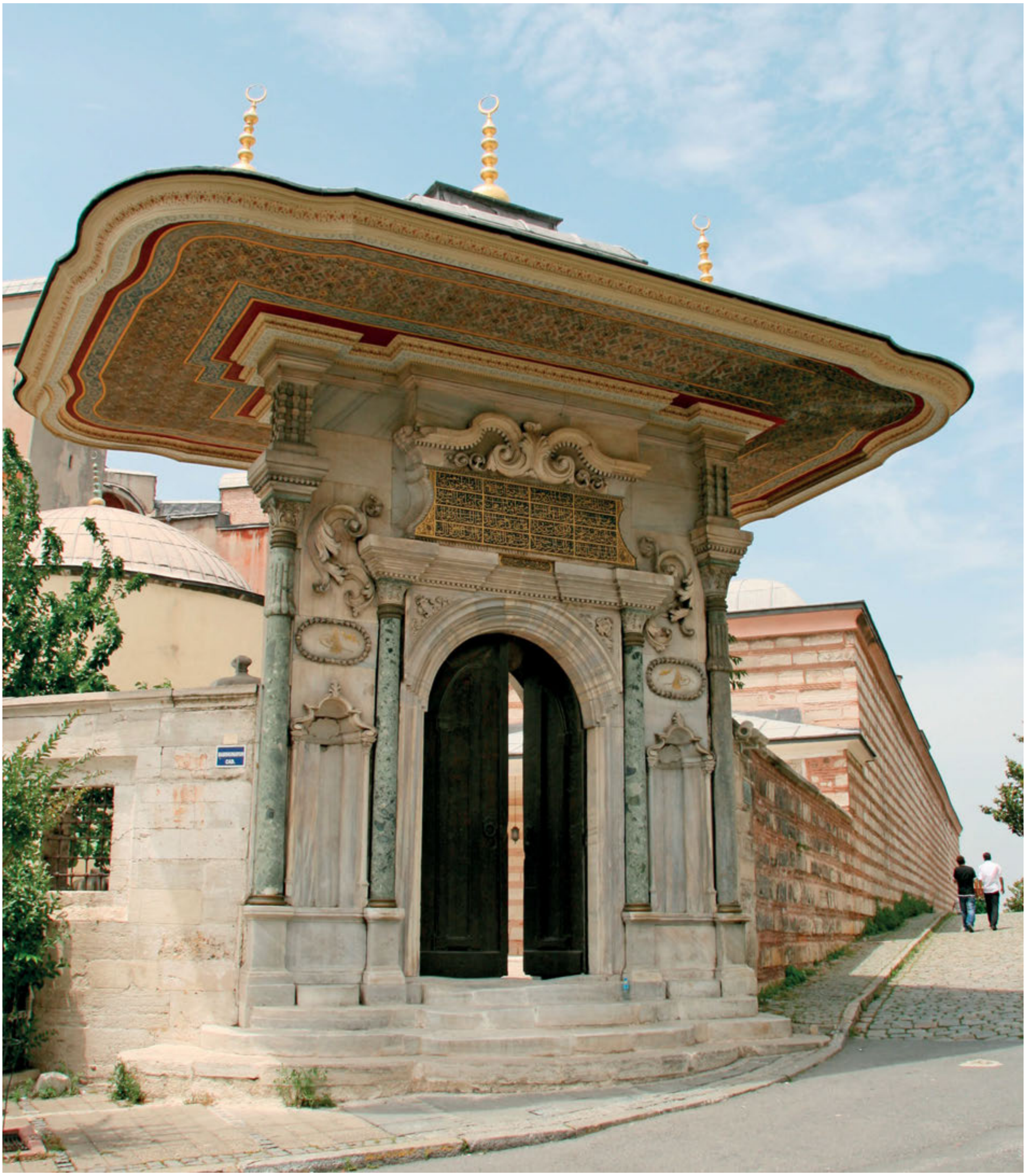
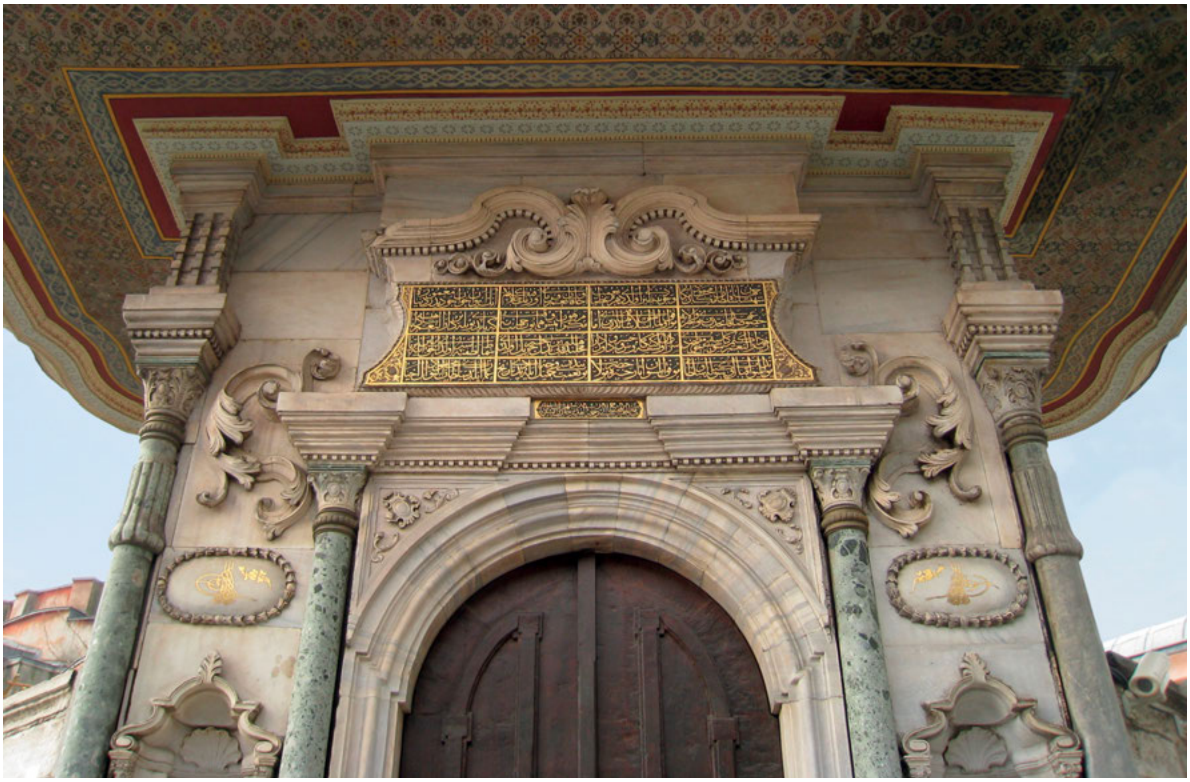
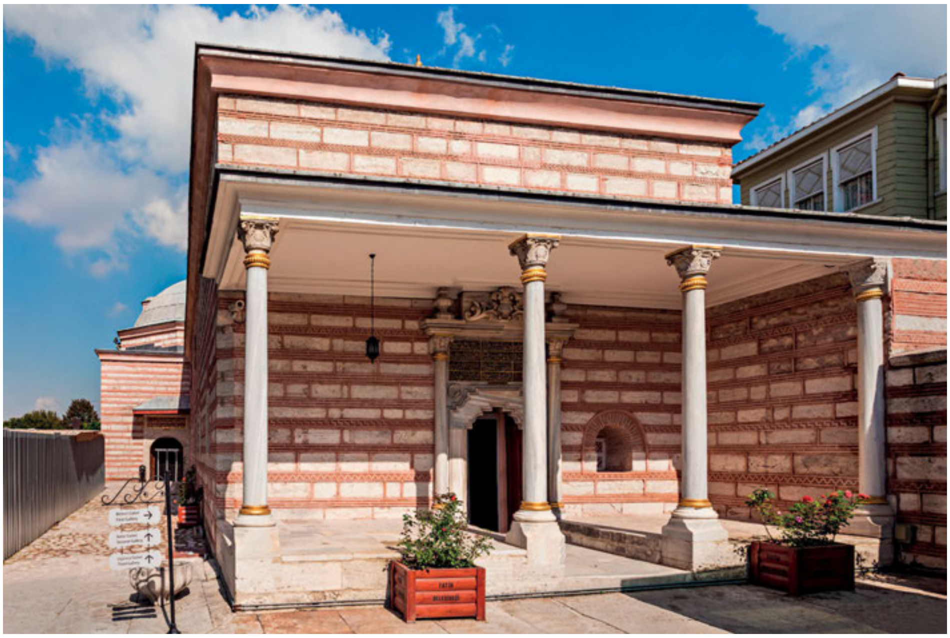


FIG. 47. Hagia Sophia, imaret, 1742–43, view toward the main gate.

pediments. Together with the door itself, these niches are framed by two pairs of green marble columns whose Corinthian-inspired capitals carry architraves studded with dentils. Above the niches are mirrored cartouches containing Mahmud's tughra (imperial monogram), and above these are large vegetal scrolls that grow in high relief from the architrave of the door, which is surmounted by an inscription panel that culminates in a stylized swan-neck pediment. Entering this splendid gate, we find ourselves in a courtyard containing the imaret itself, a long, multi-domed building of





brick and stone. Its otherwise severe exterior is enlivened by marble embellishments along the entrance façade, which features a portico supported by Corinthian-like columns and an elegant door with shells in the spandrels of its mixtilinear-arched architrave (fig. 49).

The range and quality of the imaret's stone carving again reveal the hand of the artists involved in the Baroque projects of 1741–42. As before, their work demonstrates a close acquaintance with Western architecture while showing no qualms about

FIG. 48. Hagia Sophia, imaret, detail of the main gate.

FIG. 49. Hagia Sophia, imaret, exterior of the main building. (© Saiko3p / Dreamstime.com.)

departing from it. Notwithstanding their Classicizing naturalism, the vegetal scrolls that issue from the gate's architrave grow at massive scale into the surrounding irregular and unarticulated wall spaces, an arrangement that defies European norms. Likewise contrary to Western models are the gate's outermost green columns, whose otherwise smooth shafts are interrupted by bulbous gadrooning close to their capitals, above which are tall frieze blocks that are curiously carved with multiple small squares of varying depth and dimension.

These localizing touches are accompanied by additional details that bespeak the imaret's sultanic status. As at the Cağaloğlu Baths and other royal Baroque buildings, the column capitals here display oval medallions between their corner volutes, suggesting that this adapted Corinthian was designed from the start to stand out from the less modified foliate variety. Another motif that emerges as an imperial marker is the dentil molding, a simple but painstaking device that runs profusely along the gate's architraves and pediment. Although such dentils are ubiquitous in the European Baroque, their use in Istanbul is largely limited to imperial works, with this being the earliest instance. Underlining the imaret's royal standing are the mirrored tughras of the main gate—examples of a recently established fashion for showcasing the sultanic monogram as an architectural ornament[36]—as well as the beautiful versified inscriptions in the *thulth* (cursive) script over its doorways. The text above the entrance of the main building commends the institution for filling an important gap in the complex's existing makeup, declaring that "Ayasofya has become truly flourishing with this imaret."[37] The inscription of the gate goes further still, singling Mahmud out as the greatest patron of charitable works since Mehmed the Conqueror, the sultan who had converted the cathedral.[38]

This bold conceit, which recalls Subhi's literary pronouncement of Mahmud as a new Süleyman, is echoed by the placement of the imaret gate on the square in front of Mehmed's Topkapı Palace, whose Imperial Gate bears an inscription proclaiming the Conqueror's beneficence.[39] The same square also hosts the monumental fountain of Ahmed III, so that Mahmud's Baroque portal is in confrontation with landmarks of earlier royal patronage and styles. Despite its smaller scale, it holds its own with surprising vigor owing to its combination of ornamental richness and sheer originality. The crowds that moved through the square must have noticed the contrast Mahmud's addition presented, whether to the more austere fifteenth-century Imperial Gate, or the fancy but traditionally rooted decoration of Ahmed's fountain (see figs. 19, 20).

Some sense of how contemporary audiences might have responded to such novelty is provided by Subhi's record of the imaret's opening, which describes at length the building's capacity to engage the attention of no less a viewer than the sultan:

> After sitting briefly, [Mahmud] moved with light and dignified gait to observe and enjoy the various subtle arts [*envāʿ-ı ṣanāyiʿ-i daḳīḳa*] that, with utmost care and consideration, had been produced and brought about in the plan, form, and style of that graceful edifice by the artists of the workshop of architecture and the skilled masters of invention and construction; and having glanced admiringly at the benches and platforms that the aforementioned administrator of the foundation had decked with various candied fruits

> and sundry succulent fresh fruits, he looked attentively from top to bottom, scrutinizing one by one each of the exalted doors and walls and matchless vaults and arches present in its various parts. Not only did the aforementioned building shame the construction of [King] Shaddad by the strength and solidity of its piers and columns, but it also matched the art of Bihzad in the elegance and gracefulness of its form and design, and every one of its artistically novel elements [*her fiḳra-ı bedīʿü'l-āṣārı*] was of such consummate beauty and splendor that each resembled a work of calligraphy by ʿImad, all of which meant that the whole [of the building] appeared most comely and pleasing in [Mahmud's] well-informed eyes.[40]

Couched as this passage is in the hyperbolic language of official Ottoman chronicles, the rhetoric is meaningfully keyed to the imaret's effect. Subhi may not specify what makes the building's components novel, but he vividly conveys the appeal such newness held for the viewer, whose attention was arrested and maintained by it. The reference to the Persian painter Bihzad (d. 1535–36)—a seemingly unusual figure to invoke in the realm of architecture—captures the almost painterly surface richness that sets the building apart, while the parallel drawn to the compositions of the Persian calligrapher Mir ʿImad al-Hasani (d. 1615) fittingly suggests the stonework's intricacy and curvilinearity.[41] Like Lady Mary and Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed before him, Subhi translates the unaccustomed into more familiar terms, and though this preference for Islamicate analogies allows no mention of European models, the lavishness of his verbal imagery is in itself revealing of the visual excitement that the architecture generated. The ekphrastic amplitude of this description finds no equivalent in the same author's account of the opening of the Hagia Sophia Library, where the ceremony itself is recorded in detail but nothing said about the building's artistic character.[42] The very different approach to documenting two comparable and nearly contemporary events must surely hinge on the imaret's eye-catching break with tradition.

A fundamental quality of the Ottoman Baroque as revealed by the examples addressed so far is the economy with which it could transform a building: even more than its "Tulip Era" forerunner, it is a style with the power to impart visual interest and opulence when applied to structures of unremarkable size or architecture. All of the works discussed above rely on traditional plans and configurations, and their difference lies not in their architecture per se, but in the design of their constituent forms—round arches instead of pointed, for example—and in their decorative vocabulary. It has often been noted that the Ottoman Baroque is an ornamental mode whose main effect is limited to the surface,[43] but this should not be taken to mean (as it frequently is) that the style is superficial in any nonliteral sense. From the perspective of the viewer, the surfaces of a building have as much visual impact as its structural makeup, and even a well-established architectural type can appear altered when put in a new skin. The main building of the imaret demonstrates this especially well, as it is nothing more than the Baroque flourishes on its façade that render this plain structure worthy of its royal status. A similar edifice embellished in the more restrained manner of earlier periods is unlikely to have made such a strong impression: as Subhi so fulsomely describes, the imaret derives its magnificence from the inventiveness of its decorative

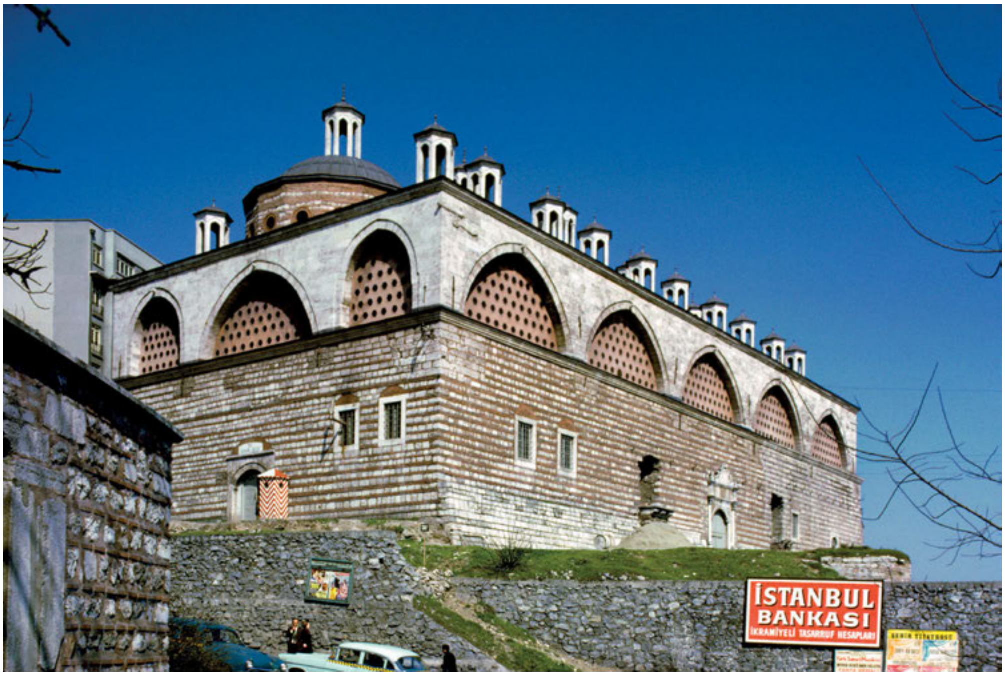


FIG. 50. Tophane-i Amire (Imperial Cannon Foundry), Tophane, Istanbul, 1743.

components, each of which packs a hefty punch in its own right. Ornament, then, transcends itself in the Ottoman Baroque to become a charged assertion of sultanic and state prosperity.

With the Hagia Sophia imaret, the new style received definitive royal endorsement, and virtually all subsequent examples of eighteenth-century imperial architecture in Istanbul remain true to this reformed aesthetic canon. Two more early examples—both involving the renovation of preexisting sites—help us to understand why the Ottoman Baroque proved so compelling an option. The first is the Tophane-i Amire, the Imperial Cannon Foundry, which is located on a sleep stope in the district of Tophane, to which it gave its name. Originally established in the fifteenth century by Mehmed the Conqueror, the Tophane fell into disrepair and was rebuilt in 1743 under the directorship of Mahmud's chief gunner, Mustafa Agha (fig. 50).[44] The new foundry stands as a substantial rectangular building of brick and stone that is covered by five domes and ten cavetto vaults resting on massive pointed arches. Its utilitarian purpose is reflected in its simple and unadventurous architecture, which could pass for something at least a hundred years older. Nevertheless, a building so symbolically and practically tied to the Ottoman military machine demanded some sort of imperial distinction, and the Baroque provides it. The domes are lit by tall, arcaded lanterns that incorporate columns with rough but clearly Corinthianizing capitals, versions of which can also be seen on the inner faces of the domes' drums. More conspicuous is the building's beautiful main entrance, a white marble structure that stands out in the center of the brown façade (fig. 51). The door itself is a round arch on colonnettes with a wave-scroll border along its intrados, and it is set within a larger frame formed of two columns supporting an inscribed and pedimented entablature. While the colonnettes are of the Corinthian-like foliate variety, those of the columns are a faithful Composite, the only instance I have found in the Ottoman Baroque. Also new is the ornamentation of the

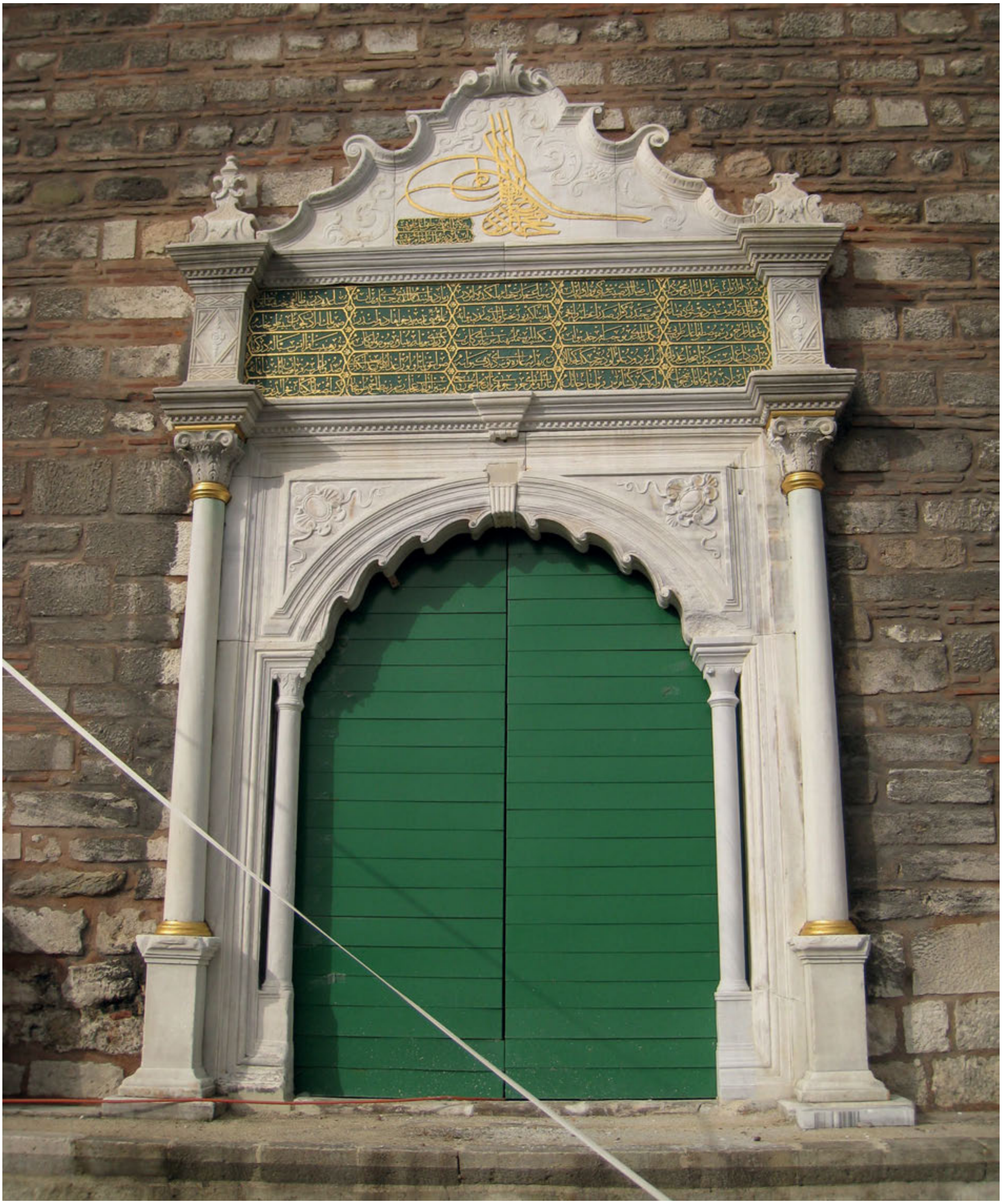


FIG. 51. Tophane-i Amire, marble entrance.

pediment, whose face includes the depiction of a cornucopia among its low-relief foliate carvings, and whose scrolled border is marked by a simplified egg-and-dart molding. The center of the pediment is emblazoned with the sultan's tughra, and a further royal indicator is the dentil molding that runs along the entablature's top and bottom.

Reinforcing these sultanic attributes, the versified inscription of the entablature lauds Mahmud's patronage as well as his achievements more generally. The opening

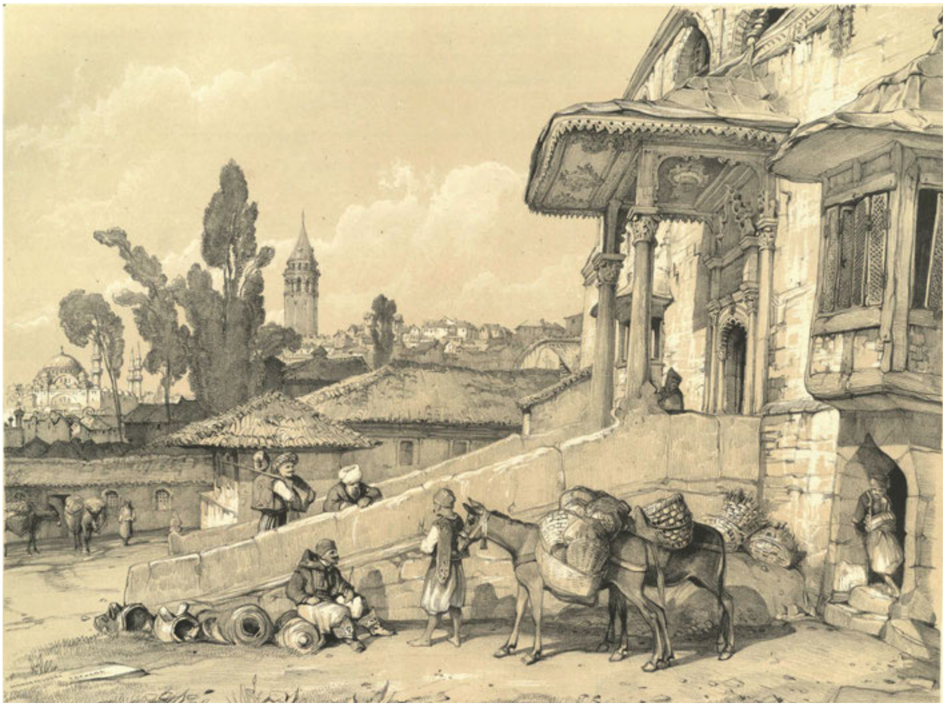
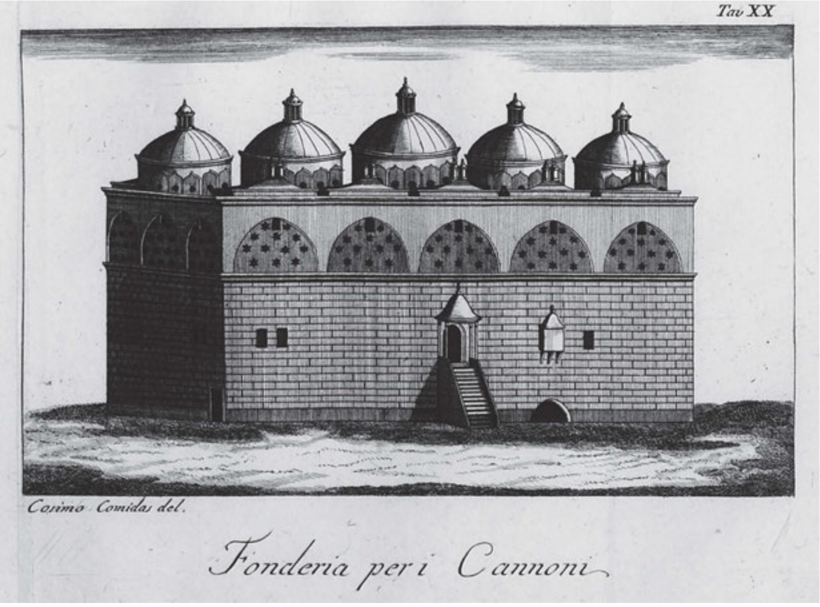


FIG. 52. View of the Tophane-i Amire's entrance with its now lost portico and flanking balconies. By John Frederick Lewis after Coke Smyth, from *Lewis's Illustrations of Constantinople: Made during a Residence in that City &c. in the Years 1835–6* (London: T. McLean, D. & P. Colnaghi, and John F. Lewis, [1838]). Lithograph on paper.

couplet declares that his "majestic reputation strikes fear throughout Turan [in Central Asia] and Iran,"[45] implying a connection between the Tophane's rebuilding and certain victories that the Ottomans had recently enjoyed against the Safavids. Two other individuals receive praise in the inscription: the grand vizier, who had been appointed to oversee the reconstruction, and Mustafa Agha, who "perfected [the building's] plan and design in accordance with khedivial [that is, grand-vizierial] command,"[46] and whose name appears again in a small cartouche alongside the tughra of the pediment. As with the earlier Galata waterworks project, then, the sultan is here presented as the head of an enterprise entrusted to his agents, a message visualized by the doorway's explicitly regal design.

Historical depictions of the Tophane show that its use of this princely Baroque, which still does much to relieve the building's stark functionalism, was once more copious. At least until the mid-1830s, the door was fronted by a portico borne on large columns and crowned by an overhanging domical roof, with stairs leading up to the entrance (fig. 52). Two balconies (perhaps only one before the nineteenth century) flanked the portico and mirrored its form, their place now taken by plain arches. These projecting structures allowed the sultan and other elite personages to watch parades and ceremonies that we know took place in front of the Tophane, which, as now, overlooked a busy thoroughfare on whose other side stood two important buildings: the sixteenth-century Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque, designed by Sinan as one of his grander nonroyal works, and Sultan Mahmud's own monumental fountain, with its surrounding marketplace (see fig. 33). Like the Hagia Sophia imaret, the Tophane thus occupied a busy setting where the crowds could view it in relation to structures from earlier periods. The combination of practical bulk and Baroque elegance that characterized the building must have been striking to eighteenth-century viewers, among them Kozmas Gom-



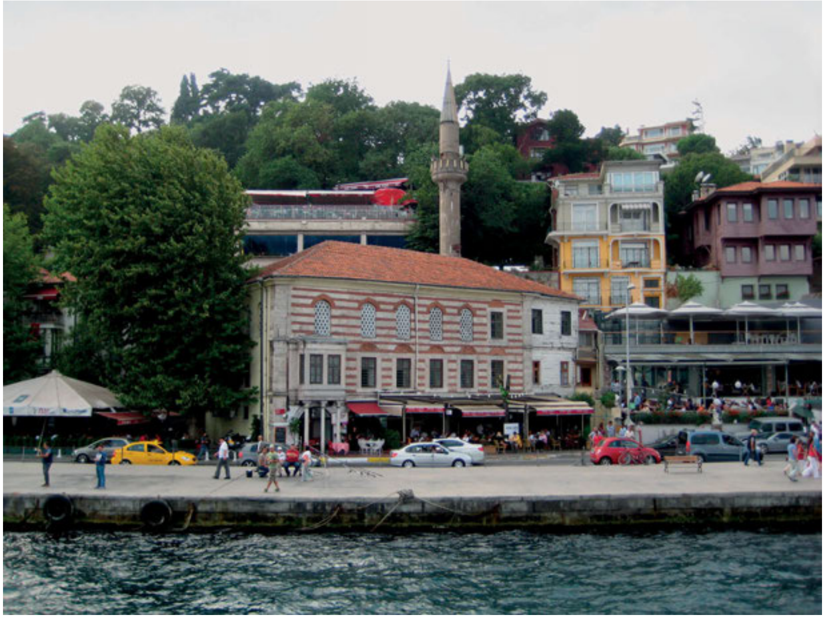


FIG. 53. View of the Tophane-i Amire. By Marco Sebastiano Giampiccoli after Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, from Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli arricchita di figure* (Bassano, 1794). Engraving on paper.

FIG. 54. Hacı Kemalettin Mosque (İskele Masjid), Rumelihisarı, Istanbul, renovated 1746.

idas Kömürciyan (d. 1807), an Italian-educated Ottoman-Armenian artist and interpreter who took the name Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano and published an illustrated Italian topography of his native Istanbul.[47] Based on drawings that Carbognano himself executed in 1778, the engravings that illustrate the topography include a view of the Tophane that is at once simplified and informative: it depicts the porched entrance, here shown with only one balcony flanking it, perched on an improbably steep staircase, whose exaggerated loftiness suggests the ability of the Ottoman Baroque to evoke a grandeur that goes beyond its sometimes modest proportions (fig. 53).

The same aesthetic vigor is demonstrated by the Baroque modifications made to the İskele Masjid, now known as the Hacı Kemalettin Mosque (fig. 54).[48] Located on the Bosphorus in the suburban village of Rumelihisarı and founded at an unknown date by a certain Hacı Kemaleddin, the mosque was enlarged and remodeled by Sultan

Mahmud after suffering a fire.[49] His renovations, which were completed in 1746, added a minaret and royal loge, turning the structure from an indistinct neighborhood masjid into an ennobled congregational mosque. It stands today as a sizable rectangular edifice constructed mainly of alternating courses of brick and stone and covered by a tiled hipped roof. A wooden entrance block containing stairs gives access to the prayer hall, which is raised on a vaulted basement intended and still used for commercial purposes. By and large, the mosque is a simple affair that follows a workaday suburban model, and its predominantly traditional outlines and features—which include pointed-arched windows—must reflect Hacı Kemaleddin's original structure. But protruding from the left-hand side of the brick-and-stone façade is a Baroque marble loge in the form of a bay window borne on three columns (fig. 55). The projection is generously lit by four rectangular windows and trimmed with dentils along its top. Another dentil molding marks the architrave of the supporting columns, which rise the height of the vaulted basement. The capitals of these three columns are among the stateliest of the whole Ottoman Baroque: they resemble the modified Corinthian seen at other royal structures of the 1740s, with oval medallions decorating their main faces, but they are distinguished by their abacuses, which are of dark green stone, and by their bead-studded corner volutes, which turn in on themselves rather than in the usual outward direction. Comparable Corinthianizing capitals with reverse volutes occur also in Roman architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Ottoman examples are close enough to these that the similarity is unlikely to be accidental, a point to which I shall return.

The appearance of so beautifully crafted a loge on the exterior of an otherwise ordinary suburban mosque may at first sight seem incongruous, yet the feature makes a great deal of sense when we consider what it allowed Mahmud to achieve. With its inherently showy Baroque design, this small but exquisite flourish is enough to denote the sultan's involvement in a mosque whose domeless rectangular shape is not typically associated with royal patronage. Mahmud could thus advertise his sponsorship without having to undertake a more thorough transformation of the building he had inherited. His *waqf* (endowment) ensured maximum visibility for his renovation, for it funded a large rowboat (*pazar ḳayıġı*, bazaar caique) to bring passengers and freight to the Rumelihisarı village, whose pier—*iskele*—gave its name to the mosque.[50] Whether viewed from the Bosphorus, which it proudly faces, or from the shoreline road that still passes by its columns, the loge would have been highly noticeable for the contrast it presented to the rest of the building, its fine ornament proclaiming its elite status. As a space for royal prayer, moreover, it forever memorialized the visit with which Mahmud celebrated his restoration of the mosque, an event marked by the distribution of rice to the poor.[51]

The mosque's sultanic touches have fared less well inside, where the original mihrab and minbar have been replaced by ugly modern counterparts. The customary upper gallery at the back of the hall, however, retains its Baroque columns, whose capitals include shells flanked by diagonal Ionic volutes. Viewed from the interior, the royal loge takes the form of a small room (now an imam's office) that mimics more conventional sultanic prayer galleries in being placed near the left end of the qibla wall (the

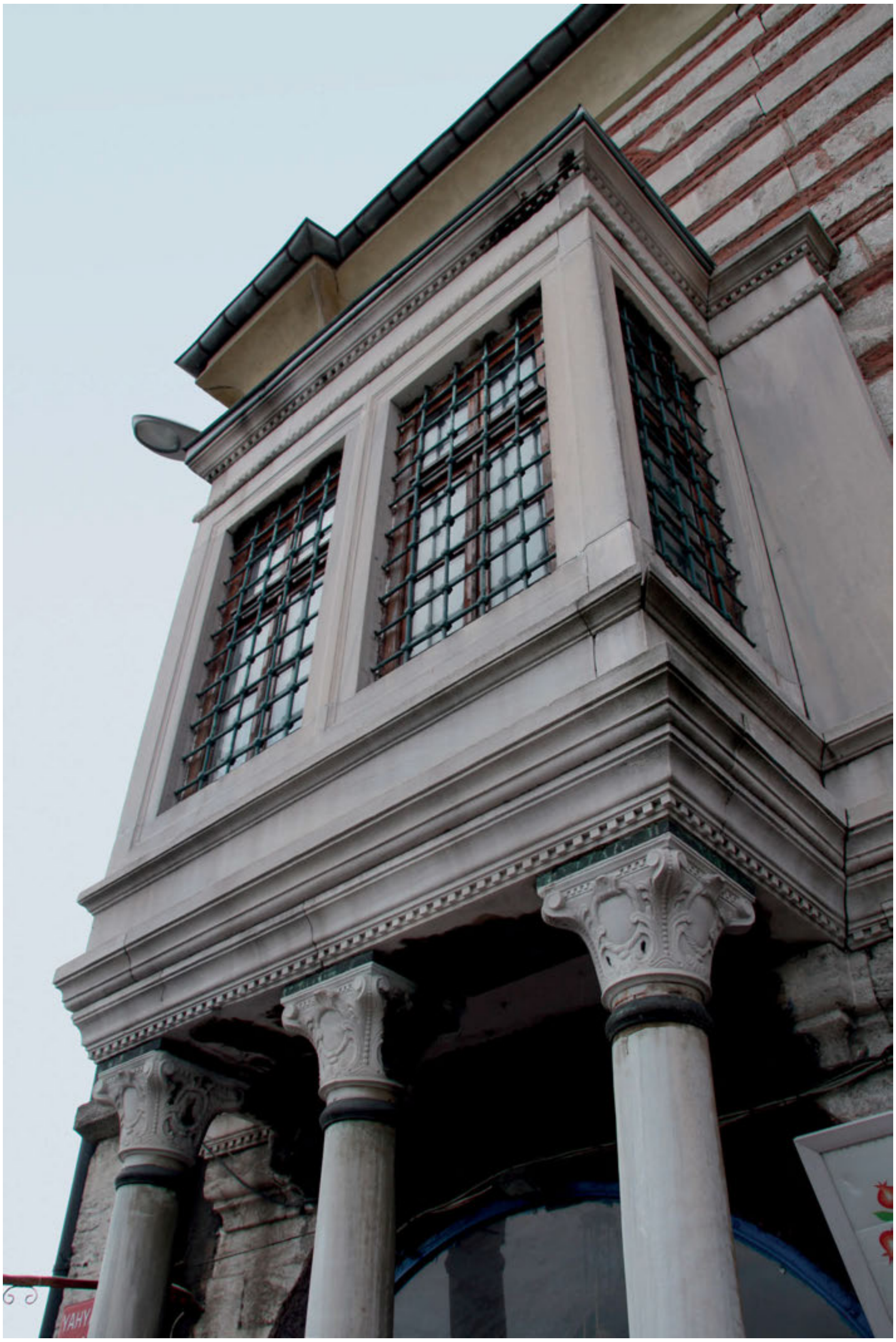


FIG. 55. Hacı Kemalettin Mosque, royal loge.

principal wall, oriented toward Mecca). The loge's importance is further indicated by its raised floor level and by a versified panegyric inscription that runs just under its coving. Few would have been able to see or read this text if, as seems likely, the loge was screened off, but its content is nevertheless significant to understanding what such Baroque works were intended to mean in their original context. Composed by the poet Niʿmetullah Efendi (d. 1771–73) and written in thulth, the inscription begins by dubbing Mahmud "the ornament of the Dais of the Caliphate" (*maḥfil-ārā-yı ḫilāfet*) and "the Sultan of the World, the Shadow of the Lord of the Worlds [God]," and it goes on to describe the loge as "a lofty tribune [*vālā maḥfil*] like the vault of the Fourth Heaven."[52] Just as the sultan's dominion is a microcosmic analogue of God's, so too is the loge modeled after a celestial prototype, and the parallelism is underscored by the dual use of the architectural term *maḥfil*, which, in referring figuratively to the caliphate, turns the actual structure into a symbol of this office.

While such comparisons are on the one hand conventional hyperbole, they also reflect a real association that would have been made between sultanic architecture and the sultan himself. The loge functions, then, as a synecdoche of Mahmud's divinely sanctioned rule, and since it does not have scale on its side, it relies on its rich embellishment to evoke the glory of its patron. More specifically, it is the novelty of this ornament that gives the loge its royal bearing, as the inscription itself declares in its concluding chronogram:

> Its design is pure and pleasing, and its scheme new in manner [*nevzemīn*],
> The engaging tribune built by the exalted Mahmud Khan.[53]

Despite the private setting in which this verse was inscribed, its sentiments surely echoed a more widespread appreciation of what this manner, with its striking and unfamiliar luxuriance, offered patrons and viewers.

NON-MUSLIM ARTISTS AND THEIR NETWORKS

If the appeal of the new style is easy enough to understand, the identities of those responsible for its inception are more difficult to determine. Two related questions present themselves in this regard: Who were the artists that designed and created the first Baroque works, and who were the individuals that encouraged and harnessed their efforts?

To begin with the first question, the known documentary evidence provides little in the way of clear-cut answers. Contemporary sources do, to be sure, associate certain figures with the realization of these early projects: we have already encountered the chief gunner Mustafa Agha, to whom the design of the Tophane is explicitly attributed in the building's own inscription, and Subhi's history mentions the investment of the unnamed chief imperial architect with a robe of honor at the opening of the Hagia Sophia imaret.[54] But while Mustafa Agha, with his military background, may have been a skilled engineer capable of rebuilding the cannon foundry, he is unlikely to have had any direct role in the Baroque decorations that present such a contrast to the edifice's overall heft. As for the chief architect, it should be remembered that the creative importance of his office had significantly diminished by this period, and his part in the imaret's construction need not have been more than regulatory.

Another individual described by Subhi as receiving a robe of honor at the imaret's opening is Mehterzade Ali Efendi (d. 1752), who, as trustee of the kitchen's endowment, had organized the ceremony. Yavuz Sezer has recently brought to light Ali's substantial involvement in numerous architectural projects of the 1730s and 1740s,[55] which was such that Flachat mistook him for the chief architect himself:

> During the happy days of the reign of Mahamout (and they are those in which one saw the erection of very regular edifices belonging to the seraglio), Ali Effendi, superintendent of buildings in the capacity of chief architect, had a rich collection of plans and prints. He had the better treatises of architecture translated for himself. He applied himself with ardor to the study of mathematics. He greatly enjoyed speaking on all parts of this science, in which he delighted to the last degree.[56]

In fact, Ali Efendi was a scribe and *Ḥaremeyn muḥasebecisi*, a clerk responsible for the finances of Mecca and Medina, and it was as a supplement to his regular duties that he managed the construction of several court-sponsored buildings. He belonged, then, to a larger group of functionaries and courtiers who were routinely appointed to oversee the running of the state's architectural activities, usually in the temporary post of superintendent (*nāẓır*) or supervisor (*emīn*). But Ali seems to have gone further than most in his role, and the Ottoman sources support Flachat's portrayal of him as someone capable of contributing to the design, and not just the implementation, of the projects he directed. Other building supervisors of the period also applied themselves to the more technical aspects of the job, with some recorded as having prepared plans and drawings.[57]

None of these officials, however, were dedicated practitioners of art, and what knowledge they acquired in this arena would have been geared above all toward interacting more authoritatively with the professionals working under them. Influential as they may have been in such matters as a building's overall plan, Ali Efendi and his fellow supervisors cannot be credited—at least not in the main—with the decorative and formal elements that give Ottoman Baroque architecture its characteristic texture. These recurrent features exhibit so many technical and stylistic overlaps from project to project that we must seek a more plausible common denominator than the intermittent input of the bureaucratic class. The decisive players seem instead to have been a cadre of talented architects and craftsmen—expert in stonecarving and well acquainted with Western models—whose hands are evident in a number of elite works of the 1740s, and whose output was limited at this early stage to highly embellished smaller-scale structures and decorative additions to larger and plainer buildings.

Nothing concrete is known about these artists' identities, for no payrolls pertaining to the first crop of Baroque works have come to light. But as inventive as their creations were, these men did not spring from nowhere: all the circumstantial evidence points to the same entrepreneurial Greek and Armenian kalfas whose rise was discussed in the previous chapter. Their "Tulip Era" work had already exhibited knowledge of Western forms as well as dexterity in ornamental sculpture, so that their Baroque ventures were predicated on their earlier achievements. This continuity is visualized by the domed and arcaded ablution fountain that Mahmud added to the Hagia Sophia shortly before the new style's breakout year. With its pointed arches and muqarnas capitals, the fountain is largely traditional in appearance, but carved around its circular marble tank is a series of blind round arches lushly intertwined with foliate scrollwork that anticipates the Baroque without yet fully participating in it (fig. 56; see fig. 46). A year after the fountain was built, a Greek named Yorgi was entrusted by imperial decree with acquiring the marble for Mehmed Emin Agha's sebil,[58] and though

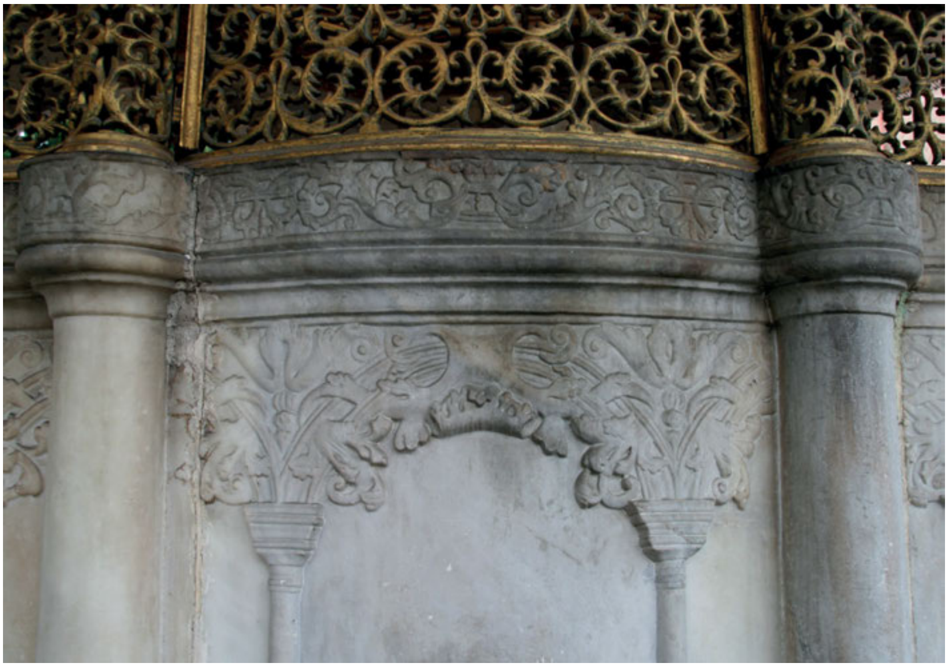


FIG. 56. Hagia Sophia, ablution fountain, detail of the carved marble tank.

it is unclear whether his role went beyond the procurement of raw materials, his key involvement in one of the first examples of the Ottoman Baroque further signals the prominence of dhimmis in this phenomenon. Such high-status projects cannot, of course, have proceeded without the collaboration of Muslims: quite apart from needing the approval of the chief imperial architect and building supervisors, the kalfas depended on the talents of the Muslim calligraphers whose compositions they translated into stone. A number of Muslim artists would also have worked alongside their Christian peers in the buildings' construction and decoration. Even so, documents pertaining to slightly later projects leave us in no doubt that dhimmis dominated any given artistic workforce, in some cases outnumbering Muslims by four to one.[59]

That the Ottoman Baroque was principally the handiwork of Christian kalfas is not fortuitous. The readiness with which these artists altered their manner was materially tied to their non-Muslim identities, which situated them at the heart of Ottoman interactions with Europe. Greek and Armenian Ottomans had long utilized their religious otherness to establish mercantile communities and networks in the Christian West, an endeavor that was encouraged by all sides. From the perspective of their European hosts, Christian Ottomans were culturally less remote and more easily assimilated than their Muslim counterparts, while still providing access to the vast trading systems of the East.[60] The Ottoman state, meanwhile, considered its Christian subjects valuable intermediaries whose creed better equipped them to deal with their Western coreligionists, and it was the same attitude that led after the mid-seventeenth century to a virtual Greek monopoly of the office of Porte dragoman. The Greeks in question were Phanariots, elite families who had acquired influence through their mercantile prowess and who lived in Istanbul's Fener district, where the Orthodox Patriarchate was (and remains) based. From the 1710s onward, members of this already powerful community were even appointed as vassal rulers of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.[61] The

Armenians, whose networks extended from Europe into Iran and further east, likewise did well in matters of Ottoman administration during this period, with those of the high-ranking *amira* class emerging as the chief bankers to the Muslim aristocracy.[62]

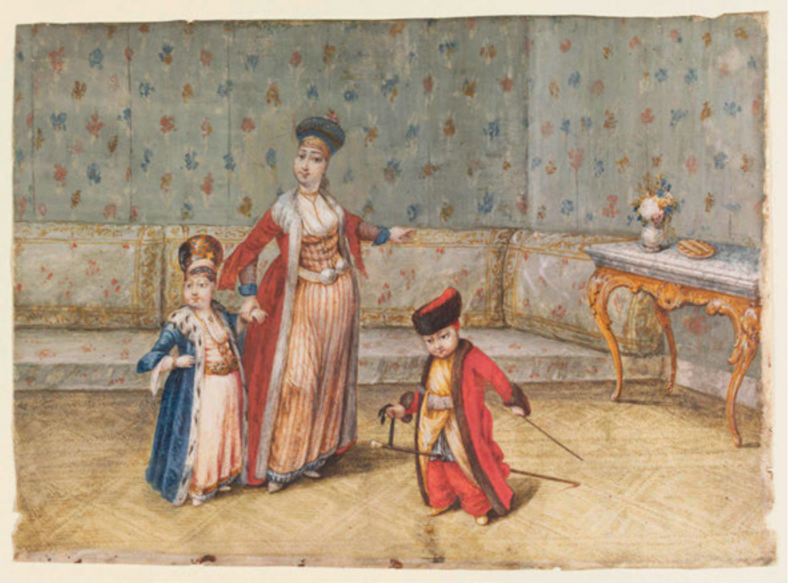
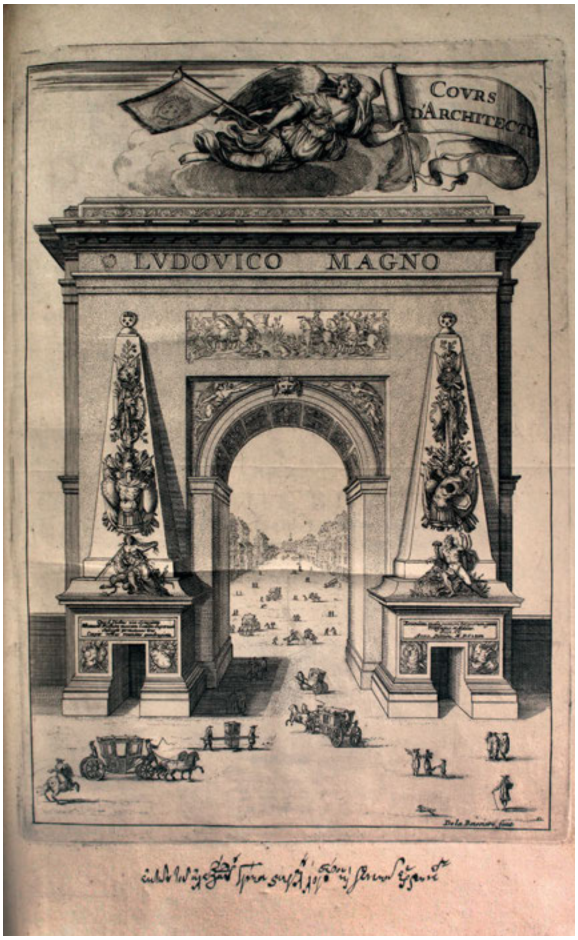


FIG. 57. View of an elite Ottoman Greek or Armenian family, by an anonymous Ottoman artist, ca. 1750. Water- and bodycolor on vellum. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Ottoman Christians must have welcomed the mobility that their minority status offered them in these particular spheres, and by the eighteenth century, their presence in and contacts with Europe were such that a new Western-looking consciousness had developed among more affluent Greeks and Armenians. Spurred in part by the ambitions of Western powers anxious to gain influence over them, these communities sought to assert their place in the Ottoman realm with a new self-confidence, in some cases distinguishing themselves by adopting Western modes of education and lifestyle. It was during these years, for example, that a considerable minority of Istanbul's Armenians responded to the overtures of Western missionaries and converted to Catholicism. A prominent member of this group was Carbognano, who, like other Armenian Catholics, studied in Italy.[63] Such cooption of Westernizing mores was, it should be stressed, limited in overall extent, and the empire's Greeks and Armenians continued for the most part to define themselves in relation to Ottoman society at large, even as their ties to Christian Europe became increasingly important to their sense of identity.[64] A mid-eighteenth-century painting of a well-to-do dhimmi woman at home with her children underlines the point: the figures stand in a room that is furnished with both an imported Baroque side table and a low Ottoman sofa (fig. 57).

As this painting suggests, visual culture emerged as a significant aspect of the dhimmis' international interests and dealings. Among the many illustrated Western architectural books in the Topkapı Palace Library are two volumes published in the 1690s—one an Italian treatise on hydraulic engineering, the other a copy of the famous *Cours d'Architecture* of François Blondel (d. 1686)—whose opening pages bear handwritten Greek inscriptions telling us that they came from the collection of "Alexander Ghika the Constantinopolitan, Grand Logothete and General Dragoman" (fig. 58).[65] A Hellenized family of Albanian or Romanian origin, the Ghikas were elite Phanariots who served the Ottoman state in numerous capacities, with Alexander Ghika (d. 1741) holding the post of chief dragoman between 1726 and 1741. This influential role, together with his position as grand logothete (chief secretary) to the patriarchate, put Alexander at the center of political life, and he is even said to have joined the grand vizier on campaign in Mahmud's war against Russia. Such favor brought with it risk, however, and Alexander was ultimately accused of financial malfeasance and executed in 1741.[66] Whether his books entered the sultan's collection prior to or as a result of his death is unclear.



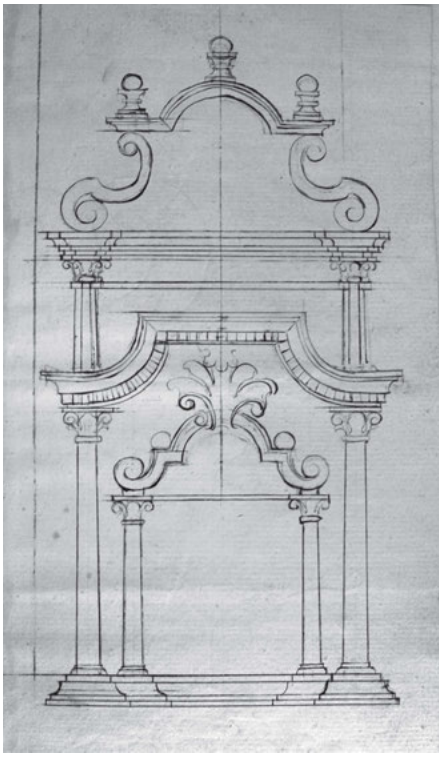


FIG. 58. Frontispiece of Part 1 of the second edition of François Blondel's *Cours d'architecture enseigné dans l'Academie royale d'architecture* (Paris: Chez l'auteur; Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1698), inscribed with a Greek ex libris. Engraving and ink on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul.

FIG. 59. Architectural design drawn by an Ottoman artist ca. 1740s and inserted into a volume comprising two seventeenth-century French works on architecture. Ink on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul.

Either way, Ghika's ownership of these volumes not only highlights the involvement of elite non-Muslim Ottomans in channeling European materials to the empire, but also indicates the kinds of individuals who would have bridged dhimmi artists and their Muslim patrons. As a lay official in the Orthodox church, Ghika was as connected to the wider Greek community as he was to the court, and he, like other prominent non-Muslim Ottomans, must have mediated between these two social strata, facilitating the process by which Greek and Armenian kalfas superseded the imperial corps of architects.

Some of these dhimmi artists may even have been able to work from the sultan's own collection of European books and prints, which had continued to grow under Mahmud. Supporting such a possibility is the fact that another volume in the Topkapı Palace Library—a compilation of two seventeenth-century French works—contains a small insert on which is drawn a pen-and-ink Ottoman Baroque design datable to the 1740s or shortly after (fig. 59).[67] It is impossible to say whether this sheet, which was at one time folded in half, was always associated with the book where it is now found, particularly because the current binding dates only from the late nineteenth century, but its very presence in the library means that the drawing was almost certainly produced in consultation with the Western holdings kept there. There is no indication of who drew the design, which shows a gate-like structure made up of paired Corinthianizing columns that support three nested curvilinear pediments; bulbous finials crown the uppermost pediment, while the next one down is studded with dentils, and the

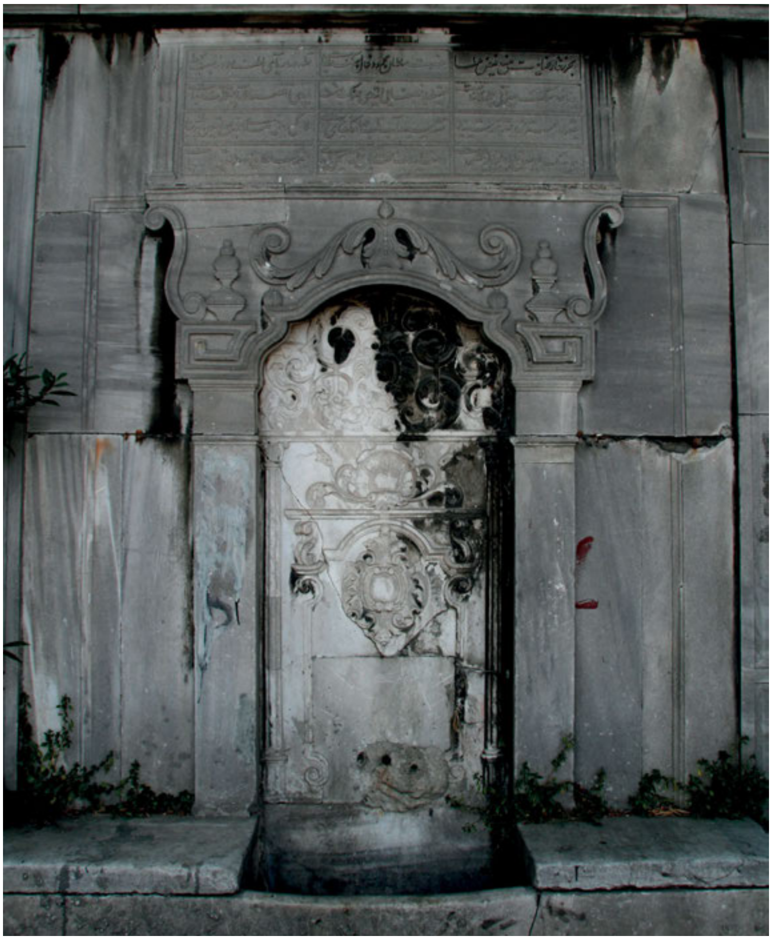


FIG. 60. Fountain of Mahmud I, Maçka, Istanbul, 1748.

lowermost decorated at its top with a feathery frond. The drawing is at once preliminary and developed, serving as a well-conceived blueprint that might be adapted for several functions. It is closest, however, to the carved niches of early Ottoman Baroque wall fountains, including that incorporated into the Mehmed Emin Agha sebil (see fig. 41), and another built by Mahmud in Maçka, a suburb near Pera, in 1748 (fig. 60).[68] Each consisting of an arched recess that hosts a low-relief depiction of a similarly formed niche, both of these fountains are analogous to the drawing in their compositions as well as in their decorative details. The similarity is uncanny in the case of the Mehmed Emin fountain, whose inner niche, just like its drawn counterpart, has a scrolling and plumed pediment that appears to rest on an improbably thin architrave borne on colonnettes with foliate capitals. Its resemblance to real-life works and the deftness with which it is executed strongly suggest that the drawing is by an artist with direct involvement in Ottoman Baroque architecture, which in turn implies that certain Greek and Armenian kalfas, probably with the assistance of contacts such as Ghika, could gain access to relevant materials in the palace library.

Whoever drew the design responded in telling ways to his likely models, among which may be considered James Gibbs's (d. 1754) celebrated *Book of Architecture*, published in 1728. Evidently of great interest to its Ottoman viewers—the Topkapı copy is captioned throughout in Turkish—the plates filling Gibbs's book feature many of the ingredients that make up the drawing and actual built examples of the early

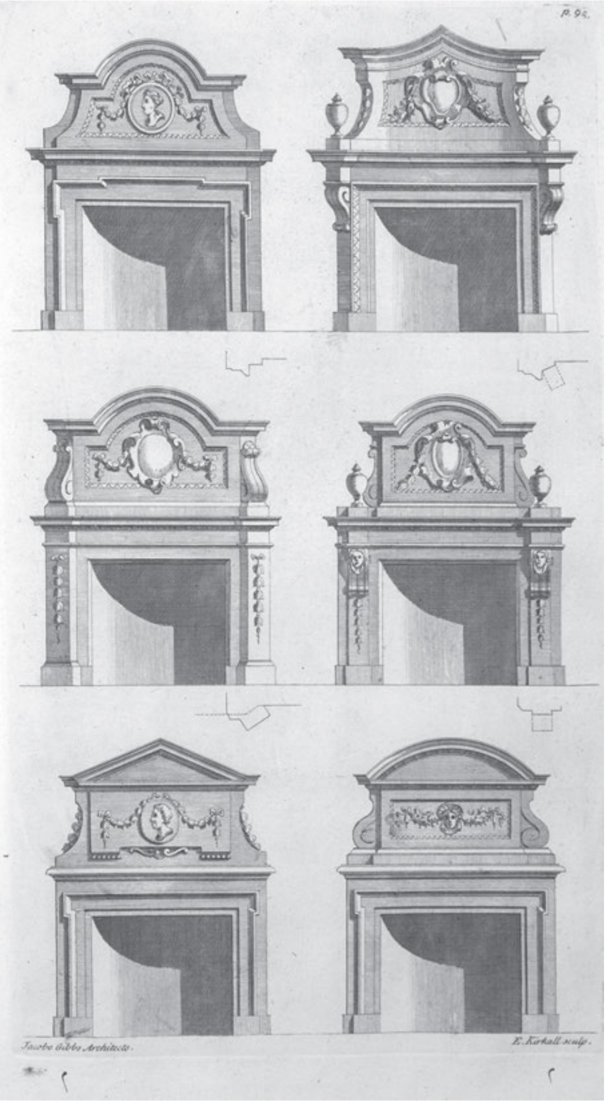

P. 92.
Jacobo Gibbs Architecto.
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FIG. 61. Designs for pediments, with Ottoman notations below. By Elisha Kirkal after James Gibbs, from Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* (London, 1728). Engraving on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul.

Ottoman Baroque, including C- and S-scrolls, shells, wreaths, and elaborate pediments (fig. 61).[69] While it is doubtful that dhimmi artists were allowed routine or easy use of the royal library, there were other, less rarefied, repositories where they might have consulted such books and engravings—witness Ghika's volumes and Ali Efendi's collection of prints—and they could, moreover, have acquired copies of their own through their mercantile connections. The same connections would also have provided them access to Western portable objects, which were being imported to the Ottoman Empire in prodigious quantities during the eighteenth century. These three-dimensional goods—their embellishment often modeled on architecture—must have constituted another important source of inspiration for Ottoman Baroque designers (see fig. 28).

Knowledge of foreign books and wares does not, however, adequately account for the assurance and sophistication that characterizes even the first examples of the Ottoman Baroque. The confidence with which these structures reinterpret their European models while remaining meaningfully tied to them suggests an understanding of the source material that went beyond secondhand acquaintance. In particular, the works' carved decoration is so recognizably Baroque in its plasticity and articulation that the effect would have been extremely difficult to achieve on the basis of mediated study alone. It is entirely plausible, then, that at least some of the founding artists of the Ottoman Baroque had journeyed westward and viewed European architecture for themselves. There is ample evidence for this kind of travel during the nineteenth century, when a number of Ottoman painters and architects went to Europe as part of their training, sometimes under government sponsorship.[70] To judge from the sources, earlier artists did not enjoy such mobility, though the Armenian court painter Rafael Manas (d. 1780), who popularized Western conventions of portraiture in the mid-eighteenth century and is also said to have practiced architecture, reportedly received his early training in Italy.[71] Others too during this period must have had the means and opportunity to go to Western Europe, their travels enabled by the long-standing presence there of Greek and Armenian communities. The artists in question probably numbered a few enterprising men, and since their journeys were neither state-sponsored nor related to trade, it is not surprising that they went unrecorded. As we shall see, documents from subsequent decades show that Greeks were especially prosperous among Ottoman Baroque architects, and this raises the possibility that some of these individuals had links with, or even came from, the high-ranking Phanariot families who, from the seventeenth century onward, were educating their sons in Europe, and above all Italy.[72] It should be recalled

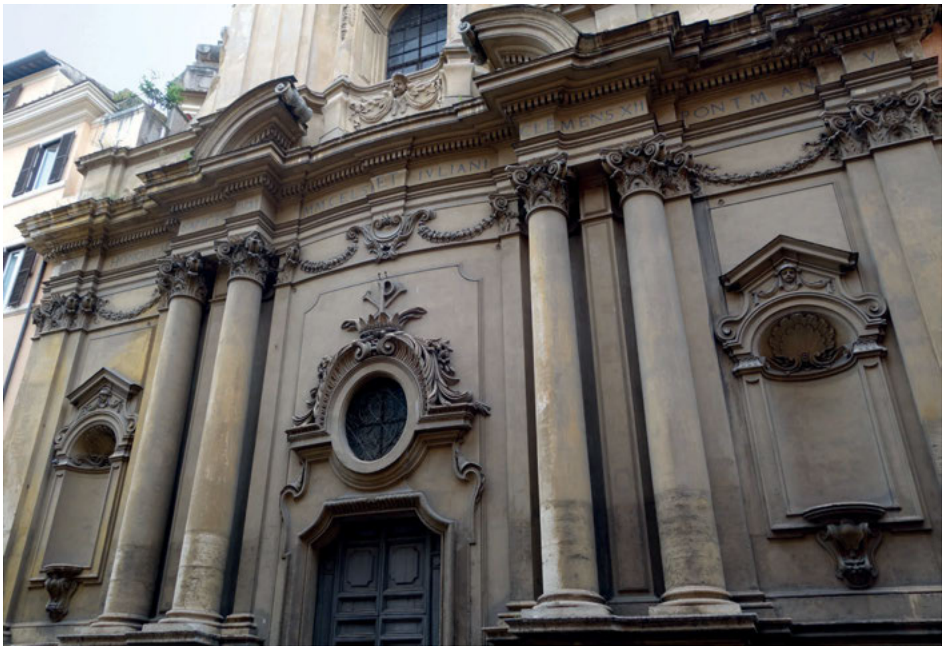


FIG. 62. Church of Santi Celso e Giuliano, Rome, 1733–35, lower part of the façade.

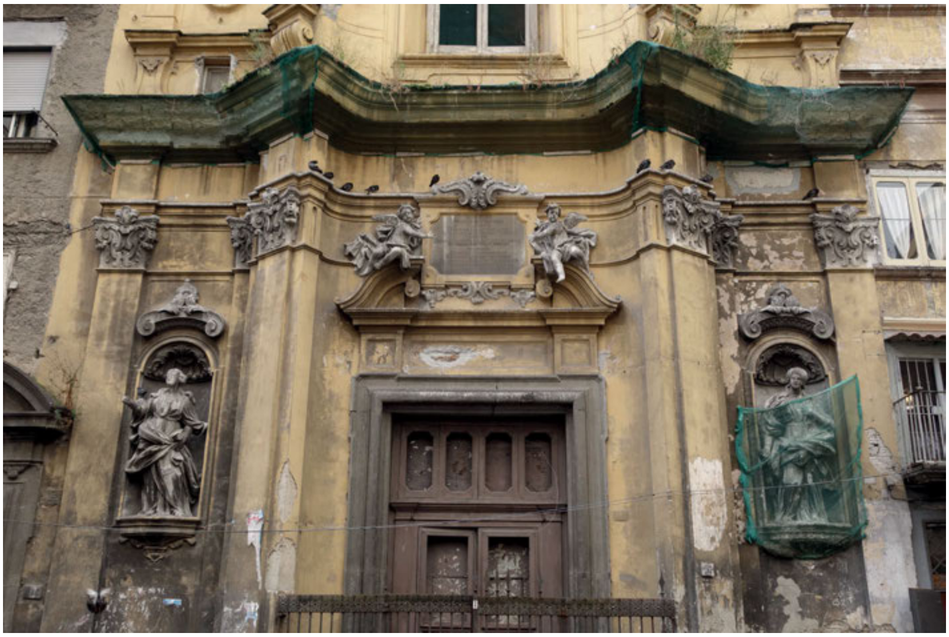
that Cantemir's early eighteenth-century description of the Ottoman building trade had referred specifically to "noble" Muslims as those who remained aloof of architecture; we can surmise from this that an equivalent class of dhimmis—well positioned and well connected—were among those non-Muslims who took up the profession.

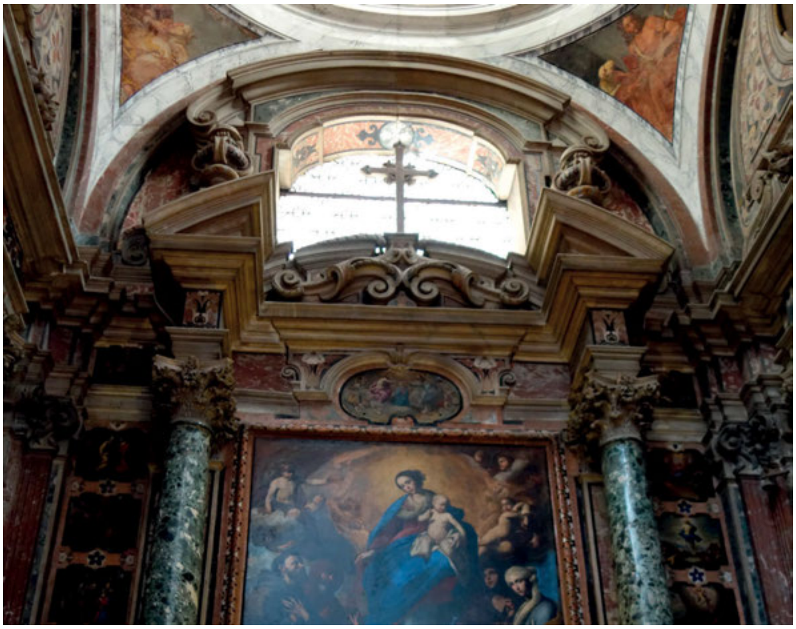
The Phanariot connection to Italy is important to stress in light of the pronouncedly Italianate flavor of the early Ottoman Baroque. Although the models available to them were diverse in origin and type, our artists worked in a manner closest to the Baroque of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italy, especially the livelier manifestations of the style to be seen in and south of Rome.[73] Their eschewal of the more sober French approach, which was well represented in Ottoman collections of Western architectural books, must in part have been a matter of taste, whether their own or their patrons'; but it also supports the idea that they were working from a firsthand knowledge of European architecture, with the Italian tradition being the most familiar to them. Large numbers of Ottoman Christians went to Italy for trade and education, and though most were based in the northern cities of Venice and Padua, many were also to be found in Rome and Naples.[74] This expatriate presence, together with the corridor of movement and communication that tied its members to their Ottoman homeland, would have provided a ready framework for those kalfas wishing to supplement their expertise in Western art through travel.

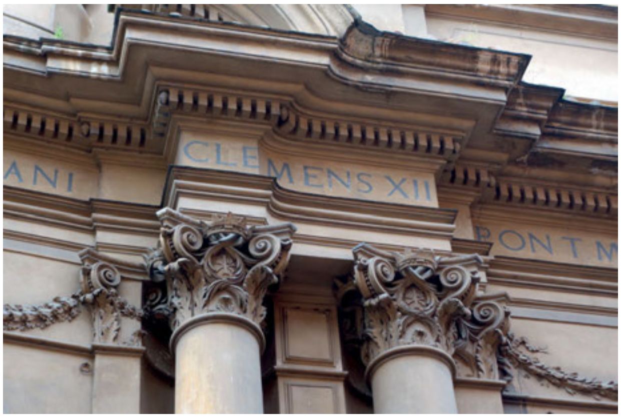
Such direct exposure is strongly implied by the gateway of the Hagia Sopia imaret (see figs. 47, 48), whose arrangement and decoration find significant parallels in the façades of several near-contemporary Italian churches. Take, for example, Santi Celso e Giuliano in Rome, which was rebuilt by the architect Carlo de Dominicis (d. 1758) between 1733 and 1735 (fig. 62).[75] Like the Ottoman gate, the lower story of the Roman façade is organized by columns into three zones, the central one containing a door surmounted by a broken pediment, and the two lateral ones, niches crowned by scrolled pediments and set with shells. Both works make prominent use of dentils, which run along their entablatures as well as their curved broken pediments, and both include dense feathery fronds growing in high relief from their doorframes. Another church that invites comparison with the imaret's gate is Santa Maria della Colonna in Naples, rebuilt with an extravagant façade by Antonio Guidetti (d. 1730) between 1713 and 1718 (fig. 63).[76] We are presented once again with a tripartite scheme in which a pedimented door is flanked by elaborately framed niches. Here, the door's pediment culminates in a carved inscription panel above which two high-relief scrolls—each fringed with a succession of smaller scrolls—meet to form a decorative headpiece that is in turn surmounted by a curling leafy finial. Notwithstanding the two angels that hold the panel, the overall effect is very much like that of the imaret's own overdoor inscription, whose modified swan-neck pediment likewise features two symmetrical scrolls that converge on a foliate centerpiece. Paired scrolls of this kind also appear atop numerous Italian Baroque altarpiece frames: a mid-seventeenth-century example in the Cacace Chapel in the Neapolitan church of San Lorenzo Maggiore provides a particularly close analogue to the imaret gate, for its crowning scrolls rest on an elevated oblong panel that is incorporated into an entablature supported by two green Corinthian columns (fig. 64).

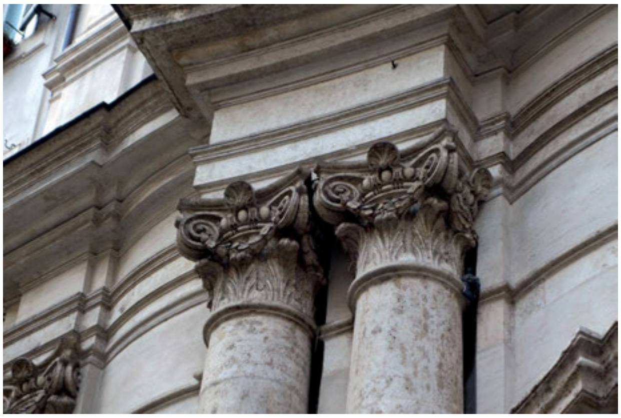
As discussed, these Baroque forms were thoroughly modified in the hands of their Ottoman borrowers, and even a motif as simple as the dentil molding emerges changed at the imaret, where the squares follow the contours of the pediment rather than hanging vertically down as they would in Italy. Nevertheless, the resemblance of the gate and other Ottoman Baroque works to Italian models is palpable, and extends to certain uncanonical details that are unlikely to have been mined from printed sources, which tended to reproduce more codified designs. A recurrent feature of early Ottoman Baroque column capitals is their unshrinking divergence from the Classical orders, and though this free approach is on the one hand a hallmark of the style's localization, it also builds on experiments already seen in Italian architecture. The bead moldings that

FIG. 63. Church of Santa Maria della Colonna, Naples, 1713–18, lower part of the façade.









frequently embellish the Ottoman capitals' corner volutes can thus also be found on the elaborated columns of numerous Roman Baroque monuments, including Santi Celso e Giuliano (fig. 65).[77] Likewise common to both traditions is the replacement of the capitals' conventional decor with alternative forms such as scallop shells and medallions. Employed instead of fleurons in the Ottoman context, shells are among several motifs substituted for the same purpose in Italy, where they can be seen, for instance, aloft the Composite columns of Rome's Oratorio SS. Sacramento, rebuilt between 1727 and 1730 by Domenico Gregorini (d. 1777) (fig. 66; see figs. 40, 43). The use of carved medallions to distinguish certain Ottoman Baroque capitals similarly accords with Italian practice, as demonstrated by the Composite capitals of Santi Celso e Giuliano, whose main faces are stripped of the expected acanthus leaves and display pairs of intertwined palm fronds that bear little crowns and frame oval spaces inscribed with Chi-Rho monograms (see figs. 43, 65, 193). Among the Ottoman counterparts to this design, the columns of the royal loge of Hacı Kemalettin share another feature with their Roman cousins: their inward-curling corner volutes (see fig. 55). This variant, which does not occur in other Ottoman works, is frequently encountered in the Italian Baroque,

FIG. 64. (top) Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples, detail of a mid-seventeenth-century altarpiece frame in the Cacace Chapel.

FIG. 65. (bottom left) Church of Santi Celso e Giuliano, column capitals on the façade.

FIG. 66. (bottom right) Oratorio SS. Sarcramento, Rome, 1727–30, column capitals on the façade.

having been popularized by the prolific seventeenth-century architect Francesco Borromini (d. 1667), whose manner remained highly influential in and beyond Rome well into the eighteenth century. Indeed, the capitals at Santi Celso e Giuliano clearly take their imagery and inverted volutes from the façade of Borromini's famous mid-seventeenth-century church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane.[78] That these Borrominesque themes are in turn echoed at Hacı Kemalettin confirms the Ottoman Baroque's Italian resonances.

More remarkable than their visual relationship to such models is the degree to which the Ottoman renditions are utilized to similar semantic ends. The energetic reworking of Classical forms that we see at Santi Celso e Giuliano is not merely for the sake of artistic variety; through the iconography of the crown and palm leaf, it also provides a layer of symbolism that glorifies the church's martyred dedicatees. While less iconic in their approach, Ottoman examples too use design variations to strong semiotic effect, with the most elaborated capitals being reserved for works of sultanic patronage. Particularly telling is the recurrent motif of the oval medallion, which, left blank within, evokes the impression of a princely jewel handsomely set into the bell of the capital.

Encompassing intent as well as form, then, the correspondences with the Italian tradition reveal themselves so comprehensively in the Ottoman Baroque that a minority of kalfas almost certainly honed their talents by observing Western models in situ. As well as in Italy itself, works by Roman and other Italian architects could be seen closer to home on the Dalmatian coast, which was divided between Venetian and Ottoman rule. The region's Baroque hub was, in fact, the Ottoman vassal state of Ragusa, a thriving maritime republic whose capital, Dubrovnik, was richly restored with the involvement of Italian architects after an earthquake in 1667 (fig. 67).[79] Italianate forms, including the inverted volute, had also made their way to Central Europe, where they were utilized as part of an equally spirited Habsburg Baroque that flourished in Buda and other cities not far from the Ottoman border.[80] Examples of this Habsburg tradition could even be found on Ottoman soil, for several had been built in Belgrade in the twenty years before the Ottomans reconquered it.[81] One of the few to survive is the Gate of Charles VI, a grand triumphal arch erected in 1736 (fig. 68). Surmounted by three bulbous finials and incorporating an arched pediment whose decoration includes angled S-scrolls (so-called Flemish scrolls), the gate's inner face shares many elements with the drawing discussed earlier (see fig. 59). These features were widespread enough that the relationship between the gate and the drawing need not have been causal, though the comparison they invite is significant given that Belgrade's recapture helped to set the political mood in which the Ottoman Baroque arose. At the very least, the existence of such comparanda along the empire's frontiers increases the likelihood that some of our artists experienced the Baroque in person, and it is notable in this regard that a master builder was sent to Bosnia and Serbia in 1739 as part of a special committee to establish the post-treaty border.[82]

Architects and craftsmen could also move in the other direction, and we must consider the possibility that Western artists themselves played some role in bringing Baroque forms to Istanbul. As discussed in the previous chapter, such individuals were

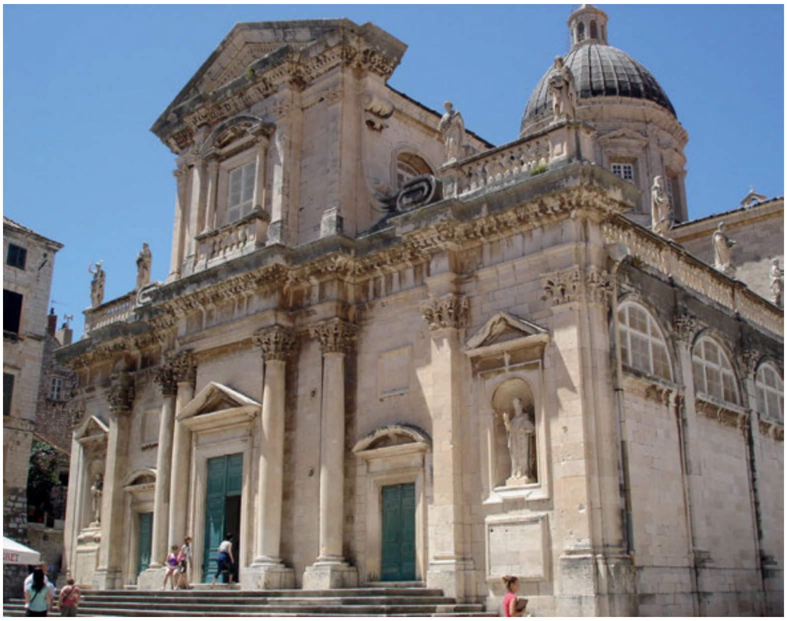


FIG. 67. Cathedral of the Assumption of Our Lady, Dubrovnik, 1671–1713.

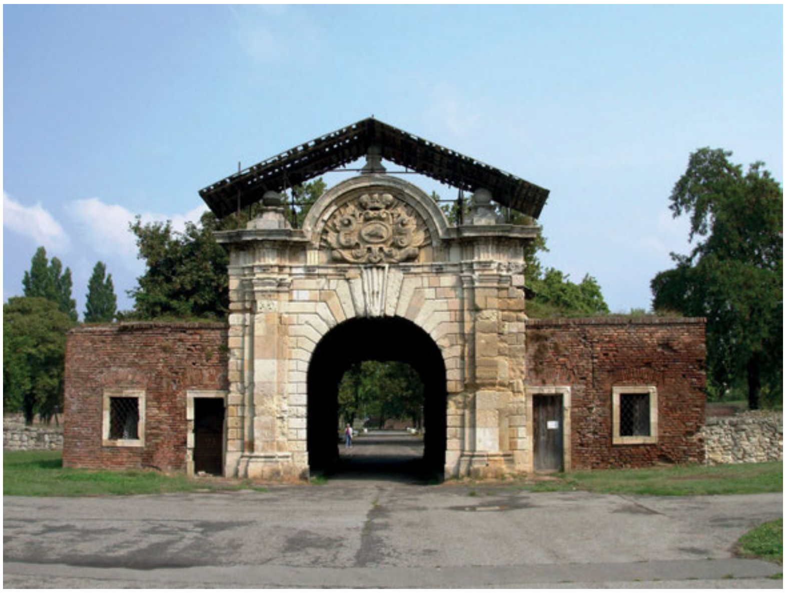


FIG. 68. Gate of Charles VI, Belgrade, 1736.

present in the city both as visitors and residents, the latter including a number of renegades. Yet the contemporary European sources are quite vocal in identifying the leading Ottoman architects of the time as native Greeks and Armenians, and it is only toward the 1800s that Western builders began to make their mark on Istanbul.[83] To be sure, there are scattered references to earlier European contributions, specifically in the field of palatial architecture. In his firsthand account of his stay in Istanbul during the mid-eighteenth century, the merchant Flachat attributes "the good taste [the Ottomans] have started to give their buildings" to Frankish—that is European—influence, and he goes on to say that Sultan Mahmud's renovated palace at Beşiktaş, which he deems "the most beautiful kiosk of the Empire," was "built on the basis of plans provided by Italians."[84] A similar statement appears in European newspaper reports in relation to an otherwise unattested Italian architect called Espinelluzzi, who is said to have prepared plans to restore parts of the Topkapı Palace following an earthquake in 1755.[85] These pieces of information are dubious given that it was precisely in their plans and typologies that Ottoman buildings remained least affected by the period's artistic shifts. Neither Flachat nor the newspapers say that the postulated architects actually came to Istanbul, and if there is any truth to their claims of Italian input, the plans in question were probably generic designs of the kind that the Ottomans were already collecting and consulting. Exaggerated though they are, such references are important for highlighting both the Italianate character of the Ottoman Baroque as it first emerged and the active interest of Ottoman patrons in procuring international models for the native architects who dominated the scene.

Had Westerners formed a substantial contingent in Istanbul's building trade, their handiwork would have been especially apparent in the suburb of Pera, home to large communities of Italo-Levantine Ottomans and Western European diplomats and merchants. But, as Paolo Girardelli has shown, Pera's urban fabric remained distinctly Ottoman well into the nineteenth century, and even the grandest ambassadorial residences, while stocked with Western furnishings and luxury goods, presented typically local exteriors until they began to be rebuilt following a fire that ravaged the district in 1767.[86] Vigny's unfulfilled mission to transform the Palais de France earlier in the century failed in part because he realized that he would have to work with Ottoman builders using Ottoman methods. When another French architect, Julien-David Le Roy (d. 1803), visited Istanbul as part of his travels in 1754 and 1755, he did so only as an observer, noting with admiration the technique used by the Nuruosmaniye's Greek architect to construct its dome.[87]

The most compelling evidence that Ottoman artists were the main creative force behind the new style is provided by the buildings themselves, which are never verbatim imitations of Western models. My contention that certain kalfas probably gained firsthand knowledge of European architecture is not to suggest that they were in any sense (re)trained while abroad, nor that Ottoman artists at large—the majority of whom would not have left the empire—fundamentally changed their practice, even as they adopted a different set of motifs. After all, and regardless of whether they had traveled, these men developed their experimental and outward-looking approach on home turf, in accordance with their own technical and cultural backgrounds. They acted, in other words, as assimilators of the Baroque rather than mere transmitters of it, and this point is aptly borne out by works they produced within their communities. Because the state's building codes prevented non-Muslims from partaking in bold external displays, Christian examples of decorative stonework (architectural or otherwise) were necessarily limited to interiors and other screened-off settings.[88] Most of this material was lost after the Tanzimat reforms of 1839, when restrictions were lifted and Istanbul's churches were rebuilt in grander form, but two corpora of Armenian tombstones survive to give us a precious glimpse into dhimmi visual culture of the eighteenth century.

Located in the suburban cemeteries of Bağlarbaşı and Balıklı, these grave markers take the form of large oblong slabs of carved marble that are inscribed in Armenian and dated accorded to the Armenian calendar. Those from the first third of the century

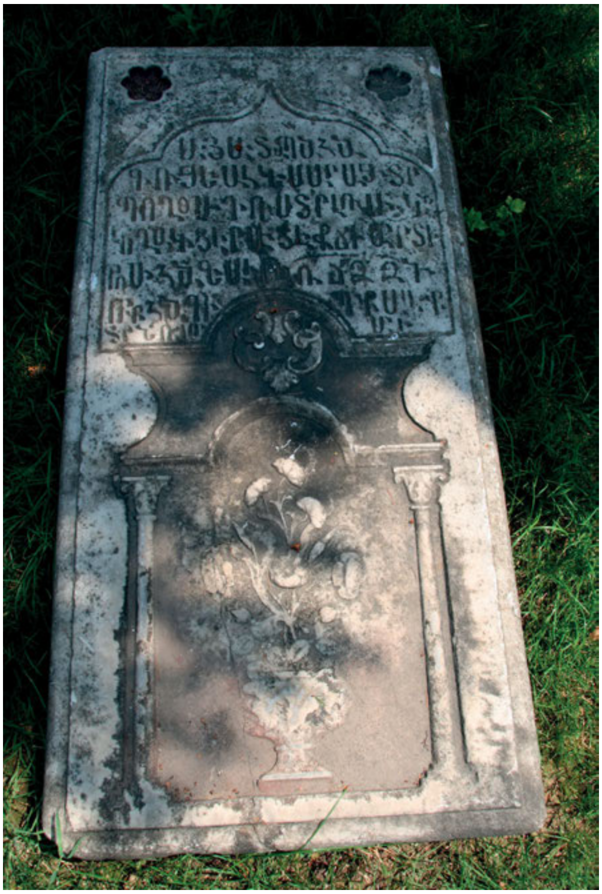


FIG. 69. (left) Marble tombstone dated 1737, Armenian cemetery, Balıklı, Istanbul.

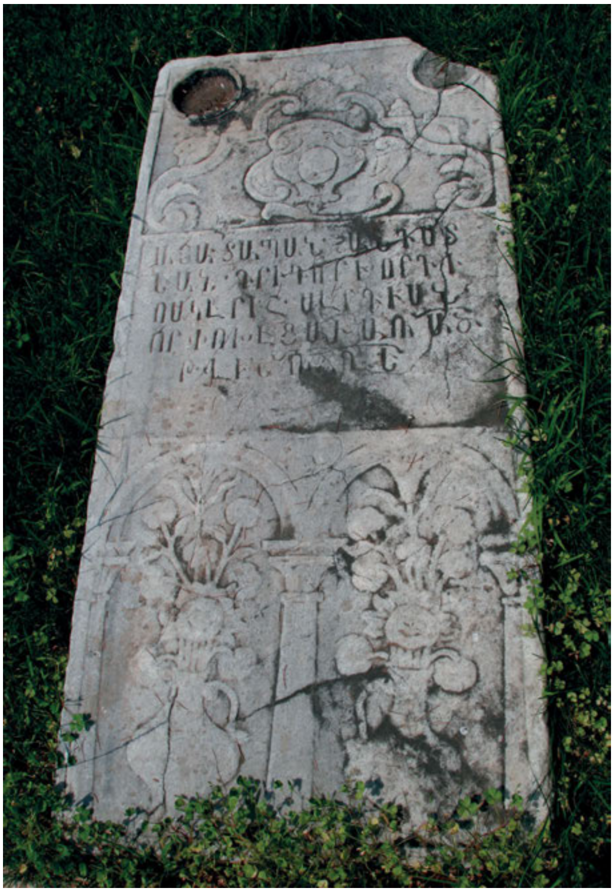


FIG. 70. (right) Marble tombstone dated 1746, Armenian cemetery, Balıklı, Istanbul.

exhibit a range of time-honored motifs, including muqarnas, but a switch occurs starting with a stone at Balıklı dated 1186, equivalent to 1737 (fig. 69). Despite the traditional ogee arch that frames its inscription, the stone is striking for the very different tenor of its remaining surface, which shows a naturalistic vase of flowers flanked by Corinthianizing colonnettes that support a round-arched pediment whose center hosts a composition of interlocking C-scrolls and leaves. Here, then, is an example of Ottoman Baroque design that predates by almost half a decade the first known structures in the new style. The tombstones that follow the 1737 piece further demonstrate how comfortable Ottoman Christian craftsmen were with European models by this period. One, dated 1195 (1746) and again preserved in Balıklı, features an asymmetrical arrangement of scrolls that is obviously inspired by the Rococo, a manner rarely seen in Ottoman architecture before 1750 (fig. 70). As with the earlier stone, the Europeanizing decor is coupled with a more characteristically Ottoman element, in this case a pair of stylized floral bouquets that hark back to the "Tulip Era." Both tombstones, tellingly, commemorate individuals associated with the world of craftsmen: that of 1737 was made for the wife of a *sedefci* (worker of mother-of-pearl) named Mardiros, while that of 1746 belongs to a jeweler or goldsmith called Sarkis.[89]

More than underscoring dhimmi artists' mastery of cross-cultural synthesis, these tombstones reveal that Ottoman Christians—at the level of consumption as well as production—had already embraced a localized form of the Baroque by the time the style gained currency among the Muslim elite.[90] Those recorded in the epitaphs are people of good social and professional standing, but not the most powerful or prosperous within their community; indeed, some of the tombstones are of middling technical caliber, testament to how fully the new fashion had permeated dhimmi society. By contrast, tombstones made for even the most affluent of Muslim Ottomans clung to a traditional decorative repertoire for far longer, and only in the second half of the century were they updated along similar lines to the earlier Christian pieces.[91] This disparity reiterates the point that the Ottoman Baroque did not emerge into the mainstream until it found favor with the ruling class, whose building projects of the 1740s officially sanctioned and exteriorized a style that had, it seems, previously served as an inwardly directed marker of minority identity. Although capitalizing on the artistic cosmopolitanism of Christian Ottomans, the Muslim elite's interest in the Baroque sprang from other motives and was shaped by its own set of actors, to whom my discussion now turns.

MUSLIM PATRONS AND ELITE AESTHETICS

While little is recorded about the artists who established the new style, the sources are more forthcoming when it comes to the high-ranking Muslims who nurtured their talents. Several men find mention in this regard, and there can be no doubt that the Ottoman Baroque's rapid ascent was fueled not by any one person, but by the collective aspirations of a whole class of stakeholders from the same cultural milieu. Nevertheless, certain key figures must have spearheaded the process, and their identities and contributions are important to consider. These individuals shared a number of distinctions that rendered them leading patrons and connoisseurs: first, the status to set new standards that others would wish to follow; second, the visual astuteness to understand the implications of stylistic change; third, substantial knowledge of Western architectural trends; and fourth, access—whether direct or mediated—to the dhimmi artists who had already familiarized themselves with the Baroque. Such persons can only have belonged to, or moved in the orbit of, the upper echelons of the court, where a culture of artistic novelty and an amplified interest in Western modes had been fermenting since the start of the century. It was against the background of this existing concern for aesthetic experimentation and cosmopolitanism that the Ottoman Baroque's elite backers promoted the style.

The phenomenon is in some ways comparable to a language reform. When such a reform was initiated following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, no one could have predicted the extent and speed of its impact, yet the changes imposed on the language were not without warning: efforts to simplify written Turkish had been made since the end of the nineteenth century, and with considerable results. The instigators of the republican overhaul thus systematized and accelerated a movement that was in any case under way, and though their intervention turned the process into something far more consequential than it might otherwise have been, they owed much of their success to the fact that the reform was grounded in earlier developments.[92] Likewise, the Ottoman Baroque was a move by certain leading members of the court to intensify an effect that had first suggested itself in buildings of Ahmed III's reign. With their luxuriantly carved surfaces and cross-cultural undertones, these earlier works provided a point of departure for a new approach that, while related to the "Tulip Era" mode, was not a predictable outcome of it.

As for the individuals who were qualified to head such a reform, first to consider must be Sultan Mahmud himself. Commentators from both East and West refer time and again to the sultan's affinity for the arts, and though the trope of the knowledgeable patron-ruler is a hackneyed one, it proves well deserved in his case. Mahmud was a noted connoisseur of jeweled items, particularly those of inventive design, as attested by his surviving commissions and by contemporary sources that both praise and criticize his thirst for precious wares.[93] Writing of the tremendous number and variety of objects in the sultan's treasury, Flachat, whose role as chief merchant to the court left him well placed to observe such matters, tells us that Mahmud "would spend several hours with his favorites examining everything one after the other, without tiring of admiring them."[94] So well known was this proclivity that the sultan even earned a posthumous reputation as a talented goldsmith and jeweler in his own right.[95] Equaling his love of precious objects was his passion for architecture, another topic that the sources repeatedly mention. The richest descriptions of Mahmud's architectural interests relate to his patronage of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, which is the subject of the following chapter, but there are many more references covering his reign in general. We have already seen Subhi's account of the sultan's careful tour of the Hagia Sophia imaret, for example.

More revealing is the ruzname, or journal, kept by the sultan's private secretary Kadı Ömer Efendi between 1740 and 1750.[96] Like other books of its kind, the journal largely consists of short, formulaic entries noting the sultan's daily activities, and it was written both for purposes of courtly recordkeeping and to provide source material for later chroniclers. Because of their extemporaneous and documentary format, and because they were not intended as public or literary works, such ruznames are in many ways more valuable than the elaborated, panegyric chronicles composed after them. Ömer Efendi's journal is replete with references to Mahmud's activities as a sponsor and consumer of the arts, including his commissioning of numerous palatial structures—most of them no longer extant—whose building sites he frequented. When the now-lost shoreline Topkapı Pavilion was undergoing renovation in February 1741, Mahmud "graced the area being newly (re)built with his presence, and after some descriptions and explanations in connection with the building [*bināya müteʿalliḳ baʿżı taʿrīf ü beyāndan ṣoñra*], he departed."[97] Though vague as to who actually spoke these "descriptions and explanations," the journal makes clear that Mahmud's visit entailed an interested dialogue regarding the work. The sultan showed the same engagement the following month when he visited another shoreline residence that was being remodeled, the Beşiktaş Palace, on whose site now stands the Dolmabahçe Palace (see fig. 5). Here, Mahmud gave "certain orders in accordance with his noble disposition,"[98] explicit proof of his personal involvement in the projects being carried out in his name.

A more remarkable example of the sultan's attentiveness to architecture concerns the Belgrade Fortress, which the Ottomans had recently won back from the Habsburgs. In 1740, as plans took shape to repair the damaged fortress, the grand vizier brought a three-dimensional model (*mücessem taṣvīr*) of it to Mahmud, who listened as his minister "explained and described" the various parts of the edifice. The model must have been of monumental proportions, for the ruzname records that it was placed in a "large pool" into which the grand vizier descended while the sultan observed from a pavilion above.[99] This elaborate procedure anticipates the careful planning of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque later in the same decade.

Western sources, too, portray Mahmud as a passionate builder. Flachat wrote that "Mahamout had hardly finished one building when he went about starting another."[100] An equally telling, if somewhat oblique, reference to the sultan's penchant for architecture is made by the British ambassador James Porter in a report he wrote in May 1755, five months into the reign of Mahmud's brother and successor, Osman III. Likening the new sultan to his predecessor, Porter states that "we see as much mildness, and lenity to the full as in the late Reign, his taste will turn out probably to Building"[101]—the corollary being that Mahmud's tastes had run the same way.

It is significant that Porter draws an association between calm governance and profuse building: the sultan's substantial architectural output must have been considered emblematic of his success in maintaining a secure and peaceful realm. This sheds further light on the timing and meaning of the Ottoman Baroque's elite-sponsored deployment, which, as discussed earlier, came on the heels of Mahmud's international and domestic victories of 1739 and 1740. Indeed, one of the busiest periods of construction according to Kadı Ömer's ruzname was the year 1153 (March 1740–March 1741), when work began to remodel several of the sultan's palaces. Many of these renovations were completed in 1154 (1741–42), the same year as the first dated Ottoman Baroque structures. No surviving examples of palatial architecture can definitively be associated with this campaign, but the thoroughly Baroque renovations of the principal bath of the Topkapı Palace harem appear to date from 1744 (fig. 71), while the equally novel fountain in the bath of the princes' schoolroom, also in the harem, may have been made earlier.[102] Based on the ruzname entries, we can thus surmise that Ottoman Baroque architecture—as a consolidation of recent trends in dhimmi artistry—first arose in the courtly domain shortly before being carried by high-ranking patronage into the wider city. Its palatial inauguration announced the style as a visual sign of revived sultanic authority, and its subsequent spread gave wider expression to what Mahmud and those around him saw, and wished to portray, as a new age of Ottoman peace and prosperity.

By the time the Baroque had entrenched itself as the recognized court mode in the mid-1740s, Kadı Ömer's terse diary entries were becoming more vocal in praising the latest constructions for their innovativeness, which he describes with terms like "the pleasing new style" (*nev-ṭarz-ı maṭbūʿ*).[103] As Shirine Hamadeh has highlighted, analogous expressions abound in eighteenth-century Ottoman references to architecture, including the buildings' own inscriptions. Such terms had been used of earlier monuments also, but their proliferation in the eighteenth century amounted to "a distinctive form of discourse during a period when novelty and originality were invoked as measures of architectural appreciation."[104] The presence of this discourse in a journal recording the monarch's daily actions shows the extent to which the visual shift marking these years was read as a reflection of Mahmud himself.

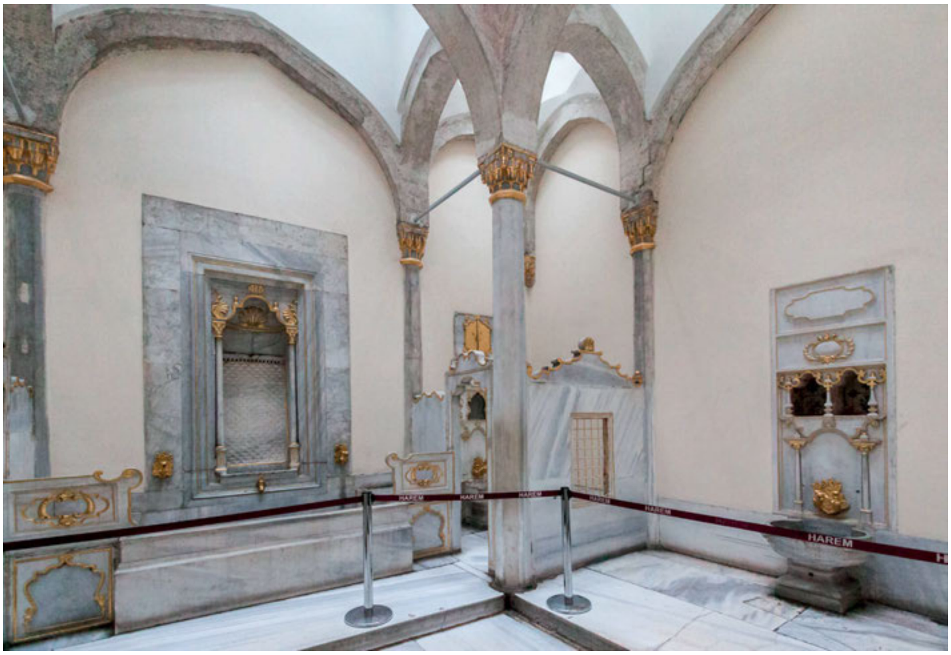


FIG. 71. Topkapı Palace, Harem, Baths of the Sultan and Queen Mother, 1580s, renovated ca. 1744. (© Alexandre Fagundes De Fagundes / Dreamstime.com.)

The sultan's active role in backing the new style relied not only on his architectural zeal, but also on his well-documented fascination for the arts and products of the West. Kadı Ömer reports that on the first day of 1154 (April 11, 1741), Mahmud visited the Baghdad Pavilion, which stands in the Topkapı Palace's fourth court, in order to hear "a marvelous instrument called by the name of 'organ' [*erġanūn*] that had arrived from the Frankish infidels"; a few weeks later, he viewed "four new and marvelous carpets—two large, two small—arrived from the French king as presents."[105] Interestingly, these are not the same organ and carpets that the better-known Western sources record as being sent by Louis XV the following year as part of a lavish array of gifts for the sultan and his court. Entrusted to the Ottoman ambassador, Mehmed Saʿid Pasha, as he was preparing to leave France, these later gifts also included a pair of monumental gilt mirrors that Flachat, who saw them in Istanbul, deemed finer than all others in the palace.[106] The mirrors are now lost, but their appearance is known from textual descriptions and from a drawing by their designer, Louis XV's architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel (d. 1782), who devised two stately Baroque frames each crowned by a scroll-flanked cartouche containing a crescent moon (fig. 72).

Some sense of the mirrors' grandeur is provided by the sole identifiable object to have survived from this set of gifts, a brazier of similor—a gold-colored brass alloy—signed by the noted designer Jean-Claude Duplessis (d. 1774) (fig. 73). This splendid piece, which once belonged to a pair, combines a traditional Ottoman shape with a full-bodied Rococo design of swirling leafy forms.[107] Though intended for Mehmed Saʿid himself, the braziers were apparently handed to the sultan after the ambassador's return to Istanbul. The surviving one is now housed in the Sofa Kiosk, a garden pavilion of seventeenth-century origin that stands in the fourth court of the Topkapı Palace and is the only extant palatial structure definitively attributable to Mahmud, who modernized it in 1752–53 (figs. 73, 74).[108] Comprising two box-like wings with low roofs, the kiosk is a simple yet elegant building whose walls are formed mostly of

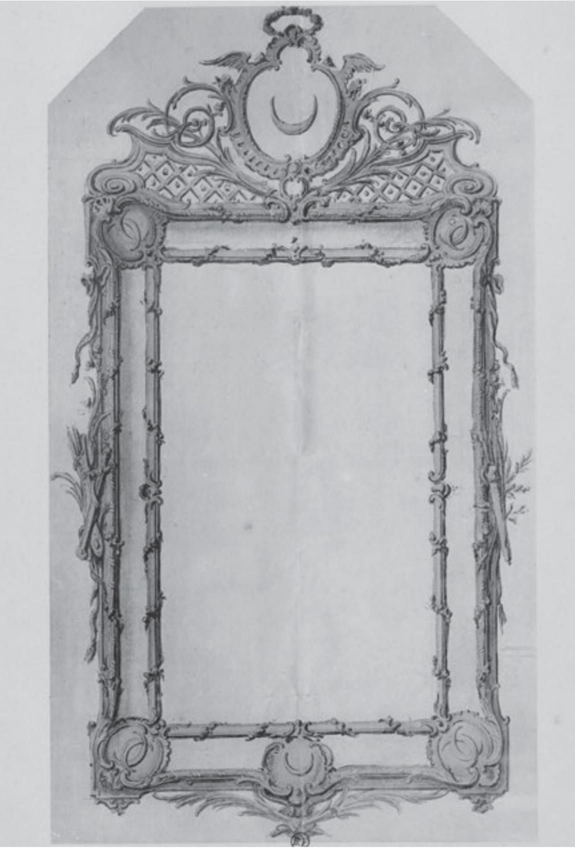


FIG. 72. Ange-Jacques Gabriel, design for a pair of gilt-bronze mirrors presented by Louis XV to Mahmud I in 1742. From Alfred de Champeaux, ed., *Portefeuille des arts décoratifs* (Paris: Librairie des arts décoratifs, A. Cavalas, 1888–98). Collotype on paper after a now lost drawing.

FIG. 73. Topkapı Palace, Sofa Kiosk, seventeenth century, remodeled 1752–53, interior view showing a French brazier made ca. 1742 by Jean-Claude Duplessis.

expansive wood-framed windows. Its rear façade, which features twin projections carried on columns, strongly recalls depictions of the Beşiktaş Palace as it looked by the end of the eighteenth century (see fig. 5). Inside, the kiosk is a light and airy space with richly carved Baroque-Rococo woodwork lining its surfaces. While we do not know how the building was originally furnished, Duplessis's brazier is precisely the kind of object that would have been showcased there. The visual rapport between the French work and the Ottoman building reminds us of the degree to which such foreign wares, by familiarizing the sultan and his circle with contemporary Western fashions, fed into the creation of a local Baroque style.

Mahmud's acquisition of European goods was not limited to the passive acceptance of foreign rulers' gifts; the sultan himself was instrumental in determining what entered his collections. In an entry concerning a shipment of Western goods (*Frenk-kārī eşyā*) presented to him in 1743, the ruzname tells us that Mahmud bought only those objects that were to his liking (*pesendīde olanlar*).[109] Where necessary, he employed agents to make his purchases. A British report written after 1736 discusses the case of Antonio Laumaca, "a subject of the Sultan"—presumably of Italo-Levantine background—who had been sent to Paris to "buy certain things for the use of the Grand Signior," and who then found himself in Marseilles seeking British help in obtaining a passport back to the Ottoman Empire. The report mentions a total of fifteen "bales or Chests" of unspecified goods that Laumaca had obtained for the sultan, no doubt in fulfillment of certain instructions.[110] Closer to home, Mahmud had his own Western merchant in the person of Flachat, who regularly stocked the palace with the kinds of luxury goods and mechanical novelties that were in demand there. While Flachat dealt mainly through the eunuchs, he regarded his royal master as a man of discerning and open-minded taste:

> Mahamout had . . . freed himself in several regards of popular prejudices. When I went about the seraglio of Bechictache [Beşiktaş], I was not so surprised to find in the communal areas admirable miniatures, beautiful porcelain magots, statues of singular finish, and pictures for which our connoisseurs would pay a great deal.[111]

Flachat noted a similar abundance of international wares in Mahmud's lost privy chamber in the harem of the Topkapı Palace, to which he gained rare access:

> All [in the chamber] is of unparalleled magnificence. The window openings and ceilings are inlaid with flowered porcelain of remarkable finish. Foliage carved in gold covers the stucco which joins the slabs of porcelain. The walls are covered with tapestry of cloth of gold. The sofa is of a material just as rich. The mirrors, clocks, caskets, are all remarkable,

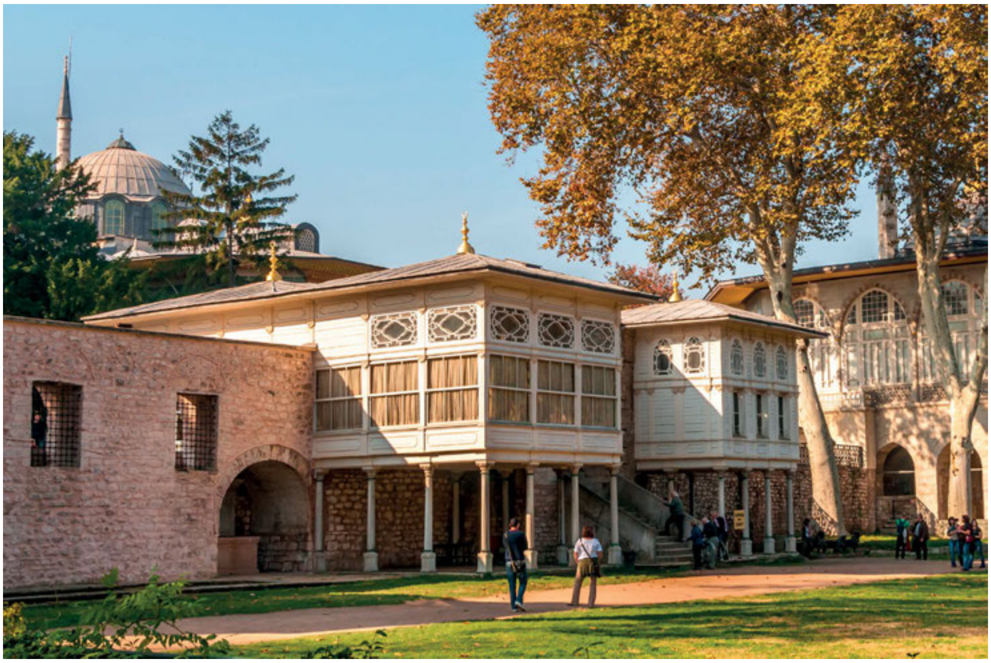


FIG. 74. Topkapı Palace, Sofa Kiosk, rear façade. (© Milosk50 / Dreamstime.com.)

> and what is extraordinary is that nearly all the chefs d'oeuvre are the productions of foreign artists who have been employed to decorate this apartment [*Artistes étrangers qu'on a employés à décorer cet appartement*].[112]

If Flachat's closing words imply that foreigners were actually present and working at the palace, we know from the rest of his travel account that the objects in question were imported. His reference to the artists being employed seems, then, to mean that many of the masterpieces furnishing Mahmud's chamber were purposefully commissioned for the space rather than indiscriminately received or bought. Such purchasing of bespoke foreign goods was not in itself new: in the sixteenth century, various members of the Ottoman court ordered mosque lamps, textiles, and lanterns from Venetian workshops, sometimes sending drawings to indicate what they wanted.[113] This long-standing appetite for often custom-made Western wares reached unprecedented levels in the eighteenth century, with examples like the Duplessis brazier demonstrating the continued willingness of European artists to adapt their output for the Ottoman market.[114]

To return to Flachat's Beşiktaş visit, an important detail of his account is that the sultan's foreign possessions were on open display in the most accessible areas of the palace. Mahmud's eagerness to show off his aesthetic ecumenism extended also to the burgeoning style of architecture associated with such object collections. Kadı Ömer records that in April 1742, the sultan gave the grand vizier permission to view the recently completed baths of the Topkapı Pavilion, and that in February 1746, he "graced the pavilion newly built in the Tulip Garden, and his slave the grand vizier also came and viewed [it]."[115] Neither the baths nor the unnamed pavilion, which appears to have stood in the lower garden of the Topkapı Palace, survive, but both must have been proud exemplars of the latest fashions. Indeed, Kadı Ömer writes of the latter building that its "design and ornament, together with [its] newly appeared pool, are without equal, such that all who view it agree that it eclipses the other pavilions."[116]

Unsurprisingly, this culture of courtly exhibitionism was not one-sided, and the individuals who made up Mahmud's circle were anxious to advertise their own awareness of the new aesthetic. The ruzname documents two instances in 1741 when the sultan visited the Sublime Porte—the Ottoman government's headquarters, just outside the Topkapı Palace—in order to view additions that had been made there by the grand vizier, who was granted a robe of honor on both occasions.[117] Another high-ranking courtier seeking to impress the sultan with his architectural patronage was the chief harem eunuch Moralı Beşir Agha (d. 1752), who in late 1746 built a pavilion in the eunuchs' garden at the Topkapı Palace. As Kadı Ömer tells us, the sultan was entertained several times at the newly completed pavilion, "its design and decoration exciting wonder in the beholder" (*ṭarḥ u nuḳūşu ḥayret-efzā-yı müşāhedet olmuşdur*).[118]

This collaborative, even competitive, culture of display raises the question of who besides Mahmud might have set the aesthetic agenda. The Ottoman court was filled with men of varied and worldly backgrounds who had the credentials to grasp the artistic and symbolic potential of cosmopolitan self-fashioning. Some, like Mehmed Saʿid Pasha, had traveled abroad for diplomatic purposes, reaching Russia and Sweden as well as France.[119] Others, including the French renegade and military adviser Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha (the Comte de Bonneval) and the Hungarian-born diplomat, translator, and publisher İbrahim Müteferrika, were themselves of foreign origin. All belonged to a sphere that intersected with that of the many European politicians, traders, and artists who lived in or passed through Istanbul, as strikingly visualized by a pastel portrait of a grand vizier—perhaps Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, whose father was a Venetian convert—executed in around 1742 by the Genevan painter Jean-Étienne Liotard (d. 1789) (fig. 75).[120] Critically, moreover, many of these grandees had played key military or political roles in the empire's recent international victories, bringing about the very conditions that the Ottoman Baroque would celebrate.

Certain men in this elite constellation achieved more architectural prominence than others. Figures as notable as Mehmed Saʿid and Humbaracı Ahmed, for example, have no buildings associated with them. The opposite is true of the grand vizier—or, more accurately, the various incumbents of this frequently rotated post. All who held the office were expected to join the sultan in renovating the capital, often acting as his deputy. As we have seen, the practice was established at the start of Mahmud's reign with the Galata waterworks project, for which Hekimoğlu Ali—grand vizier between 1732 and 1735 and again between 1742 and 1743—built a monumental fountain that was subsumed under the aegis of the sultan. Similar undertakings are described in Kadı Ömer's journal, which several times indicates that a vizier's building activities were not so much a choice as they were a duty. In 1744, Seyyid Hasan Pasha (d. 1748), who served from 1742 to 1746, was charged with furnishing a newly completed royal pavilion, and in the following year, he was "permitted" (*ruḫṣat-yāb*) to do the same at the Beşiktaş Palace.[121]

As well as doing the sultan's bidding, a number of grand viziers became keen builders in their own right. The vizier recorded by Kadı Ömer as augmenting the Sublime

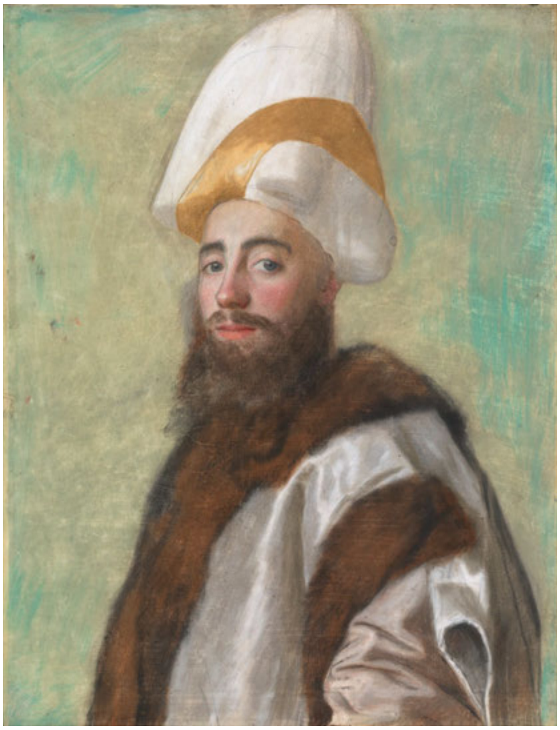


FIG. 75. Jean-Étienne Liotard, portrait of a grand vizier, possibly Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, ca. 1738–43. Pastel on paper. National Gallery, London.

Porte in 1741 was none other than Nişancı Ahmed Pasha, whose fountain dating from the same year was discussed above as one of the earliest surviving examples of the Ottoman Baroque; indeed, the style's onset coincided with his short tenure, which ran from 1740 to 1742. Hekimoğlu Ali and Seyyid Hasan made a greater show of their patronal wherewithal, for both erected major new religious complexes in the walled city. Completed in 1734–35, before the shift to Baroque, Hekimoğlu's complex centers on a sizable domed mosque that harks back to prestigious sixteenth-century models (fig. 76). Less traditional is Seyyid Hasan's complex, which was built in 1745 as a grand two-story rectangular structure with a Baroque sebil on its façade and a courtyarded upper floor containing a madrasa and masjid (figs. 77, 78, 79).[122]

As much as these monuments commemorate the men who built them, however, they tell us little about what their patrons brought individually to the changing visual discourse. None of Mahmud's grand viziers came close to matching the architectural record of their "Tulip Era" predecessor, Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha, who not only distinguished himself as a prolific sponsor of the arts, but also—and relatedly—remained in power long enough to exercise sustained cultural influence. With their high turnover and relatively brief ministries, İbrahim's successors should perhaps be assessed less for their respective contributions than for their collective performance of the vizierial task of building. That some of them became leading propagators of the Ottoman Baroque was a matter of official course and a reflection of their elite concerns and experiences; whether any of them had much to do personally with the style's formation is far more difficult to demonstrate, as it is also for other members of this courtly patronage network.

A more specific picture of the tastemakers who acted in tandem with Mahmud can be gained from Flachat, whose memoir is unusually detailed in this regard. We earlier saw his evocative description of Mehterzade Ali Efendi, a collector of Western prints and treatises who was appointed to oversee a number of royal constructions. As a state official who does not appear to have sponsored any buildings himself, Ali Efendi expands our frame of reference beyond patrons strictly defined, pointing to the crucial involvement that building supervisors and other such officials had in the Baroque's courtly uptake. These functionaries, who included the chief imperial architect, constituted a bureaucratic interface linking the elite and artistic spheres, and as the case of Ali Efendi exemplifies, the more engaged and knowledgeable among them had a definite hand in instituting the new style of building. Flachat's account of Ali also compels us to treat the European holdings of the Topkapı Palace Library as paradigmatic rather than exceptional: the sultan was evidently not alone in acquiring Western books and prints and having them annotated, and he and his fellow collectors must have regarded one another as welcome interlocutors united by their curiosity for things cross-cultural.

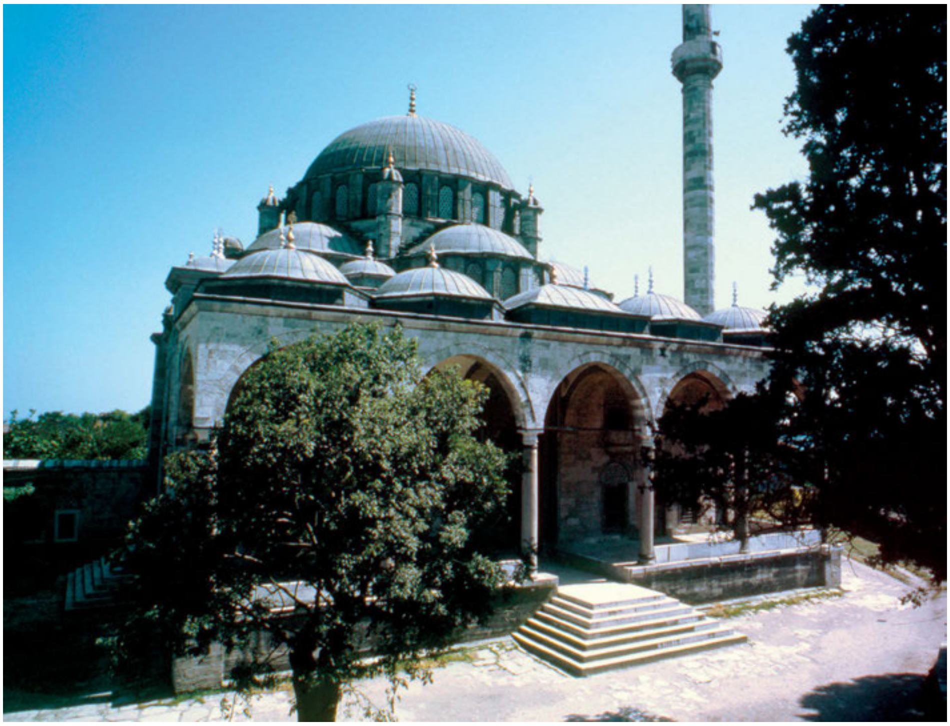


FIG. 76. Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Mosque, Istanbul, 1734–35.

Flachat mentions Ali Efendi again in relation to the Topkapı Pavilion, crediting him with supervising its construction alongside the chief harem eunuch, in whose service Ali had risen through the bureaucratic ranks.[123] More than any other figure, the chief eunuch is the recurrent hero of Flachat's narrative, repeatedly hailed for his "good taste" (*bon goût*) and, together with the other eunuchs, portrayed as setting the artistic tone at the palace.[124] As with the grand vizier, the chief eunuch was in fact more than one individual, though in this case only two, both of them sharing the same name: Hacı Beşir Agha, who was appointed by Ahmed III in 1717 and survived his master's fall to continue in the post until his death in 1746; and his successor, Moralı Beşir Agha, whose thirst for power led to his execution in 1752.[125] Flachat indiscriminately refers to these individuals as if they were one man, confusing things further by corrupting their names into "Agi Bectache."[126] Notwithstanding this conflation, Flachat had good reason to present the two Beşirs as dominant personalities in Ottoman aesthetics. The chief eunuch's dual function as overseer of the harem—including its refurbishment—and administrator of the sultan's pious endowments meant that he necessarily took an interest in matters of art and architecture. His traditional apprenticeship as palace treasurer—the post held by both Beşirs before they became chief eunuch—would have afforded him regular access to luxury objects, many of them imported. As Emine Fetvacı and others have shown, the eunuchs' significance as cultural patrons greatly increased from the late sixteenth century onward;[127] by Mahmud's reign, it was fully expected that they would take a leading role in sponsoring artistic and architectural activity, often on the sultan's behalf. Hacı Beşir was a famed bibliophile and noted builder, while Moralı Beşir was a well-regarded calligrapher who composed the inscriptions for the Hagia Sophia imaret.[128]

The importance that Flachat ascribes to the two Beşir Aghas is corroborated by Kadı Ömer, whose journal contains various records of the eunuchs' architectural

FIG. 77. Complex of Seyyid Hasan Pasha, Istanbul, 1745, photographed ca. 1937.

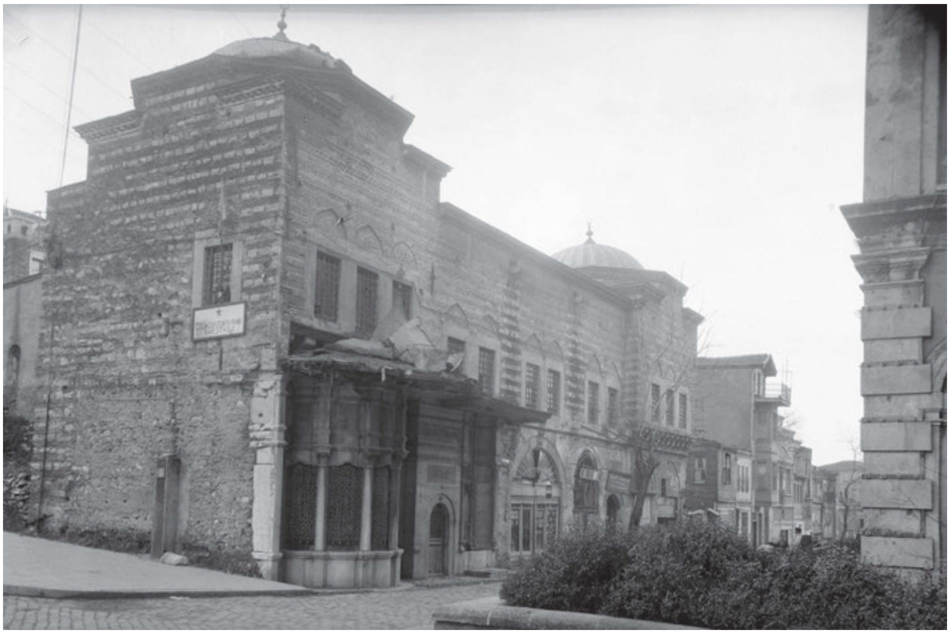
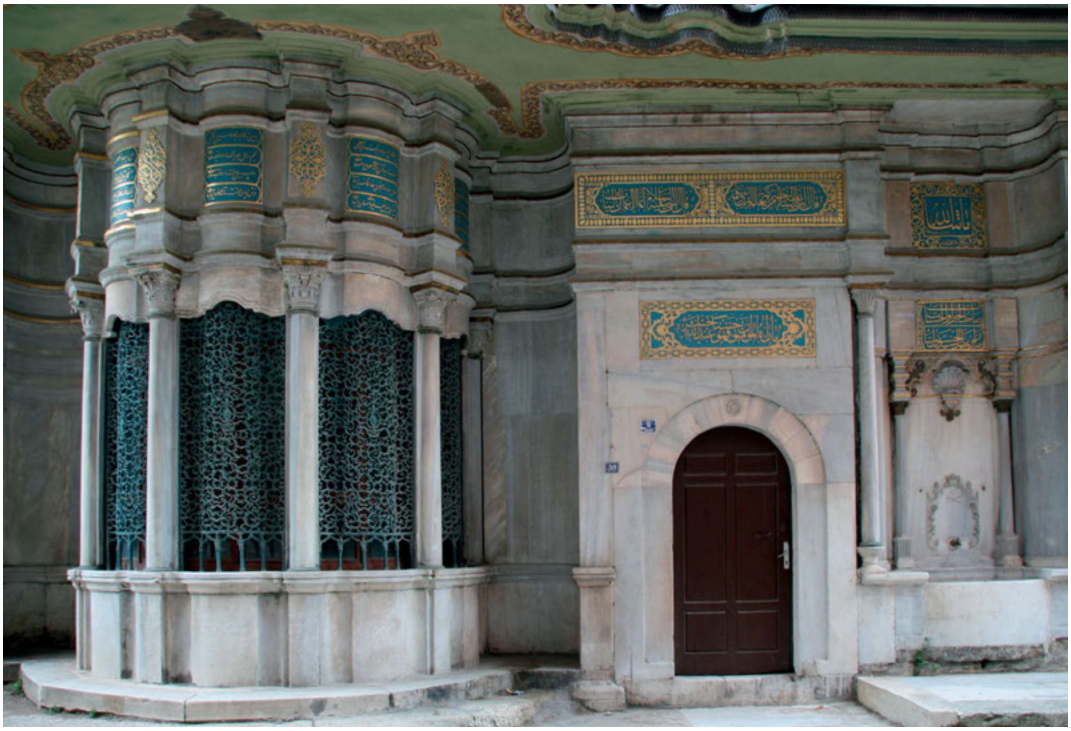


FIG. 78. Complex of Seyyid Hasan Pasha, sebil.



initiatives. In 1744, Hacı Beşir reendowed and restored a neglected mosque in the suburb of Kirişhane, rendering it fit for the sultan to pray in. Following suit in 1747, Moralı Beşir twice installed new royal prayer loges in mosques that had previously lacked facilities for the sultan's visits.[129] The pattern to emerge is of projects instigated by the eunuchs but undertaken in honor of the sultan, who would invariably lend his seal of approval by visiting the final result. While this arrangement is reminiscent of the deputized patronage of the grand viziers, the eunuchs' superintendence of pious foundations gave them far greater architectural responsibility and, with it, more scope to shape the artistic landscape in which they held sway. Their influence was enhanced by

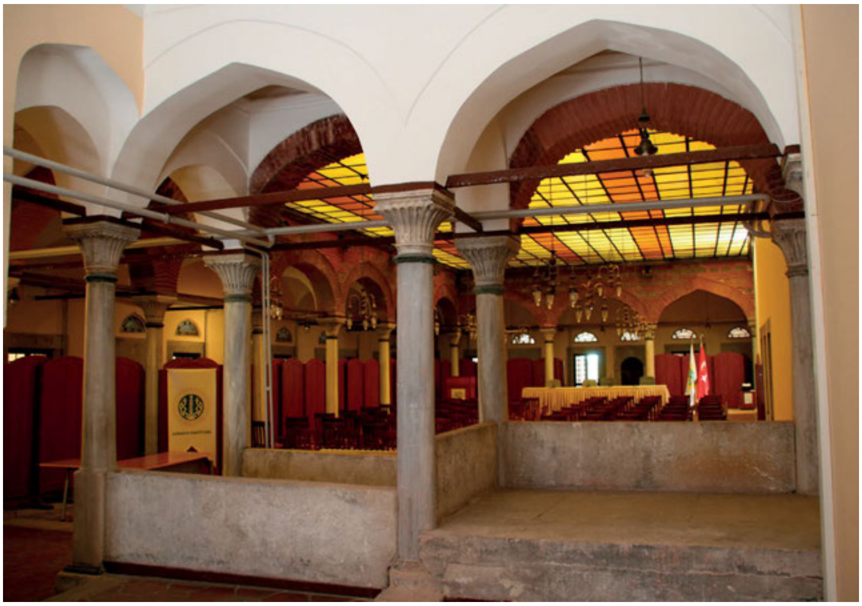


FIG. 79. Complex of Seyyid Hasan Pasha, upper story, madrasa courtyard.

the continuity between and within their tenures: having served Ahmed III, Hacı Beşir was one of the few figures at court to bridge the two reigns and their associated styles.

A number of the works sponsored by the two eunuchs have survived to substantiate the written accounts of their undertakings, among them the mosque complex that Hacı Beşir erected in Gülhane, close to the Topkapı Palace, in 1744–45.[130] Comprising a domed mosque, library, madrasa, sebil, and fountain, the complex is rather austere in overall appearance, though it incorporates some lively Baroque elements, one of the earliest major buildings in Istanbul to do so. Particularly notable are the Corinthianizing columns of the sebil and the oeil-de-boeuf—probably a nineteenth-century replacement of an earlier window—that pierces the wall between the prayer hall and the adjacent library, a unique feature highlighting Beşir Agha's love of books (fig. 80). The library's vaulted ceiling is beautifully painted with a series of pink and yellow ovals set within delicate strapwork surrounds, rare and valuable survivals of original Ottoman Baroque paintwork (fig. 81). At the back of the smallish prayer hall is a large raised and screened gallery that communicates with a suite of rooms reached by a stairway whose entrance flanks the mosque's portico. Remodeled in the nineteenth century, this tribune was originally set up not for the mosque's founder, but for his patron, Sultan Mahmud, who Kadı Ömer tells us came to the mosque upon its completion.[131] As if to underscore the conceit of the complex's joint ownership, the sebil and fountain are decorated with dentil moldings, a motif usually reserved for royal monuments. Such sultanic overtones reflect the privileged position held by the chief eunuch in advancing the new style.

If the case of the two Beşir Aghas confirms the centrality of their post to Ottoman art and architecture, it also reminds us of the more hidden forces that may have been at play in the aesthetic developments of the period. The eunuchs were vital, after all, in representing the interests of the women of the harem, who were among the most avid consumers of European luxury objects.[132] A rare glimpse into their world was gained by the French traveler Aubry de La Mottraye (d. 1743) when, at some point between 1699 and 1714, he visited the harem with a French clockmaker commissioned to repair some European timepieces there. His description of one of the rooms captures the international air that characterized the harem even by the start of the eighteenth century:

> In this Chamber was a very fine Pendulum to be mended, the Case of which was inlaid with Pieces of Mother of Pearl, Gold and Silver. It was upon a Massy Silver Table, after our Fashion, before a Looking Glass, the Frame of which was of Silver gilt, curiously work'd, and embellished with Foliages in Relievo.[133]

With such cosmopolitan riches around them, elite Ottoman women had every reason to appreciate and promote the Baroque style. The sultanas had already proven their standing as architectural patrons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their successors eagerly followed suit. As Tülay Artan has demonstrated, many of Istanbul's now-destroyed eighteenth-century shoreline palaces were commissioned by the sultans' sisters and daughters, whose tastes surely had a broader effect on the visual culture of the day.[134]

The probable though scarcely documented involvement of women in fostering artistic trends again makes the point that the Ottoman Baroque owed its rise to a shared elite discourse that encompassed a multiplicity of voices, not all of them distinct or discernible. Several figures, among them Sultan Mahmud and the two Beşir Aghas, had a greater say than most and might be considered the strategists behind the phenomenon, but it is ultimately not possible, or perhaps even appropriate, to disentangle the various agencies that rendered the Ottoman Baroque a matter of consensus. The situation is further complicated by the fact that this courtly enterprise overlapped in various ways with such other interests as the mercantile and artisanal. The pivotal connection seems to have been between the Christian kalfas who were already in the state's employ and the high-ranking Muslims with whom they most regularly dealt—men like the eunuchs, building supervisors, and the chief imperial architect who, as organizers of the court's construction activities, were charged with fulfilling the implicit and declared wishes of the sultan. Whether through the kalfas' own self-advertisement or through intermediaries such as Alexander Ghika, the budding new mode being practiced by Ottoman Christian artists within their own communities must have become known to these Muslim officials and hence to the Ottoman elite more generally, all the way up to Mahmud. The timing could hardly have been more opportune, as it was only a few years after the dhimmis took up the Baroque that political circumstances prompted the court to seek a similarly novel means of visual refashioning. Already available for the taking, the new style offered itself as a promising vehicle.

The resultant cooption of the Baroque by the Muslim elite further demonstrates that changing social and artistic conditions, which afforded Christians and other underrepresented groups greater prominence as patrons and tastemakers, met with a commensurate response from the court, whose leading members had the power and acumen to commandeer the latest developments to their own advantage. It was not only the Baroque's ready-made novelty that rendered it so well suited to courtly aims, but also its potential to assume and convey new meanings built on its cross-cultural

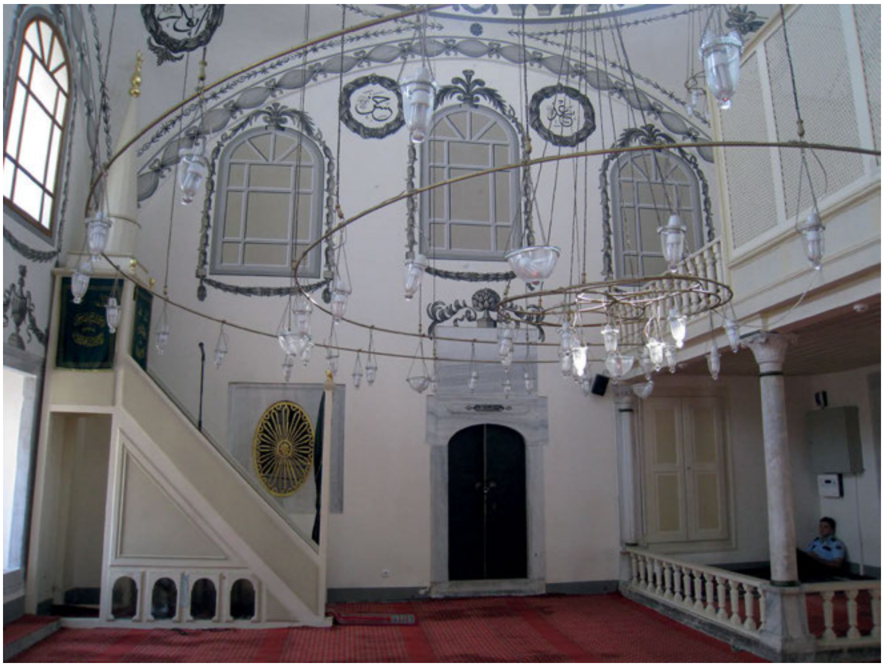


FIG. 80. Complex of Hacı Beşir Agha, Istanbul, 1744–45, interior of the prayer hall looking toward the entrance to the library.

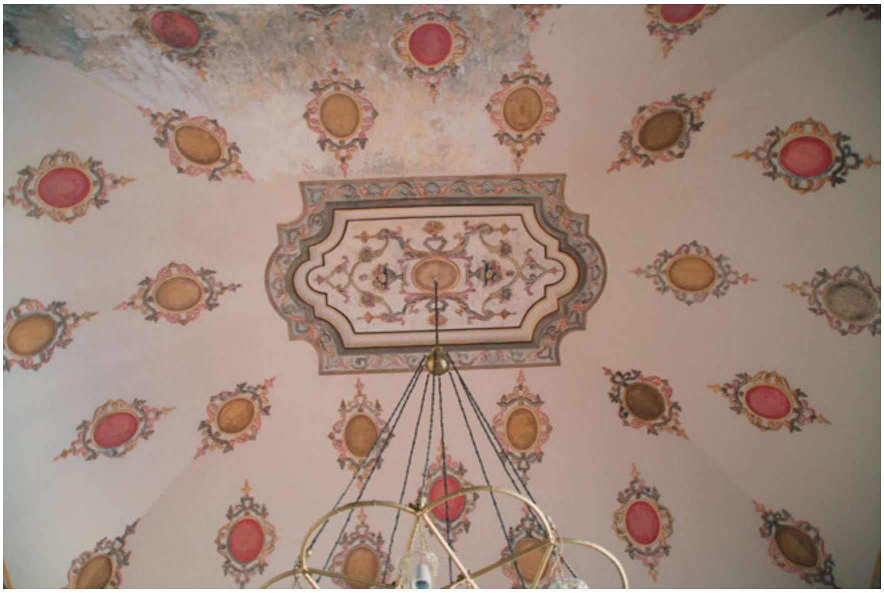


FIG. 81. Complex of Hacı Beşir Agha, library ceiling.

nature. For although the dhimmis supplied the expertise and arguably the inspiration for the state's embrace of the aesthetic, the Baroque in its official form was thoroughly shorn of the connotations it carried in non-Muslim circles, where it was linked, as discussed, to a growing sense of identification with Western Christendom. As an architectural mode repurposed for imperial ideology, the Ottoman Baroque signaled an altogether different kind of realignment vis-à-vis the West, one whose fullest explanation is provided by the monument that would put the style on the map: the Nuruosmaniye Mosque.

CHAPTER 3

A TRADITION REBORN

THE NURUOSMANİYE MOSQUE AND ITS AUDIENCES

On Friday December 5, 1755, a new sultanic mosque was inaugurated with much pomp and circumstance in the heart of Istanbul (see fig. 1). Ahmed Efendi, an official involved in the mosque's construction, wrote a detailed account of the ceremony, telling us that "His Majesty the Richly Retinued Emperor decided to come in magnificence and splendor from his exalted palace to visit [the mosque] in royal state with a kingly entourage, and [there] to perform the Friday prayer."[1] Another contemporary observer was Alexandre Deval (d. 1771), the French dragoman, whose diplomatic journal records that the sultan arrived at the mosque with an "extremely numerous and magnificent retinue," equaling the procession "that had accompanied him on the day of his coronation."[2]

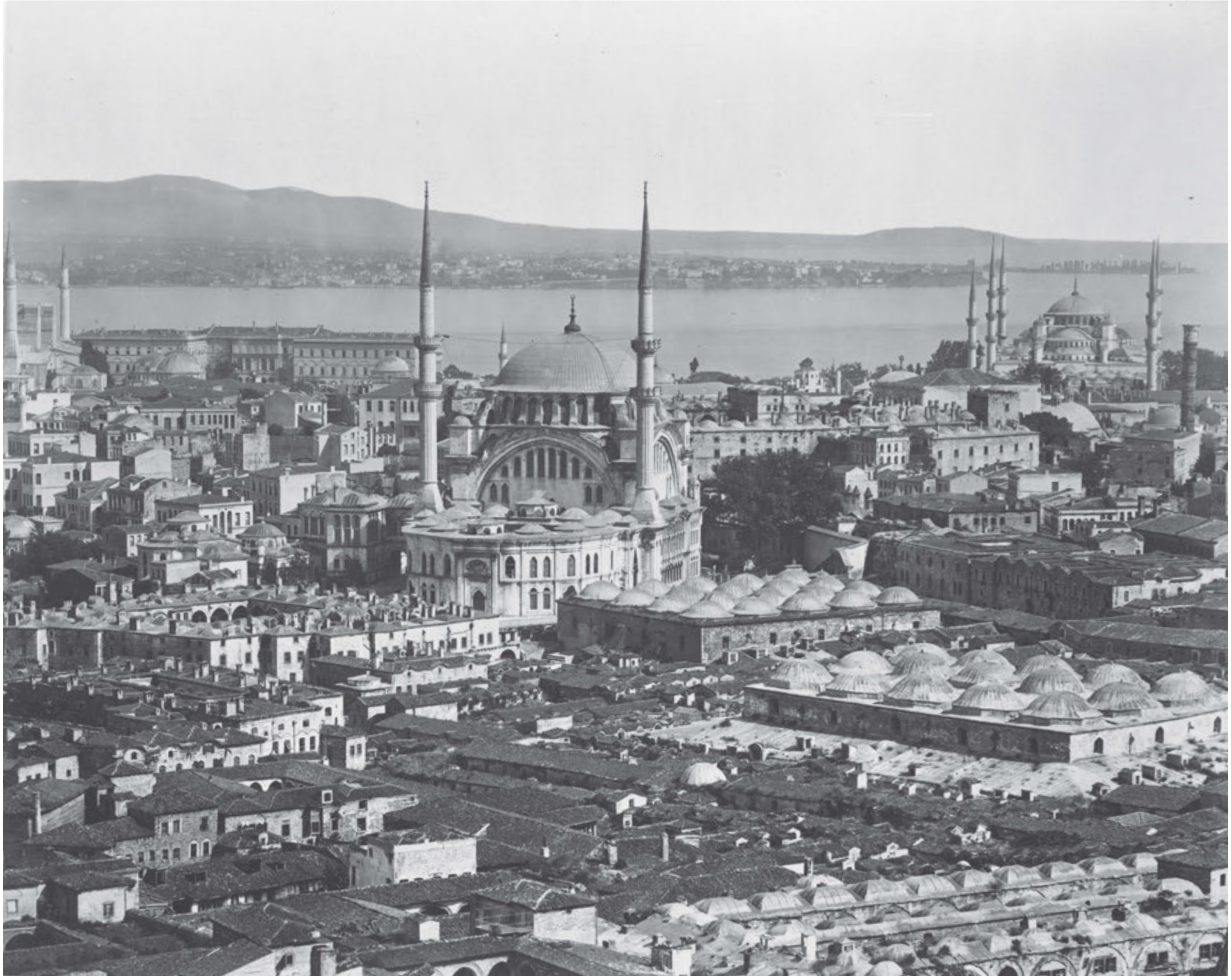
Deval's entry on the event leaves only an ellipsis where he intends to give the mosque's name, indicating that the appellation, though he missed it, was revealed as part of the ceremony. The name announced was Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī, which has come down to us in its variant form "Nuruosmaniye" (Nūr-ı ʿOs̱māniyye).[3] Unusual by the prosaic conventions of Ottoman mosque nomenclature, this poetic designation can be translated generally as "Light of the Ottomans" or more specifically as "Light of Osman," in reference to the sultan who inaugurated the monument, Osman III.

Osman had come to power upon the death of his older brother Mahmud I in December 1754, barely a year before the mosque's opening, and more than six years after its construction had begun in October 1748.[4] As this timeline indicates, the greater part of the project was already complete when Osman became sultan, and he was able to claim as his own a mosque that was really a monument to his brother: the waqfiyya (foundation deed) gives no indication at all of Mahmud's patronage.[5] Şemʿdanizade, in typically caustic fashion, notes that just as Mahmud had taken credit for Ahmed III's scheme to build the Bahçeköy Aqueduct, so "his own mosque was, in turn, snatched by his brother"—a sort of divine retribution.[6] It is perhaps because of his questionable inheritance of the mosque that Osman gave it a suitably lyrical name that might be construed as celebrating the Ottoman dynasty as a whole. But despite this clever act of expropriation, the Nuruosmaniye should be regarded as the culmination of Mahmud's architectural patronage, and the first major public edifice to proclaim—fully and on a monumental scale—the bold new manner associated with his reign. Osman himself did not live long enough to distinguish his rule, dying in late 1757. The mosque he took over from his brother was to be his principal legacy also.

"A MOST GLORIOUS PIOUS FOUNDATION": THE REVIVAL OF THE SULTANIC MOSQUE

Crowning Istanbul's second hill and located next to the Grand Bazaar, the Nuruosmaniye enjoys a prominent place in the fabric of the city (fig. 82). The mosque itself is only the centerpiece of a much larger complex that also includes a madrasa, an imaret, a tomb, a library, a sebil, and several fountains (*çeşme*s) (fig. 83).[7] Delimiting the complex is a roughly quadrangular precinct wall, the exterior of which is partly lined with shops whose revenues helped to sustain the foundation's upkeep. The precinct is entered by two gates—one to the east and another to the west—within easy reach of the nearby Divanyolu, the principal ceremonial thoroughfare of the Ottoman capital; flanking the exterior of the western gate is the sebil and a fountain (figs. 84, 85). Within

FIG. 82. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, aerial view from the northwest, with the Grand Bazaar in front and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in the right background. Photographed by Ali Rıza Bey, ca. 1880s. Albumen print.



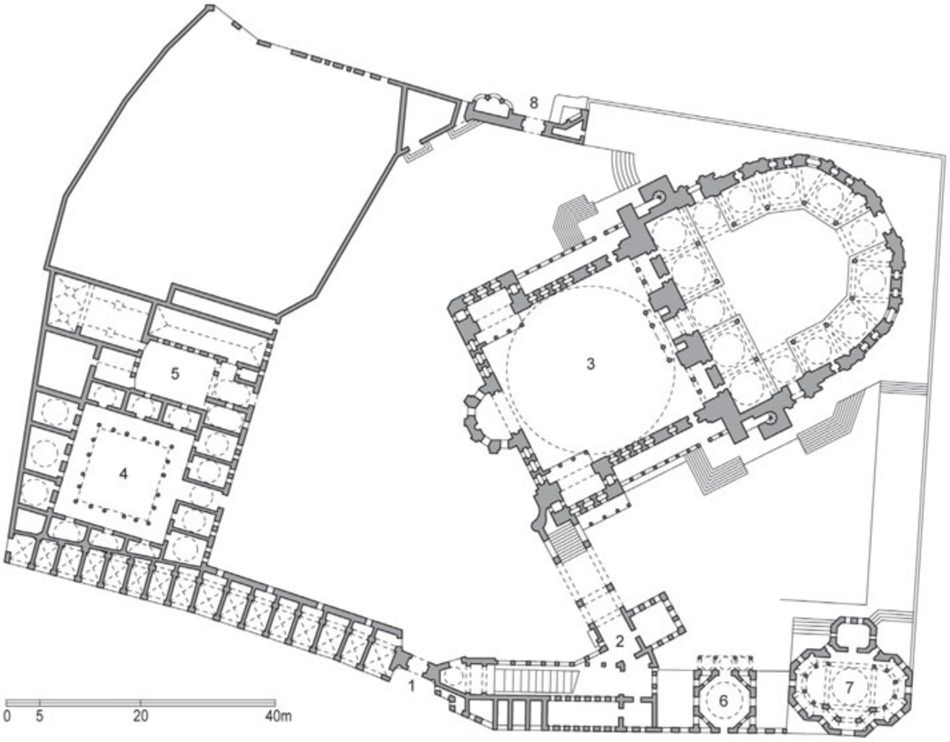
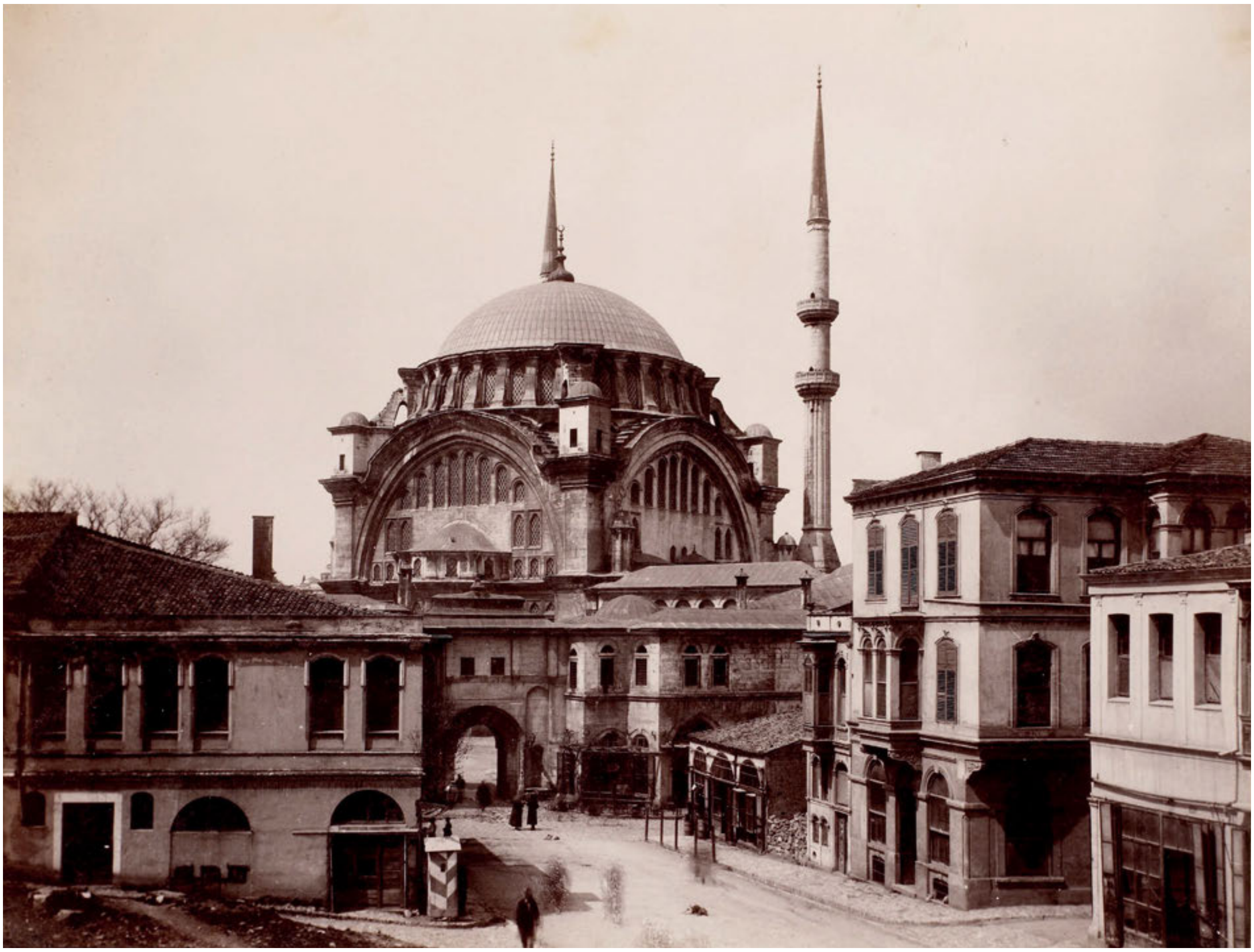


FIG. 83. Nuruosmaniye Complex, plan: (1) east gate; (2) royal pavilion; (3) mosque; (4) madrasa; (5) imaret; (6) tomb; (7) library; (8) west (Grand Bazaar) gate, flanked by fountain and sebil.

FIG. 84. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, exterior view toward the east gate showing the original form of the minarets. Photographed by Basil Kargopoulo, 1875. Albumen print.



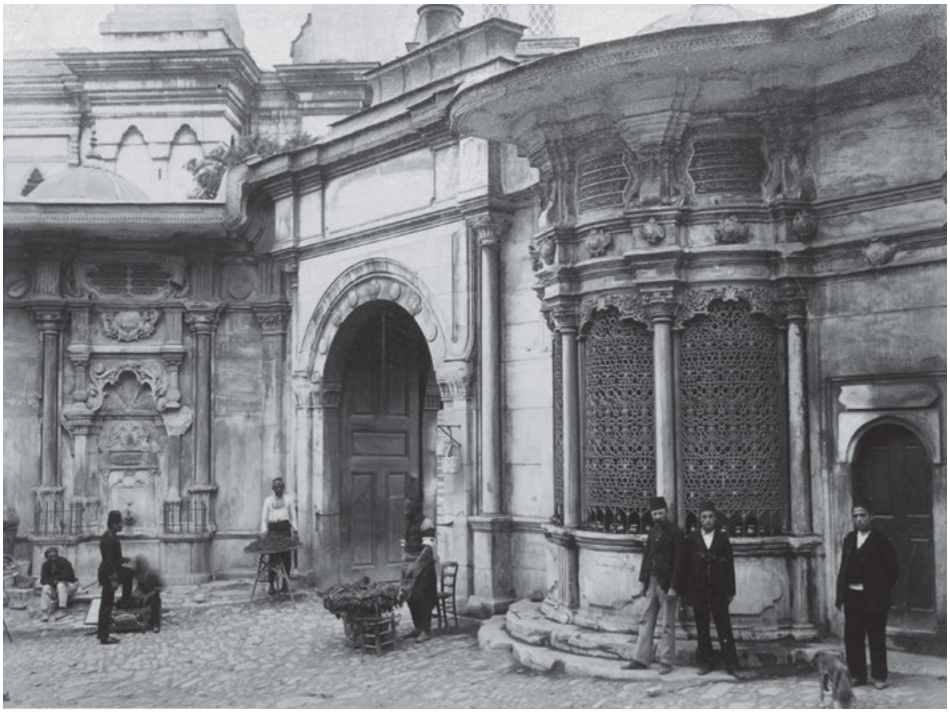


FIG. 85. Nuruosmaniye Complex, view toward the west gate, fountain, and sebil. Photographed by Sébah and Joaillier, 1880. Albumen print.

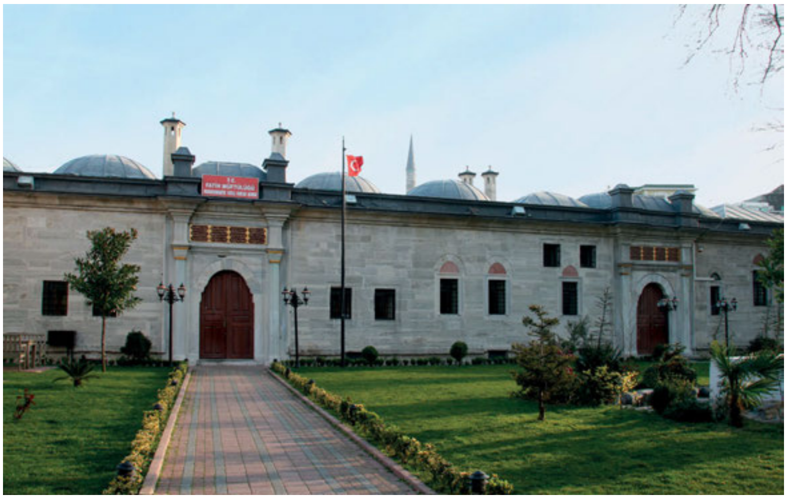


FIG. 86. Nuruosmaniye Complex, façade of the madrasa (left) and imaret (right).

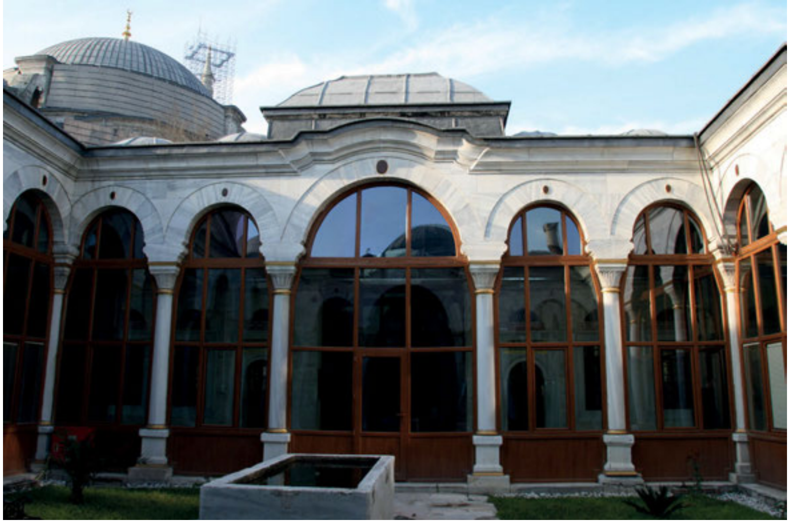


FIG. 87. Nuruosmaniye Complex, madrasa courtyard.

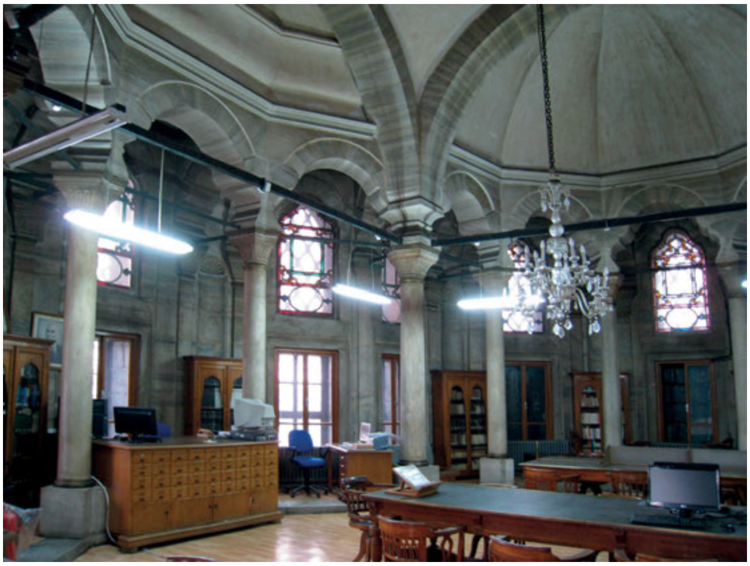


FIG. 88. Nuruosmaniye Complex, library interior.

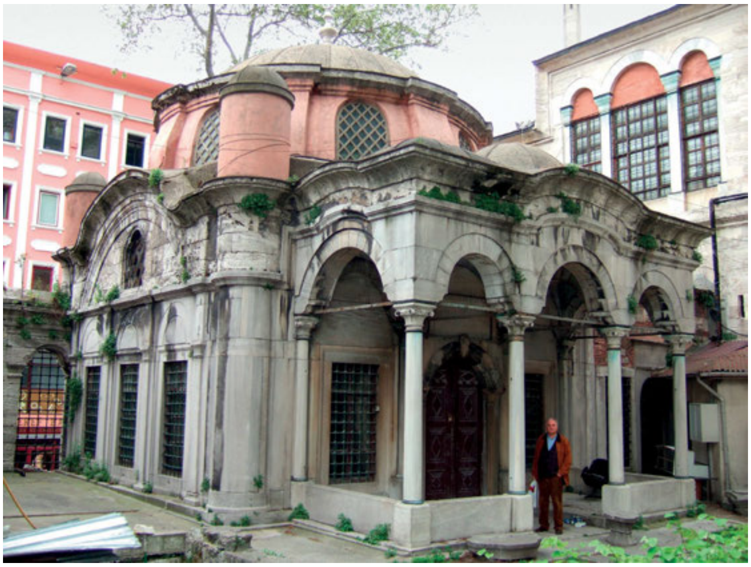


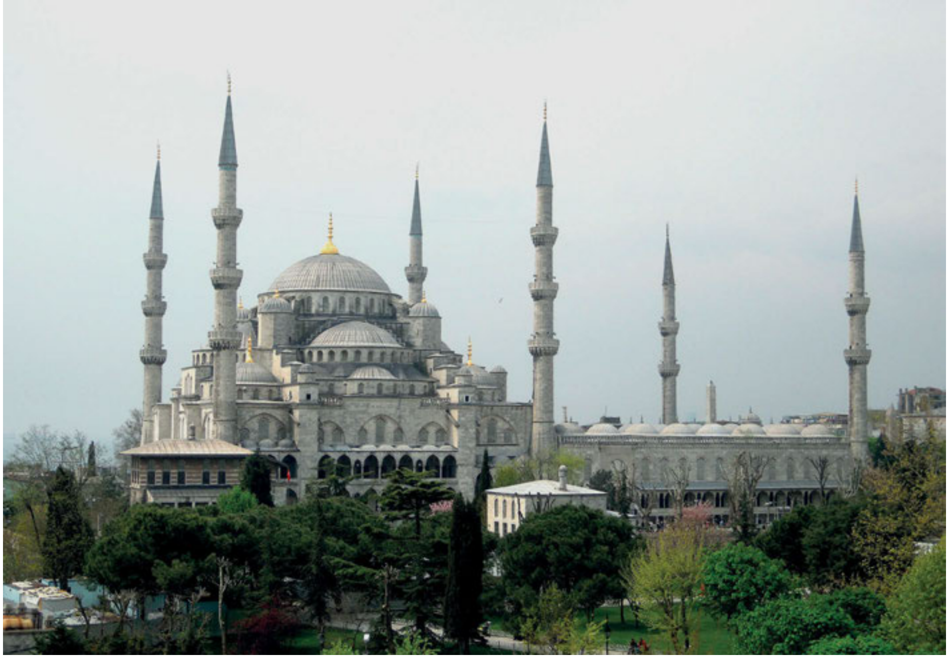
FIG. 89. Nuruosmaniye Complex, tomb.

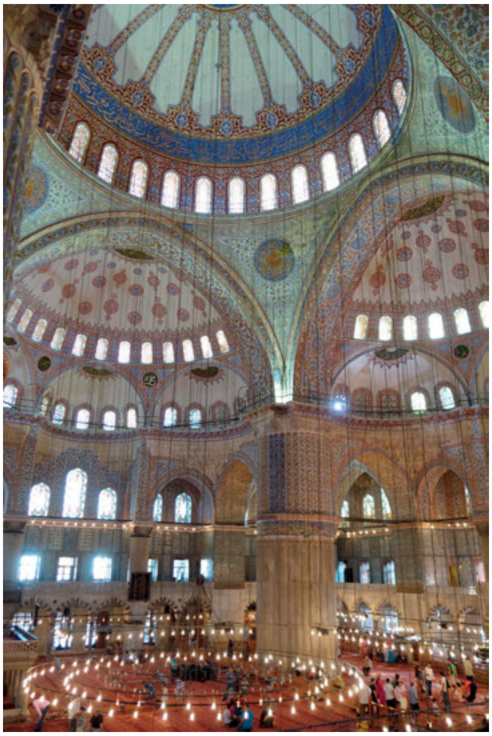
the precinct, the southeast corner is filled by the madrasa and imaret, which constitute a single rectangular building arranged around two small inner courtyards, while in the northeast corner is the oval-plan library, neighbored on its south by the domed tomb (figs. 86, 87, 88, 89). The identity of the tomb's originally intended inhabitant is unclear, though it came to house Osman's mother, Şehsuvar Sultan, who died in 1756 shortly after the Nuruosmaniye was opened. The mosque itself stands on a high basement extending from the northwest corner of the precinct. It consists of a domed square prayer hall preceded by a semielliptical courtyard and adjoined at its eastern corner by an L-shaped pavilion. Covering the prayer hall is a dome 25 meters in diameter—among the largest in Istanbul—borne by four enormous fenestrated arches. Two minarets rise from the building's sides.

Like the complex as a whole, the mosque is a tour de force of Ottoman Baroque design and decoration, as will be discussed later. But just as noteworthy is the very fact of the monument's existence. No sultan had built his own mosque in Istanbul since 1617, when Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) completed his foundation opposite the Hagia Sophia

FIG. 90. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Istanbul, 1609–17, with the royal pavilion on the left protruding from the prayer hall.

FIG. 91. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, interior looking toward the west.





(figs. 90, 91). Designed by Sedefkar Mehmed Agha (d. 1617), the Sultan Ahmed Mosque was the last and, with its unprecedented six minarets, arguably the most audacious of a series of sultan's mosques erected in Istanbul in the two centuries after its conquest, and none would follow until the Nuruosmaniye.[8] To be sure, two impressive new royal mosques were constructed in the intervening years, both called Yeni Valide Camii (New Valide Mosque) after the queen mothers who founded them. The earlier of these—today more usually known as Yeni Cami—was built between 1660 and 1665 by Hadice Turhan (d. 1683) on the shore of Eminönü, one of the city's most prominent locations (fig. 92); and the later, which stands not far from the water in Üsküdar, was built between 1708 and 1710 by Emetullah Rabiʿa Gülnuş, mother of Ahmed III, though it is often mistakenly said to have been commissioned by the sultan himself (fig. 93).[9] With their courtyards, paired minarets, and ancillary buildings, these large domed mosques are unmistakably imperial affairs, and would have ranked among what the Ottomans called *cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn*, sultanic mosques in the sense of having been founded by royal personages.[10] But they are not, strictly speaking, monuments to the sultans during whose reigns they were erected: they belong rather to the sultans' mothers, whose patronage of these projects only underscores the lack of such activity on the part of their sons. And though Hadice Turhan's mosque—which actually completed a scheme initiated in 1597 by another valide sultan, Safiye (d. 1605)—was a conspicuous addition to the walled city, Gülnuş's foundation is located outside the city proper on the other side of the Bosphorus. Within

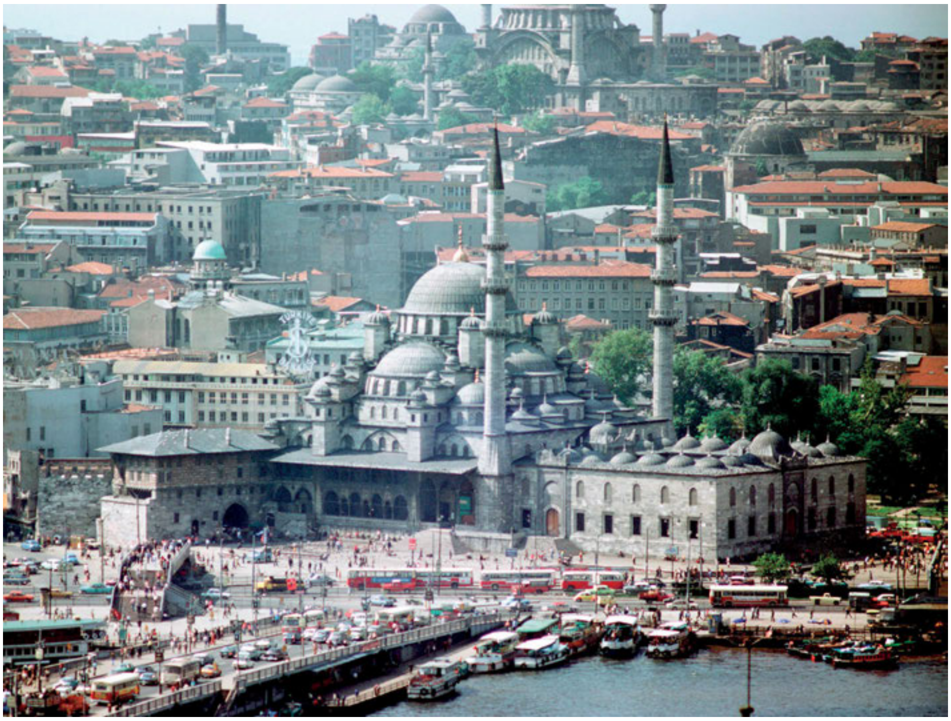


FIG. 92. Yeni Cami, Istanbul, 1597–1665, with the royal pavilion on the left protruding from the prayer hall.

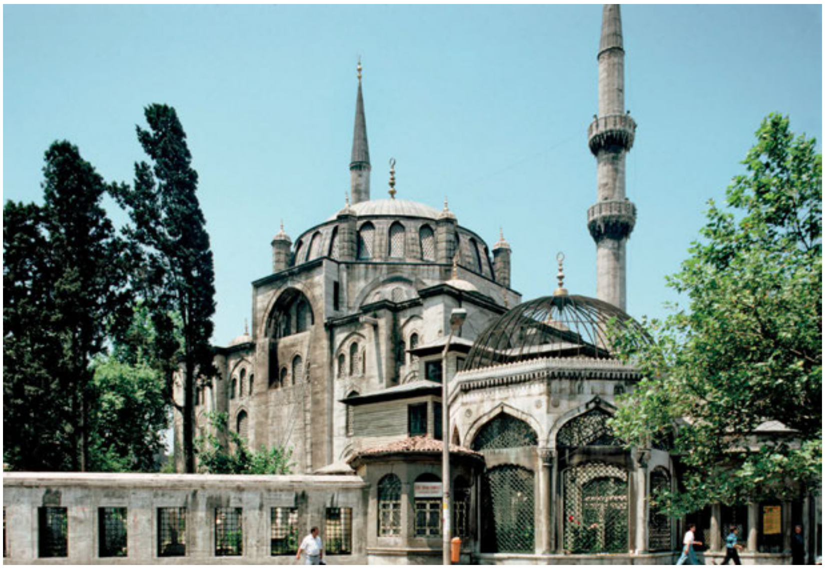


FIG. 93. Yeni Valide Mosque, Üsküdar, Istanbul, 1708–10.

Istanbul itself, the only major mosque constructed in the early eighteenth century was that of the grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha in Davutpaşa, a large and essentially traditional domed edifice completed in 1734–35 (see fig. 76).

This lull in the construction of sultanic mosques is not altogether surprising. Tradition held that only a sultan who had earned the title of ghazi by vanquishing an "infidel" enemy was eligible to found a great mosque complex in his own honor, particularly in the capital, and this condition was rarely met in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Ahmed I, who won no major wars, thus invited considerable controversy when he went ahead regardless and built such a foundation, squandering the state treasury rather than paying with booty as his predecessors had. Notwithstanding

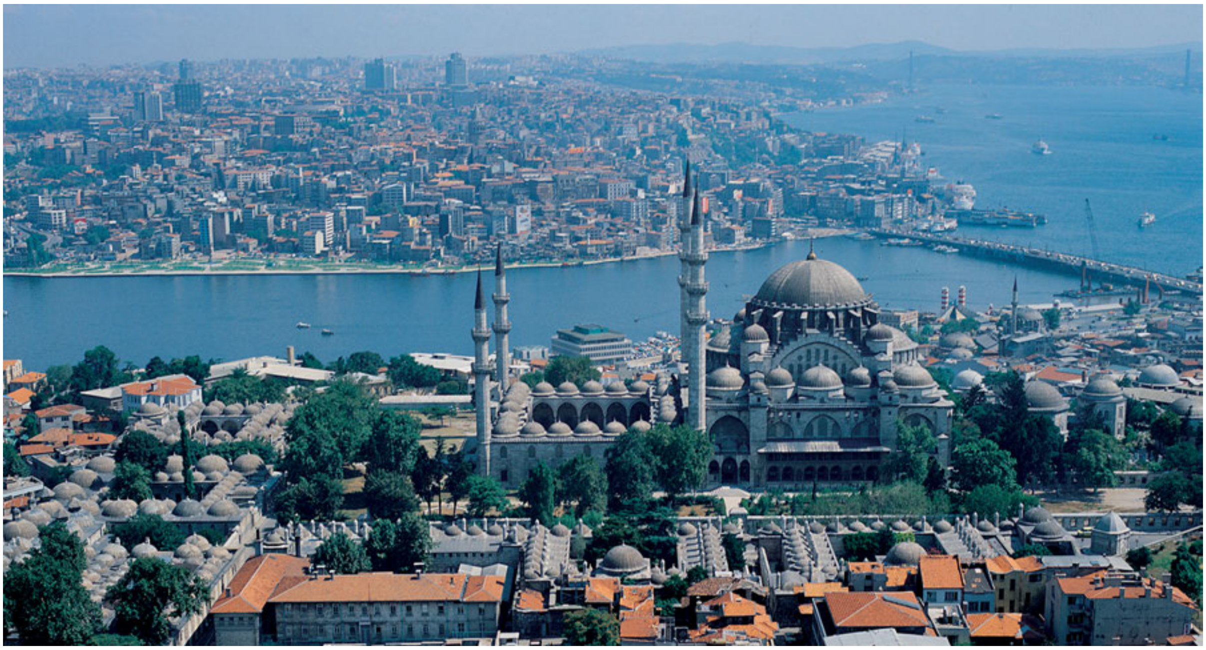


FIG. 94. Süleymaniye Mosque, Istanbul, 1550–57.

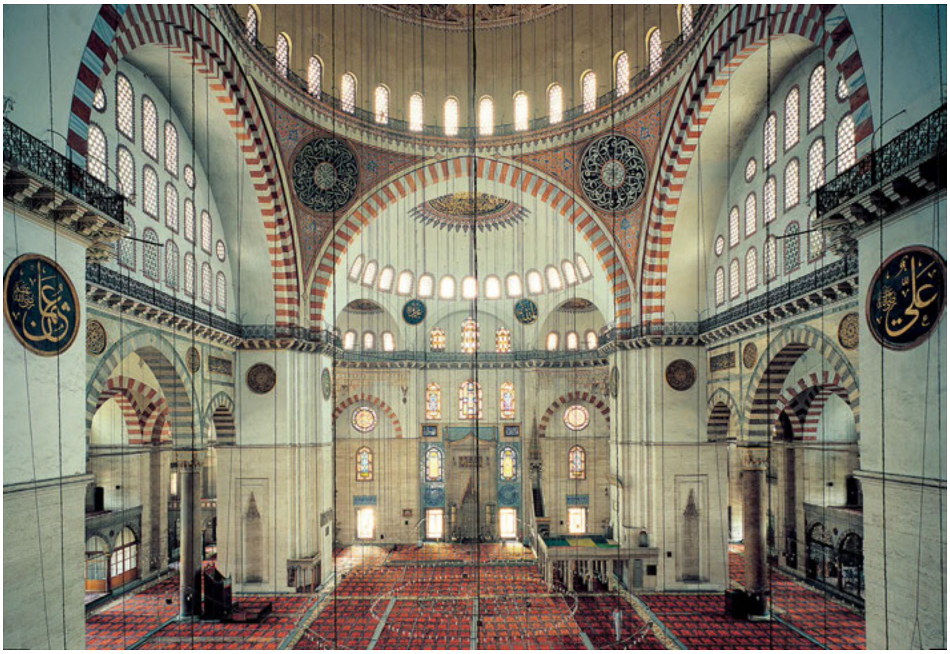


FIG. 95. Süleymaniye Mosque, interior looking toward the qibla wall.

its questionable legitimacy, his mosque was designed to recall and rival the legacy of his great-grandfather Süleyman the Magnificent, whose mighty hilltop complex—the Süleymaniye—had been constructed by Sinan between 1550 and 1557 (figs. 94, 95). Ahmed's successors were not so daring, and at best contented themselves with the reflected glory of their mothers' monuments, as with the two Yeni Valide Mosques, which offered the sultans under whom they were built a convenient way to get around the customary restrictions.[11]

Nothing, however, could substitute for a mosque built on one's own behalf within the walled city, and Mahmud, in reviving the practice, knew he was asserting himself as a sultan of the first order. Unlike Ahmed I, Mahmud was on sure ground when he decided to embark on his foundation, which was nothing less than a monument to his recent victories. Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel (d. 1790), a French consul and long-time resident of the Ottoman Empire, explains in a letter that the sultan, "who had legally acquired this right [to build], by gaining the battle of Grosca [Grocka], against the Germans, and taking Belgrade, never thought of building a Mosque at Scutari [Üsküdar], but erected a very beautiful one within the capital."[12] As we have seen, Mahmud's successes had already occasioned a series of celebratory Baroque works earlier in the 1740s, among them important additions to the city's existing mosques, particularly the Hagia Sophia. Even these earlier religious undertakings were enough to set Mahmud apart from his immediate predecessors: during Ahmed III's reign, for example, it was the grand vizier İbrahim Pasha and other ministers who oversaw the restoration of Istanbul's mosques.[13] What better way for Mahmud to round off his already impressive architectural program than by reintroducing the most important building type in the Ottoman canon? The Nuruosmaniye can be considered not only the pièce de résistance of his own patronage, but also the consummation of a much longer campaign dating back to the court's return to Istanbul in 1703. However far-reaching, Ahmed III's renovation of the capital had not endowed the intramural city with a new sultanic mosque, and so necessarily fell short of the achievements of earlier centuries. Mahmud, by addressing this shortcoming, was thus capping off a process that had already begun under his predecessor: his mosque would be the definitive statement of Istanbul's return to glory, a monument to bear comparison with those of the past. That it was located in the city's commercial heart, in clear sight of thousands of traders and customers, would only have added to its visual and ideological impact.[14]

Indicating the significance of this architectural move is the fact that the Nuruosmaniye inspired a highly unusual monograph tracing its creation, as quoted from earlier. Titled *Tārīḫ-i cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī* (History of the Noble Mosque of Nuruosmaniye) and known from a single manuscript of fifty-five pages, the work was written sometime between 1756 and 1757 by Ahmed Efendi, who had served as building secretary (*binā kātibi*) for the financial management of the mosque's construction.[15] His sustained firsthand knowledge of the project is fully reflected in his book, which gives a detailed, if florid, account of the complex from its conception to its opening. Texts on architecture are few and far between in the Ottoman context, and works devoted to particular buildings still rarer.[16] Although too scattered and varied to constitute a true genre, examples of the latter category invariably concern great religious foundations, as with a much-copied anonymous late fifteenth-century history of the Hagia Sophia, and a mid-eighteenth-century treatise by Dayezade Mustafa on Edirne's Selimiye Mosque.[17] Both these works appeared long after the edifices to which they pertain, and there is only one known text earlier than Ahmed Efendi's that was written in praise of a newly constructed building: an anonymous account of the dome-closing ceremony of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.[18] Belonging, then, to a select group of texts that all eulogize high-ranking religious monuments, Ahmed Efendi's *Tārīḫ* inscribes the Nuruosmaniye itself in a prestigious lineage of laudable buildings. Whether Ahmed Efendi penned the work independently or in fulfillment of a commission is unknown, but he was surely responding to a more general excitement surrounding the mosque.

Indeed, the Nuruosmaniye's status as an eagerly anticipated "event" is immediately apparent from the *Tārīḫ*, which begins with the mosque's genesis. There was, we are told, an old masjid near the Grand Bazaar that had been founded by a certain Fatma Hatun and fallen into disrepair. The people of the neighborhood petitioned Ahmed III to renovate the building, and though an investigation was carried out to calculate the necessary funds, nothing came of it. And so the people resubmitted their request to Mahmud I, who, upon being petitioned a fifth time, appointed Derviş Efendi (d. 1757), secretary to the chief harem eunuch, to oversee the matter. It was soon determined that the building's endowment had become unproductive, and so rather than merely restore the structure, the sultan decided to appropriate the waqf for himself and build a new mosque. Derviş Efendi, who would subsequently be designated project superintendent (*nāẓır*), nominated as building supervisor (*binā emīni*) Ali Agha, an experienced hand who had earlier managed the renovation of the Halkalı Aqueduct. Ali Agha in turn selected a dhimmi known as "Skillful Simeon" (*kār-āzmūde Simyon*) to be the master builder (*ḳalfa*), which is to say the mosque's architect.[19] As work got under way on the foundations, the sultan quickly realized that the mosque would have to outgrow its existing site to realize its full potential:

> Since that land was a highly distinguished and esteemed area among the districts of Istanbul, as well as in the proximity of the craftsmen and artisans [of the Bazaar], it occurred to the exalted and benevolent imperial mind that [the site] would not accommodate the congregation of Muslims and assembly of worshippers during the five prayer times, nor perhaps at any time, and that it would [therefore] be well to construct a great place of worship in the manner of the sultanic mosques [*cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn miṯilli maʿbed-i ʿaẓīm*].[20]

Several points emerge here. The nomination of Derviş Efendi again underscores the architectural influence of the harem eunuchs, for though he was not himself a member of the group, his position as Moralı Beşir Agha's secretary cannot have been unrelated either to his appointment or to the way he conducted his new duties.[21] Also significant is Ahmed Efendi's open acknowledgement of Simeon Kalfa—known from other sources to have been an Ottoman Greek—as the mosque's architect, a point to which I shall return. But the most interesting aspect of this origin story is the role assigned to the sultan himself. If Ahmed Efendi is to be believed, Mahmud's decision to build a new sultanic mosque came about almost by chance after his initial—and seemingly sluggish—agreement to restore Fatma Hatun's masjid.[22] Nevertheless, the sultan ultimately acted where his predecessor had failed, fulfilling and indeed exceeding the wishes of his subjects with the establishment of a mosque worthy of the capital's bustling market district. Given the deliberate grandeur of what came to be built, it is unlikely that the project's evolution was as serendipitous as Ahmed Efendi implies. Mahmud—already responsible for the renovation of several mosques—may well have been hoping to build a complex of his own even before a suitable site had been found for it; the repeated pleas to restore Fatma Hatun's masjid would have provided him with an ideal pretext to take its land, a prime hilltop spot hard to come by in a city as crowded as Istanbul. Despite Ahmed Efendi's claims, there can have been little actual need for such a large place of worship in an area already served by two sizable old foundations, the mosques of Mahmud Pasha (1460–63) and Atik Ali Pasha (1496–97). Conspicuously absent from this account is any mention of perhaps the most obvious factor behind Mahmud's aggrandized plans, namely the reconquest of Belgrade, but this omission is not surprising when we remember that the sultan who completed the mosque—and under whom Ahmed Efendi was writing—could take no credit for that victory.

However it came about, the decision to expand the project's scope entailed purchasing the properties surrounding the original plot. Ahmed Efendi tells us that some of the owners were avaricious and unwilling to sell until offered more money.[23] But Mahmud had right on his side, as affirmed when he rode one day to view the enlarged building site and happened upon a "blessed sage" standing on the street corner. Lifting his hand as the sultan approached, the old man hailed him for having "given all the people of the district . . . joy and new life" and prayed that God should reward him accordingly. So moved was Mahmud by these sentiments that he now fully "understood that what was to be built was a great mosque indeed [*cāmiʿ-i kebīr*], such as had in any case been from the start in [his] illuminated thoughts."[24] This heartening encounter recasts Mahmud's earlier hesitancy as a sort of suppressed prescience, and gives the project an air of almost mystical holiness. Adding a further seal of religious approval, Ahmed Efendi makes much of the fact that the structures cleared for the complex included a bachelors' inn and a slave-traders' khan that were "day and night promoting the offense of prostitution." Their destruction was, he asserts, "in itself an act of goodness perhaps as estimable as setting up another great foundation."[25]

Mahmud himself is portrayed as being acutely aware of the importance of his good work. A year into construction, Ahmed Efendi records, the sultan summoned Derviş Efendi and urged him to devote all his energies to the mosque, telling him, "For this matter cannot be compared to others; it is a duty to God, a most glorious pious foundation [*ḫayrāt-ı celīledir*]."[26] Even allowing for panegyric exaggeration, the degree of personal interest ascribed to Mahmud is notable, and consistent with what we know more generally of the sultan's enthusiasm for architecture. The pious terms in which this enthusiasm was now being couched can only have bolstered the project's reputation.

Ahmed Efendi's efforts to present the Nuruosmaniye as an almost inevitable fulfillment of divine providence very likely reflect a wider lore that had developed around the building and was current in both courtly and public circles. This was another way in which the mosque could be tied to the great complexes of the past, all of which came with their own mythic backstories and associations. Ahmed Efendi shows direct knowledge of this tradition when he describes the acquisition of building materials for the mosque, in particular the pinkish "sparrow's eye" (*serçe gözü*) granite columns of its courtyard:

> Before the aforementioned mosque had yet come into being, it was wondered whence the marble columns for the porticoes would be obtained. . . . Indeed, according to what was written at the time of the late Miʿmar Sinan, that skillful master famed among mankind, much hardship and difficulty were endured in obtaining the marble columns for the

> building of the Mosque of Süleyman, and finally, with God's help, some were procured at and brought from Alexandria, in the well-protected [land of] Egypt, and each of the rest, from a [different] far-off land and place. As for these columns [of the Nuruosmaniye], they stood fully intact and abandoned at the wall of a ruined church in the town of Pergamon, and they were owned by no one.[27]

The well-known accounts surrounding the construction of the Süleymaniye, which themselves harked back to similar stories about the Hagia Sophia and the Temple of Solomon,[28] may seem an unlikely parallel for Ahmed Efendi to invoke given the rather less far-flung (and single) source of the Nuruosmaniye columns. As if to justify the comparison, he dedicates over a tenth of his book to recounting the arduous task of bringing these monoliths to Istanbul, which involved the construction of new roads, the procurement of suitable boats, and the combined efforts of hundreds of men and animals.[29] Such an undertaking succeeded only "with the gracious aid of God and under the lucky auspices of His Majesty the Emperor,"[30] a point essential to Ahmed Efendi's myth-making account. Mahmud himself was there to greet the columns when they reached the capital, and the boats that brought them one-by-one to his pavilion would have been visible to the wider populace. Like the construction in general, the commandeering of so much labor and infrastructure to bring these monoliths was a persuasive show of royal might that demanded the attention, and sometimes participation, of thousands of Ottoman subjects in and beyond Istanbul. Few would have denied that the completed monument—the outcome of a long and effortful saga—deserved to be celebrated alongside the city's older architectural feats.

In aspects of its design, too, the Nuruosmaniye was consciously linked to its great forerunners. Ahmed Efendi records that the height chosen for its elevated basement was derived from the measurements of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque,[31] while its dome was intended to hold its own against the city's grandest examples:

> Of the largest domes to be found within the Abode of Prosperity [Istanbul], the foremost was that of the great Hagia Sophia, the second, that of the Süleymaniye Mosque, the third, that of [the Mosque of] the Conqueror, and the fourth, the dome of this Noble Mosque of Nuruosmaniye; and it is agreed that all other sultanic mosques are inferior to these.[32]

Significant here is the fact that the Nuruosmaniye's dome surpasses that of its most immediate predecessor, the Sultan Ahmed, and ranks instead alongside more venerable monuments emblematic of the empire's heyday. Nevertheless, what made the mosque compete with these earlier works was not so much its commonalities with them as it was its unmistakable novelty. No one who saw the Nuruosmaniye in its time could have failed to notice how different it looked from the mosques of the classical period. While on the one hand a revival of a dormant practice, the Nuruosmaniye was also intended to make its own mark, departing from earlier models in various fundamental respects. Key among these was a heightened concern for hosting royal ceremonial.

STAGING THE SULTAN'S PRESENCE

A good portion of the *Tārīḫ* is devoted to the Nuruosmaniye's lavish opening ceremony, which, like the mosque itself, was meant to evoke the empire's former glory. Ahmed Efendi notes that the event was carefully planned with reference to what "the emperors of old" had done "during their peaceful reigns."[33] In accordance with established custom, the ceremony began with a great cavalcade from the Topkapı Palace up the Divanyolu, which had served as Istanbul's main processional route since Byzantine times, when it was known as the Mese. The addition of the Nuruosmaniye to the numerous monuments lining this ancient and symbolically charged avenue automatically linked it to a rich ceremonial tradition: the mosque could immediately take its place—conceptually as well as in practice—alongside older complexes to which the sultans routinely paraded.[34] As befitted such a debut, the inaugural procession involved a particularly impressive assemblage of officials and guards, "arranged as required by protocol to grace this splendid cavalcade." Behind them, forming the procession's climax, was the sultan—now Osman III—who "shone his benign rays upon all the faithful worshippers" along his route and saluted "the noble sheikhs of the imperial mosques, who were waiting expectantly before an exterior mihrab in the precinct of the imperial mosque."[35] Osman's arrival was followed by the inaugural prayer and the distribution of robes of honor.[36]

Ahmed Efendi was not alone in recording this spectacular opening. The event was deemed important enough to be written up in two unusually detailed reports for the court's protocol register, presumably so that it might set a new standard.[37] It is also described by the period's official chronicler, Ahmed Vasıf (d. 1806), as well as by the self-appointed historian Semʿdanizade, both of whom confirm the ceremony's grand scale.[38] In addition to these expected sources, the inauguration finds mention in private journals, ruznames, which—though related in format to the official ruznames of the court—were kept by educated Ottomans outside the palace sphere. One such journal—attributed to a cleric named Seyyid Hüsnü—notes that the Nuruosmaniye's fountain and sebil began operating a day before the ceremony, and that a feast was held two weeks later at the imaret for the staff of the madrasa and of various nearby religious institutions. Another journal, in this case kept by an anonymous young cleric, refers to the inauguration alongside more personal details such as the pregnancy of the author's cat![39] While it is unclear whether these diarists actually witnessed the opening for themselves, such textual records—written by noncourtly individuals for their own purposes—testify to the widespread interest that the new mosque had attracted, and they point, moreover, to the importance of ceremonial as a way of speaking about the monument. Neither diarist says anything with regard to the mosque's appearance, and indeed, the majority of eighteenth-century Ottoman references to the Nuruosmaniye relate not to its architecture, but to the ceremonies staged there. Besides the inauguration, the most frequently mentioned of these is the ceremony led by the grand vizier and grand mufti almost seven years earlier to mark the laying of the mosque's foundation, during which sheep were sacrificed and robes of honor bestowed.[40]

This ceremonial approach to the Nuruosmaniye was not limited to Ottoman commentators. I have already referred to the journal entry on the mosque's opening by the French dragoman Alexandre Deval, whose eyewitness account is worth quoting in full:

> The dedication was made of the mosque begun by Sultan Mahmud and finished by Sultan Osman. The Gr[and]. Seig[neu]^r went there with the same procession that had accompanied him on the day of his coronation, and particularly [with] the Men of Law [that is, the ulema], this being one of the functions for which they were qualified. But although this procession was extremely numerous and magnificent, the Court was not in true festive mode, for the G[rand]. S[eigneur]. was not wearing his Cabanitza [*ḳapaniçe*, a kind of fur coat], and nor were his siliktar [*silāḥdār*, sword-bearer] and his rekiabdar [*rikābdār*, equerry] wearing their official vests, and no coins were thrown in the wake of His Majesty. The G. S. there distributed many pelisses and samours of ermine and of miniver. The mosque was named . . . [*sic*]
>
> In the procession, the [grand] mufti marched in a pair with the G[rand].V[izier]., the latter on the right wearing the ceremonial turban and pelisse of samour over white satin, and the mufti on the right wearing a pelisse of samour over white cloth.[41]

Deval fails to explain that the lack of a festive air was appropriate to the occasion's solemnity. Even so, he demonstrates a keen eye for the forms and attributes of Ottoman ceremonial, which occupy far more of his attention than the mosque itself. This is reflective of a more general emphasis on protocol in the Ottomans' dealings with Western powers, particularly with regard to the reception of ambassadorial missions. Both sides shared what amounted to an obsession with the proper procedures to be followed during such events, often bickering over the smallest of details.[42] Ceremonial was, in other words, an important site of cross-cultural interaction and negotiation in the Ottoman Empire, with European observers being well versed in the ritual language of the occasions they witnessed and frequently participated in. What made ceremonial such a strongly felt mutual interest was its universally recognized potential for representing power. Several of the Ottoman sources that record the Nuruosmaniye's foundation-laying ceremony stress that it occurred a few hours after the launching of a newly built imperial galleon.[43] Named *Nuṣret-nümā*, "Victorious," the ship prefigured what the embryonic mosque was itself constructed to be—an international symbol of Ottoman might—and it is no coincidence that the two projects were celebrated on the same day. The message was still clearer by the time of the Nuruosmaniye's own unveiling, and accounts like Deval's prove the effect of such displays on even outside audiences.

As important as ceremonial was, however, it did not exist separately from the spaces in which it was performed. Deval and our two Ottoman diarists may say nothing about what the Nuruosmaniye looked like, but the architecture would have been crucial to framing how viewers experienced the ceremonies that took place around and within the mosque. Several sources on the inauguration tell us that the sultan, upon arriving with the cavalcade, went up to his so-called ablution room (*ābdest odası*) before moving to his private loge inside the mosque to pray, after which he returned to the ablution room to invest his notables with robes of honor. He then watched from the windows of

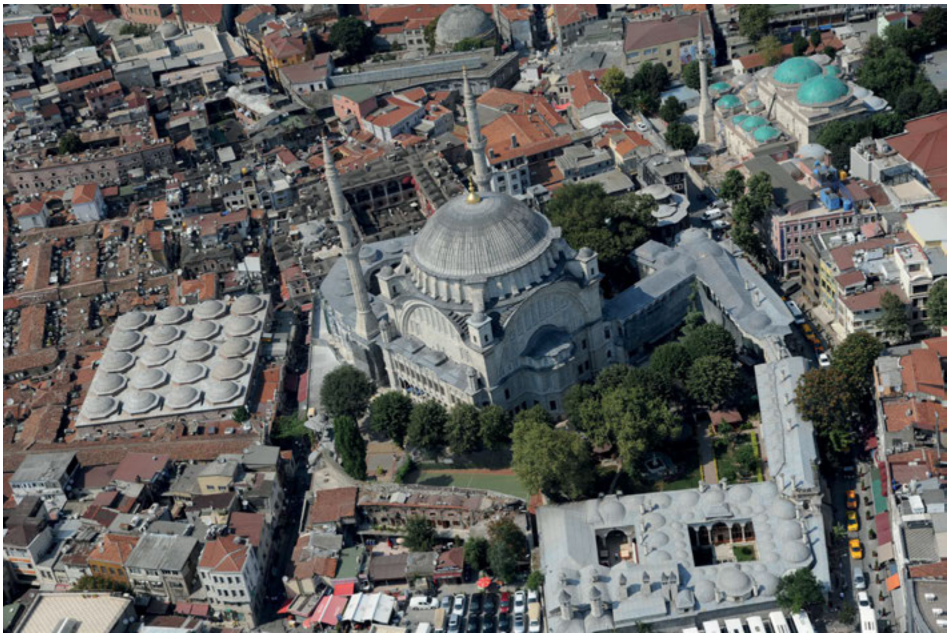


FIG. 96. Nuruosmaniye Complex, aerial view from the south showing the L-shaped pavilion joining the mosque, with the imaret and madrasa below.

the room as his grand vizier descended and distributed robes to those of lesser rank in the mosque's precinct.[44] A major part of the event's proceedings, the "ablution room" in question is actually the sizable L-shaped structure that adjoins the mosque at its eastern corner (fig. 96). It consists of a ramp forming one arm of the L and an elevated passage forming the other, with a vaulted room protruding at their juncture. In modern scholarly parlance, the structure belongs to a category termed the *hünkâr kasrı*, or royal pavilion, a name that better conveys its ceremonial importance.[45]

The royal pavilion was a relatively recent innovation in Ottoman architecture, having first appeared at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. Like its descendant at the Nuruosmaniye, the Sultan Ahmed pavilion is an L-shaped building attached to the prayer hall's eastern corner (fig. 97; see fig. 90).[46] The first arm of the L, which is entered by a ramp, contains two spacious rooms for the sultan's use, while the second has an open gallery on its upper story and leads directly to the sultan's private loge, which stands inside the prayer hall at the eastern corner against the qibla wall (fig. 98). Despite its not inconsiderable size, the structure is dwarfed by the adjacent mosque, and is further differentiated by its style and materials: its roof is hipped rather than domed, and its walls incorporate alternating courses of brick and stone, in contrast to the mosque's ashlar construction. True to its name, the pavilion adheres to the norms of palatial architecture, resembling a residential annex that is stuck onto the mosque almost as an afterthought. This purposeful distinction decorously subordinates the pavilion while allowing it to maintain its own character in relation to the mosque proper. Its palatial qualities are not mere window dressing, moreover, for the structure did indeed function as a little palace to host the sultan and members of his retinue before and after prayer. Upon arriving at the mosque, they would climb the pavilion's ramp and spend time in its decorated and furnished upper rooms, perhaps even holding courtly audiences within them. It was then a simple matter of walking through the pavilion into the loge next door to pray.

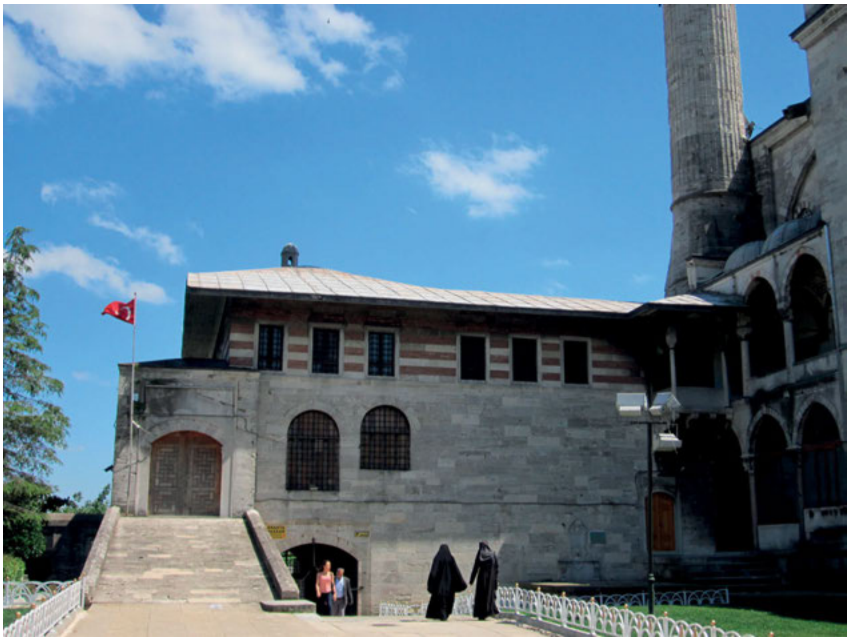
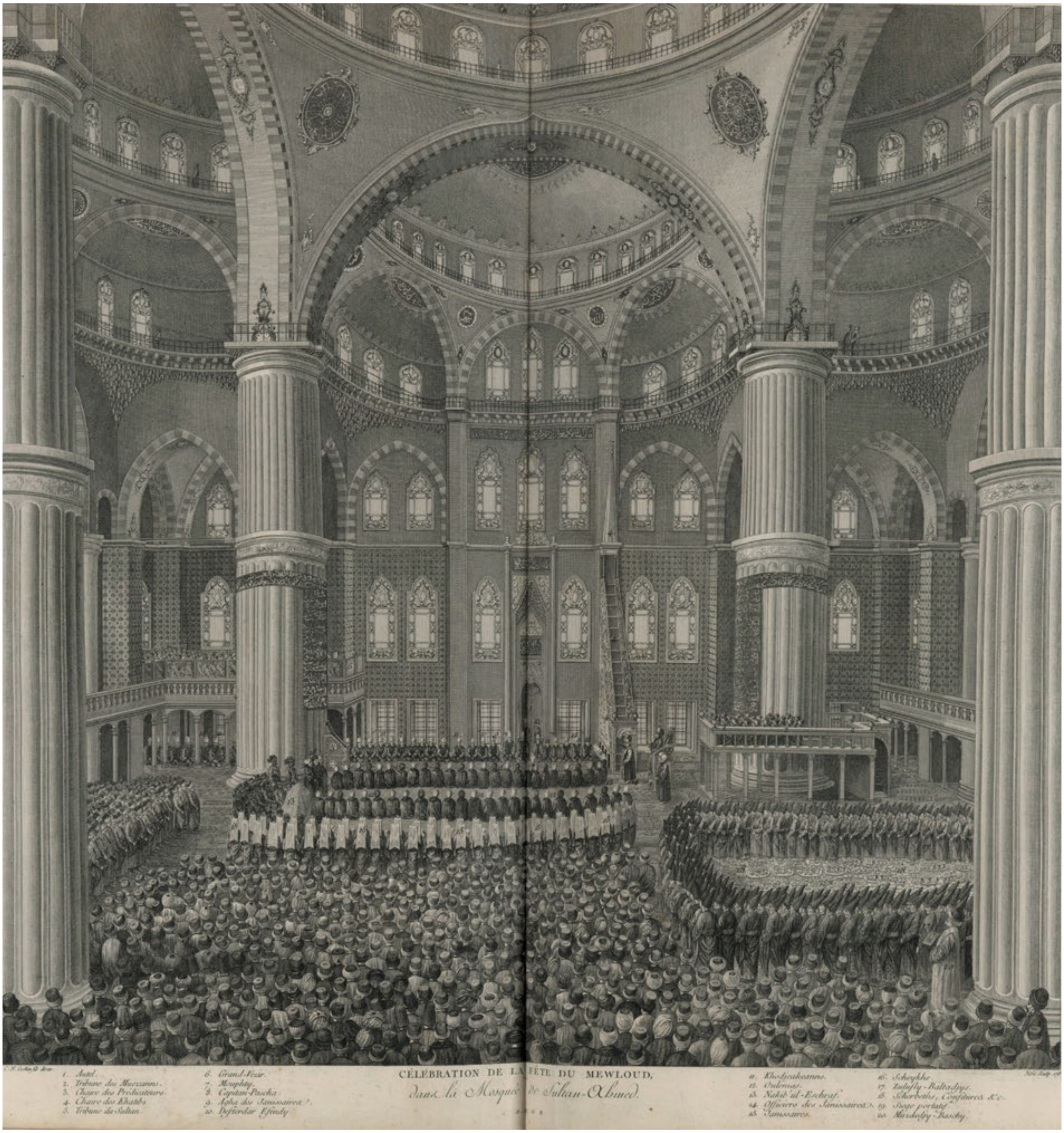


FIG. 97. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, royal pavilion viewed from the northwest toward its entrance side, with the attached mosque on the right.

FIG. 98. View of the celebration of the Prophet's nativity at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, with the royal prayer loge at the far left corner. By Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Née, 1787, from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* [. . .] (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1787–1820). Engraving on paper.

Before the Sultan Ahmed Mosque introduced such an arrangement, royal prayer loges were generally accessed through unassuming private entrances.[47] The architectural elaboration of this previously unmarked spot was the result of a growing emphasis on sultanic ceremonial and visibility from the seventeenth century onward. Following a paradigm established by Mehmed the Conqueror, the sultans of earlier years had been largely removed and aloof, a style of rule designed to inspire awe in their subjects.[48] The reign of Ahmed I, however, ushered in a less remote approach whereby the sultans, in an effort to publicly broadcast their magnificence and largesse, became ever more present and conspicuous. Ahmed's own mosque was at the center of this development, witnessing an unprecedented level of ceremonial activity over which the sultan personally presided. Besides one-off events to mark constructional milestones, a rich annual service to celebrate the Prophet's nativity—the *Mevlūd*—was instituted at the mosque even while it was being built; the ritual would continue for centuries under Ahmed's successors (see fig. 98). Ahmed also made frequent appearances during the mosque's construction and surveyed the work—while being observed doing so—from a special pavilion where he sometimes spent the night. This structure seems to have been an earlier version of the present pavilion, which thus stands as the embodiment of the burgeoning of royal spectacle that characterized these years.[49]

Traditional scholarship has explained this increase in display as a ploy to gloss over the Ottoman Empire's weakening post-sixteenth-century position, with the royal pavilion adduced as an obvious case in point. Arguing that its evolution was "triggered by psychological factors," Aptullah Kuran treats the pavilion as proof that "in the Ottoman imperial mosque, as so often elsewhere, ceremonial posturing grew in inverse proportion to the economic well-being of the State."[50] But while the empire's diminishing military strength may well have challenged the sultans' aura of invincibility and encouraged them to develop more overt means of impressing their subjects, this cannot have been the whole story. The Ottoman polity was still a formidable force when such


CÉLEBRATION DE LA FÊTE DU MEWLOUD,
dans la Mosquée de Sultan-Ahmed.
1. Autel.
2. Tribune des Muezzinns.
3. Chaire des Prédicateurs.
4. Chaire des Khatibs.
5. Tribune du Sultan.
6. Grand-Vezir.
7. Mouphty.
8. Capitan-Pascha.
9. Agha des Janissaires.
10. Defterdar Efendy.
11. Khodjeakeanns.
12. Oulemas.
13. Nakib 'ul-Eschraf.
14. Officiers des Janissaires.
15. Janissaires.
16. Scheykhs.
17. Zulufly-Baltadjys.
18. Scherbets, Confitures &c.
19. Siege portatif.
20. Mezdedjy-Baschy.

amplification of ceremonial practices began, and the phenomenon is best understood as developing out of an existing concern for royal showmanship. It was already well-established practice for the sultans to go in procession from the palace to one of the great mosque complexes to perform the Friday prayer there. Later known as the *selāmlıḳ*—roughly "ceremony of salutation"—this regularly enacted parade was a notable exception to the otherwise removed style of rule favored by the sultans of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The procession would begin with hundreds of soldiers, mostly janissaries, marching on foot to make way for the officers of state and dignitaries, who would follow on beautifully caparisoned horses. Toward the back of the cavalcade, and on the most sumptuous horse of all, was the sultan himself. Thousands of spectators lined the route whenever the procession took place, and, to the amazement of Western commentators, they invariably watched in awestruck silence. Their rapt attention was amply repaid by the sultan, who was in turn obliged to acknowledge and gratify his devoted subjects.[51] Luigi Bassano, a Venetian from Zadar who spent several years in Ottoman captivity, discusses this mutually beneficial exchange as he witnessed it during Süleyman the Magnificent's visits to the mosque:

> This he does every Friday for the satisfaction of his people or as some say and as I believe, because it is his duty to do so. He remains in the Mosque about two hours and then returns always by the way he came ever looking at the populace with a benignant countenance and returning the salutation of everybody, whether Christian, Turk or Jew, man or woman, moving his head a little, now to the right, now to the left, in sign of recognition of those who throng the way. . . . So any Friday may the Grand Turk be seen, in spite of the liars who say he never shows himself at all.[52]

Not only did these regular public appearances allow the populace visual access to their ruler, but they also offered recourse to his justice, for guardsmen would collect petitions from the crowds as the sultan passed by. In a very real way, then, the selamlık brought the magnificence of the palace and the equity promised by the sultan's Divan (Imperial Council) out onto the streets.[53] So important and expected was the ceremony that Murad III (r. 1574–95), one of the few sultans not to perform it often, was severely criticized for his neglect.[54] By the reign of Ahmed I, the selamlık had been restored to its full splendor, such that the English poet George Sandys (d. 1644), who visited Istanbul in this period, could claim that there was "not in the World to be seen a greater spectacle of humane glory."[55] The Sultan Ahmed Mosque had yet to be built when Sandys witnessed the parade, which led on that occasion to the Hagia Sophia. A decade later, he might have seen the procession end instead at the Sultan Ahmed's royal pavilion, a feature designed, among other things, to provide the event with a fitting climax (fig. 99). How better to enhance the selamlık than with an architectural culmination, especially one that—through its palatial references—gave solid shape to the idea of the ceremony as an interface between the public and courtly spheres? The pavilion was able, moreover, to lend the royal attendance of the mosque a permanency that the transitory selamlık could not, implying the sultan's presence even in his absence.

Far from betraying any sort of insecurity, the pavilion thus emerged as a confident elaboration of established ceremonial custom. Its success made it a standard—and ever more prominent—feature of subsequent imperial mosques. The next example, at the Yeni Cami in Eminönü, is already much grander, dominated by a monumental ramp up which Hadice Turhan—who used the pavilion along with her son Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87, d. 1693)—is supposed to have been carried on a sedan chair (fig. 100; see fig. 92).[56] But despite its larger size compared to its counterpart at the Sultan Ahmed, the pavilion remains clearly distinguished from the adjacent mosque, once more resembling an adapted residential structure that has little stylistic overlap with the dominant prayer hall. It was not until the eighteenth century—and first at the Nuruosmaniye—that the pavilion became a fully integrated part of the overall

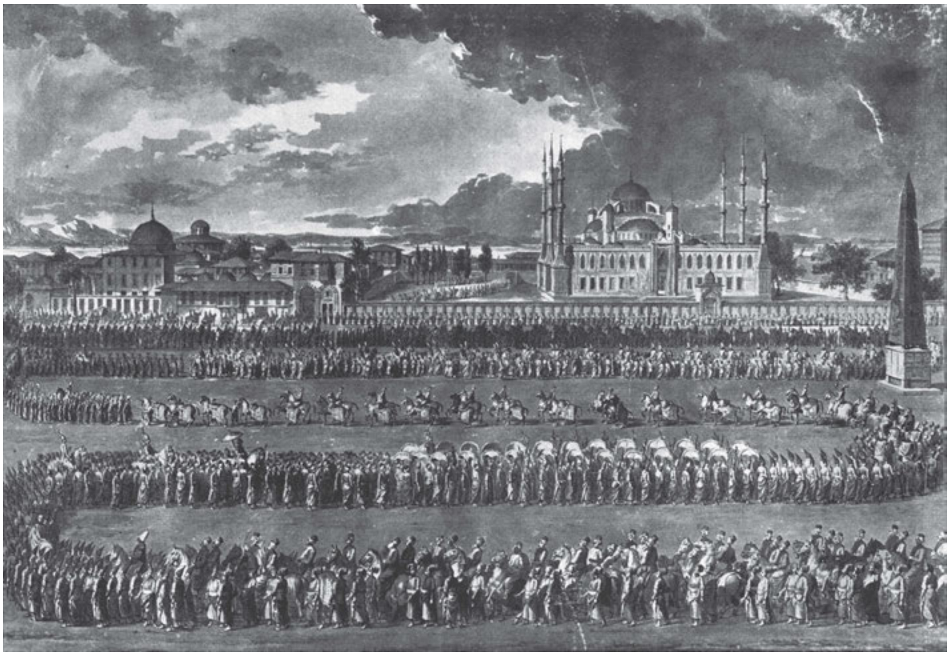


FIG. 99. View of the sultan processing through the Hippodrome to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. By Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, 1770s, unused design for Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau général*. Watercolor on paper. Location unknown.

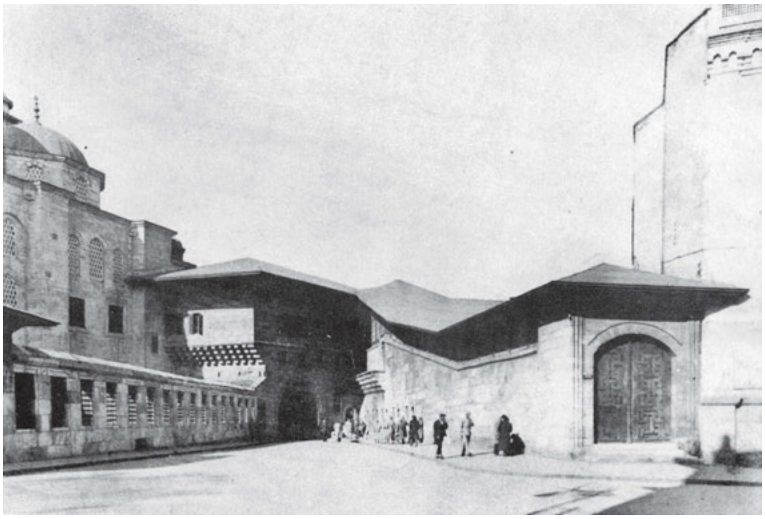


FIG. 100. Yeni Cami, royal pavilion viewed from the southwest toward its entrance ramp, with the attached mosque on the left.

scheme, and with it a more effective vehicle for sultanic pomp. In absolute terms, the Nuruosmaniye's pavilion is smaller than that of the Yeni Cami, but it has grown in size relative to the neighboring prayer hall. Far more important than its grander scale, however, is its bolder compositional arrangement. At the Sultan Ahmed, the pavilion is relegated to a corner of the mosque and would have been easily overlooked when not in use. The Yeni Cami pavilion is more conspicuous, but it too fades into the background when viewed alongside the prayer hall, and its most striking element—the ramp—is tucked away behind the mosque's main shoreline façade. The Nuruosmaniye presents us with a very different configuration. Here, the mosque is placed toward the northwest corner of the precinct, so that its porticoed courtyard—ostensibly the principal point of entrance to the building—extends away from both of the complex's gates. Entering the precinct, we thus find ourselves in an alternative courtyard looking at the prayer hall mainly from the back and side. This open area is jointly demarcated

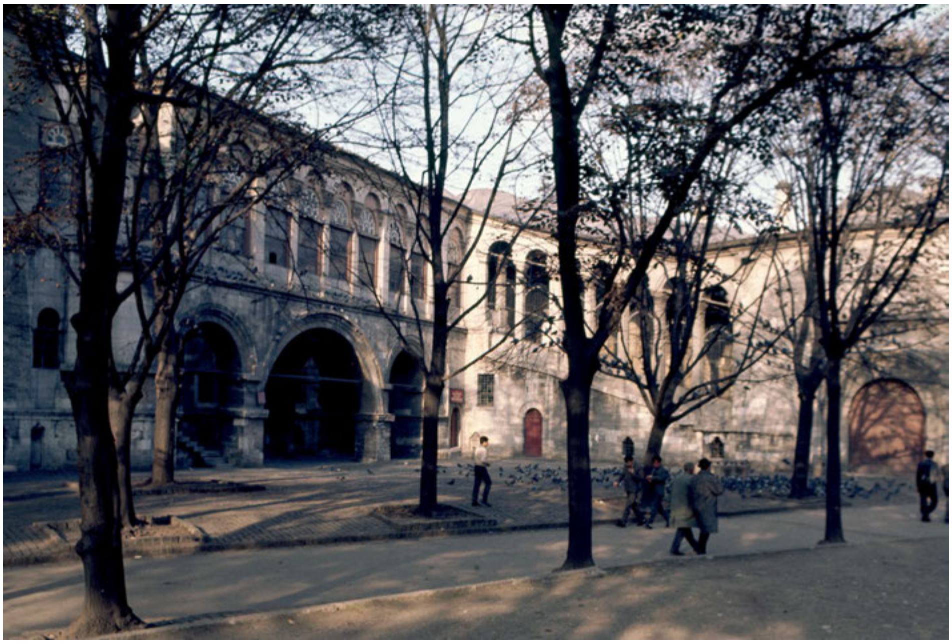
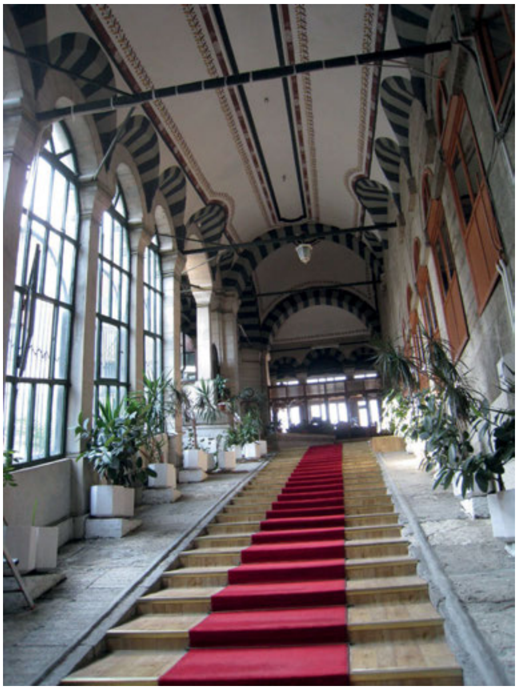


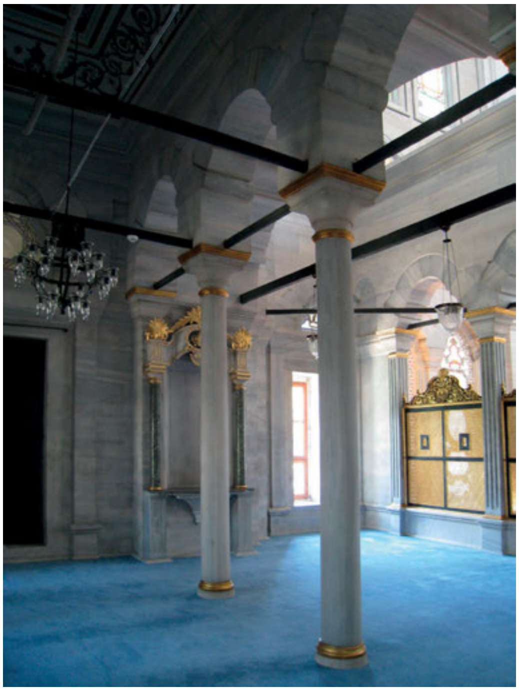
FIG. 101. Nuruosmaniye Complex, royal pavilion as viewed from the southwest in 1966–67.

by the mosque, the paired madrasa and imaret, and, not least of all, the pavilion, which is now impossible to miss (fig. 101).

The ramp that constitutes one half of the pavilion is contiguous with the eastern perimeter of the complex and entered by an imposing round-arched door clad in marble. Placed just to the left of the precinct's east gate, this door is almost identical to it, and similar also to the west gate (see figs. 84, 85). Such twinning of the public and royal entrances suggests both the proximity of the ruler to his subjects and his superiority to them, for the sultan's own portal is as grand as that intended for the entire congregation. The ramp itself is a generously sized passage with a long cavetto vault and a graduated arcade along its left, which is the side visible from within the precinct (fig. 102). Once the ramp has reached full height, it joins at an acute angle the L's second arm, a cavetto-vaulted gallery that is arcaded on both sides and elevated on three massive archways. This gallery runs toward the mosque in line with the qibla wall until it reaches the building's eastern corner, where it meets and gives access to the royal prayer loge (figs. 103, 104). Viewed from inside the open area that it helps to delimit, the pavilion has the appearance of a continuous monumental arcade that slopes up before turning the corner and extending to the mosque. The arches, which rest on elegant plain piers, are today filled with windows, though older photographs show those of the ramp open (fig. 101). Either way, the result is a semitransparent passageway through which the sultan's movements would have been far more visible than in the case of earlier examples.

A remarkable consequence of this new structural lightness is that the pavilion no longer really resembles one at all: its most palatial element—a stately chamber complete with a beautiful Baroque fireplace and domical vault—is located behind the corner of the L, where it projects into the smaller open area fronting the complex's library and tomb (fig. 105). Even when the pavilion is viewed from this angle, it is the arcaded passageway that makes the dominant impression, especially as the arches and pilasters, which are fashioned of white marble, stand out against the white limestone used





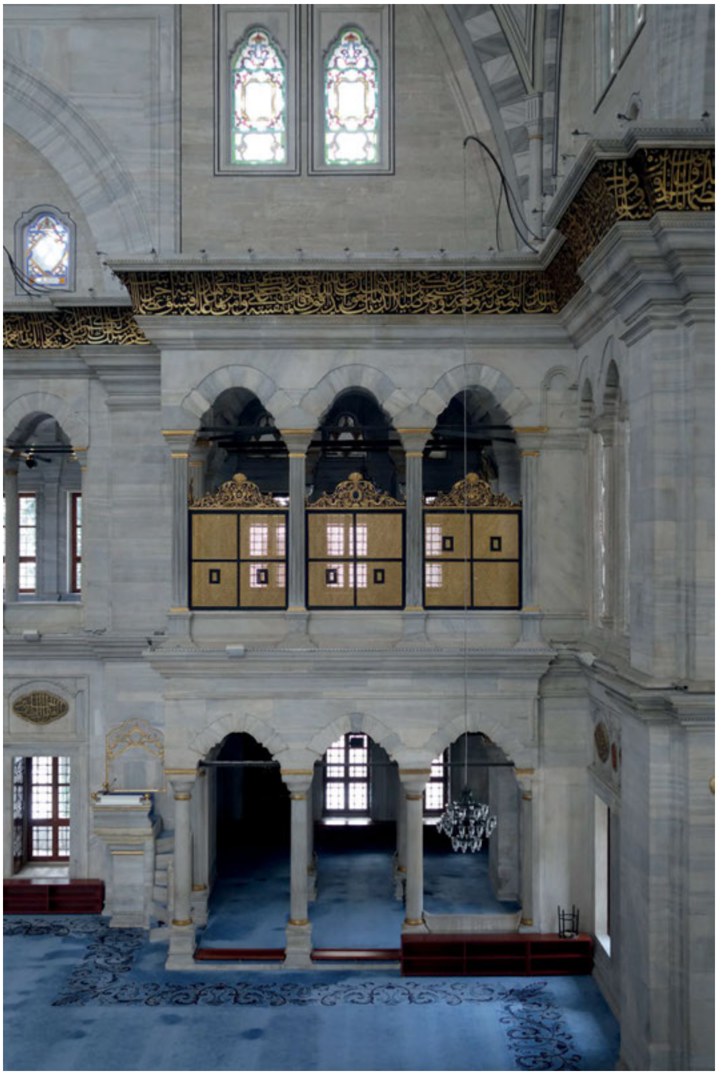


FIG. 102. (top left) Nuruosmaniye Complex, royal pavilion, interior of the ramp.

FIG. 103. (top right) Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior of the royal prayer loge, with the door to the pavilion on the left.

FIG. 104. (bottom) Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior of the prayer hall looking northeast toward the royal loge.

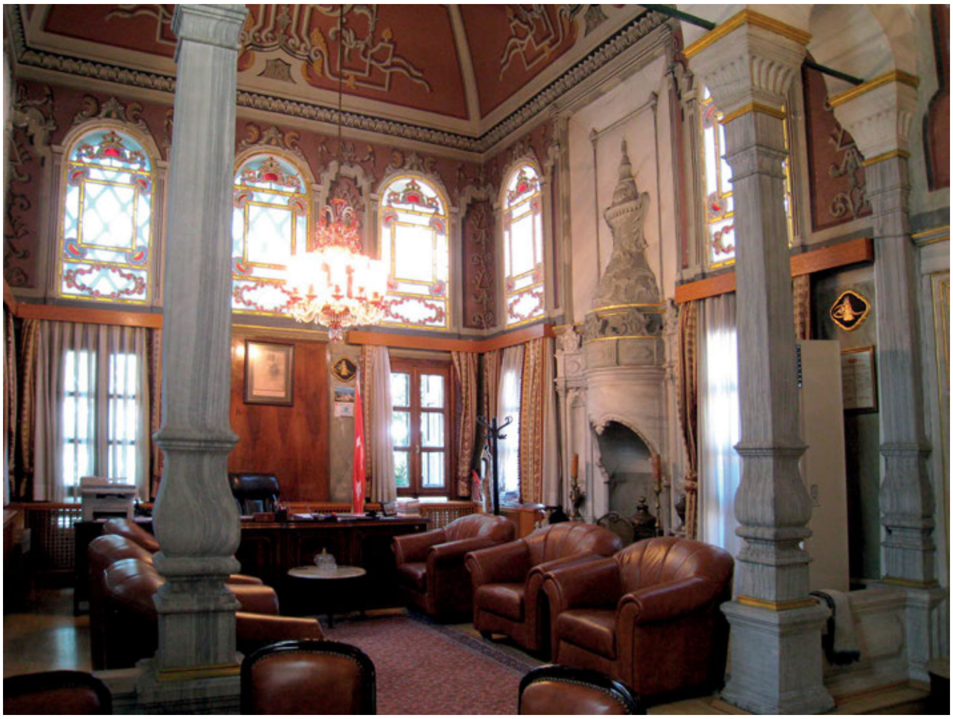


FIG. 105. Nuruosmaniye Complex, royal pavilion, palatial room at the structure's corner.

for rest of the structure. The shedding of its previously residential aspect also means that the pavilion ceases to present such a stark contrast to the mosque. Though the latter remains far higher and is more richly decorated, both buildings are now constructed of the same materials, and their moldings, windows, and arches align. Perhaps it is because of this close relationship that the sources refer to the pavilion by names that underplay its autonomy and treat it almost as an extension of the mosque: in addition to the term "ablution room," documents such as the complex's waqfiyya call the pavilion a *maḥfil*, "tribune," the same word used of the sultanic loge inside the prayer hall.[57] Mosque and pavilion are thus brought into unprecedented harmony at the Nuruosmaniye, working together to define a new kind of ceremonial stage set.

How well this arrangement worked can be gauged if we return to historical accounts of the Nuruosmaniye's inauguration. Ahmed Efendi records that after Sultan Osman entered the precinct and dismounted his horse, he "ascended with his imperial retinue to his ablution room," a climb that the arcaded ramp must have made highly visible to the spectators gathered in the precinct below. He then "sat in exalted honor" and enjoyed "a period of rest and repose," presumably in the chamber at the corner of the L, and he afterward held audience with Derviş Efendi and his (Derviş's) sons before receiving the grand vizier and grand mufti. Upon the muezzins' call, the sultan rose to go into the mosque, the path to his prayer loge having been laid the night before with "costly cloths of gold-on-gold."[58] His passage along the pavilion's elevated gallery would again have been on display to those watching from the precinct, and it is likely that the arches of the gallery were hung with decorative swags to match the cloths that had been spread on the floor. This theatrical staging of the sultan's movements reached its climax with his entrance into the loge inside the mosque, as described by one of the official reports of the event:

> To let it be known that our Majestic Lord was come from his ablution room to grace the imperial loge, the wings of the [loge's] screen were opened [*ḳafesiñ ḳanadları açılup*], and our Majestic Lord condescended to acknowledge all his slaves, the ulema and officials who were waiting expectantly. With this, His Excellency the Grand Vizier prostrated himself to the ground, and the rest also bowed in salutation, after which the screen was closed and the prayer begun.[59]

The charged moment of reveal, during which the sultan was exhibited and adored almost as an idol, represented the fulfillment of the pavilion's promise of visibility.[60]

Following the prayer, robes of honor were conferred on the high-ranking clerics gathered in the mosque, probably by the grand vizier or grand mufti.[61] The sultan then returned to the pavilion and himself bestowed robes on his dignitaries, most likely in his private room, though possibly in the more spacious and transparent gallery. Afterward, the grand vizier—wearing his new vestments—exited the pavilion and stood at the foot of the ramp next to the precinct's east gate, where he distributed robes to the lesser officials and to those who had served in the mosque's construction. The sultan by this point must have moved to the pavilion's gallery, as Ahmed Efendi, corroborated by the protocol register, tells us that the spot where the grand vizier stood was "fully visible to the imperial view from the ablution room upstairs";[62] the sultan would in turn have been visible as he watched. Once all the investitures had been completed, "His Majesty the Richly Retinued Emperor departed the ablution room in magnificence and splendor, and, together with the men of his imperial circle, turned his reins toward his exalted palace."[63]

These valuable step-by-step records of the Nuruosmaniye's inauguration make clear the vital role of the pavilion throughout the ceremony. From start to finish, the structure served no less than the mosque itself to provide the event with both a dramatic backdrop and a flattering venue. To be sure, the ceremony's participants were so many in number that few, if any, members of the public can have been allowed into the mosque or its precinct to view the proceedings at close range. But the participants themselves represented a considerable cross-section of Ottoman society, including, as we shall see, Christian minorities. Moreover, the inauguration—which was, after all, a grand selamlık—would be reenacted multiple times on a smaller and more accessible scale during the sultan's subsequent Friday visits. This meant that ordinary worshippers too might witness the ritual theatrics that the pavilion so effectively accommodated. Even when not in use, the structure served as a patent reminder of the mosque's royal status, concretizing in monumental form—and far more eye-catchingly than earlier pavilions—the otherwise ephemeral aura of sultanic spectacle.

The increased visual and functional prominence attained by the pavilion at the Nuruosmaniye was very much in keeping with more general trends of the eighteenth century. We have already seen that the court's return to Istanbul in 1703 precipitated a magnification of royal display that involved public festivals and waterside palaces. In this new environment, the movements of the sultans became ever more overtly staged, a development that at once answered and fueled public interest. Events such as a sultan's excursion to the palace of his sister or his seasonal retreat (*göç* or *naḳl-i hümāyūn*) to one of his pavilions along the Bosphorus attracted enough attention that they are recorded not only in the official journals, but also in privately kept diaries.[64] Similarly well documented, if rather less glamorous in nature, are royal visits to the sites of large raging fires. This practice, which had its origins in the sixteenth century but did not become commonplace until the eighteenth, required the sultan to appear at a conflagration regardless of the hour to spur on the firemen's efforts from a building overlooking the flames, after which he would distribute gifts.[65]

Such conflation of sultanic visibility and duty was, to be sure, already well established with the selamlık, whose eighteenth-century form remained much the same as before. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, as discussed in chapter 1, was deeply impressed by the Friday parade of Ahmed III, noting the sumptuous costumes of the thousands-strong retinue; later reports rehearse these well-worn characterizations.[66] But though the selamlık itself changed little in the eighteenth century, there was a new concern for extending its reach and impact. Mahmud was particularly mindful of the importance of enacting his piety with maximum conspicuousness, whether through the selamlık or other means. In a manner reminiscent of Ahmed I before him, he frequently visited the site of the future Nuruosmaniye during its construction, even purchasing a nearby house specifically for the purpose.[67] These visits were as much about exhibiting the sultan's diligence to others as they were about allowing him to view the building work. Before the Nuruosmaniye too, Mahmud had done much to put his religiosity on show. The numerous prayer loges that he and his chief harem eunuchs installed in Istanbul's mosques provided both an augmented setting for and a permanent memorial of his selamlıks to those buildings. Advertising the sultan's presence with new vigor, these imperial galleries can be found not only in nonroyal mosques such as Hacı Beşir Agha's, but also in smaller, often suburban, examples like the Mosque of Hacı Kemalettin in Rumeli Hisarı (see figs. 55, 80). The latter building is an especially telling case, for the royal loge here has been designed almost as an abbreviated pavilion, projecting over three columns on the outside of the mosque. The effect, as discussed in chapter 2, is to stamp the otherwise indistinct structure with an imperial identity, not only by virtue of the gallery's form and decoration, but also through its enduring reference to the royal visit that caused it to be built in the first place.

Indeed, the proliferation of sultanic prayer loges under Mahmud was partly a function of the spread of the selamlık itself. While the most attended mosques remained the great sultanic foundations of the walled city—and in particular the Hagia Sophia, which was nearest to the Topkapı Palace—more and more locations were being selected for occasional visits.[68] In some instances, as with the Mosque of Hacı Kemalettin, the sultan may have gone to the building only once or twice in his reign, lending even more commemorative significance to the loges installed for his use. This drive to take the selamlık to as many places as possible seems to have been in response to a genuine public appetite for seeing the sultan in all parts of his capital. The official ruznames of the period assiduously record the destinations of each week's parade, and the same information is noted, albeit with less regularity, in private diaries also.[69] The English clergyman and antiquarian Richard Pococke (d. 1765), who was in Istanbul in 1740, notes in his travel account that a generous benefaction was given to whichever mosque the sultan went to, and a later source, perhaps reflecting eighteenth-century practice, tells us that the destination was not be revealed until the morning of the visit.[70] All this adds to the impression of a well-orchestrated public relations exercise capable of generating considerable expectation and excitement around the selected mosque.

These attempts at boosting the selamlık's profile were so fruitful that the parade became a gauge of the sultan's very well-being. In a dispatch written in about 1750, the British ambassador Porter notes that Sultan Mahmud had been indisposed for several days, with much speculation as to the nature of his illness, and that it was only when he made his public appearance at the mosque "that all surmises as to the dangerous state of his health . . . ceased."[71] Conversely, any failure to carry out the procession was now a cause for alarm. Mahmud became the victim of his own success in promoting this model when he was compelled to go to prayer during the grave illness that marked his last days, as vividly reported in contemporary Western newspapers:

> Constantinople, Dec. 15 [1754]. The 29th of last month, being a day on which the Grand Signior usually goes on horseback to the Mosque, and his Highness not appearing, the people grew extremely tumultuous, and assembled in great numbers before the Seraglio to know the meaning of his absence. In order to appease them, he acquainted them that he was indisposed with a cold, but that in a short time his subjects should see him. His indisposition is attributed to the shock he received by the late melancholy earthquakes, and the fires which succeeded them, since which he has kept close in his apartment till the 13th intact, when the Janissaries, in a manner, forced him to appear in publick, in order to remove the general clamour. The Sultan went that day to the Mosque on horseback, but at his return to the Palace found himself much worse, and in a very short time after, he expired.[72]

Describing the event from a closer vantage point, Porter adds the grim detail that the sultan's "death was occasion'd by a sudden fit of the asthma, under which he lay suffocated dismounting his horse, returning from the Mosche."[73]

It is a sad irony that Mahmud's fatal procession was not to his own mosque, which was still a year away from completion. Nevertheless, the Nuruosmaniye would be a testament to his enthusiastic and savvy attitude to self-display, providing the selamlık with its most persuasive architectural complement yet. Later mosques would, as I shall discuss, build on this example and continue to heighten the effect of the parade. The public's investment in the ceremony only grew with these elaborations. Whereas Sandys, writing after 1610, had given the frequency of the selamlık as "lightly every other Friday," the English cleric and antiquarian James Dallaway (d. 1834), who traveled eastward in the 1790s, tells us that "[t]he citizens of Constantinople are pleased with beholding the countenance of their sovereign, and since the reign of Morad IV. [r. 1623–40] have insisted on his going publicly every Friday, to some or other of the mosques."[74] Mahmud's final outing is proof enough of how much weight this insistence carried.

But it was not only to their own subjects that the sultans were playing. The sheer number of descriptions like Dallaway's bespeaks a strong and sustained interest on the part also of foreign spectators, and the Ottomans cannot have been unaware of this.

Lady Mary, who viewed Ahmed III's procession with the French ambassadress, recounts with evident satisfaction, "He happen'd to stop under the Window where we stood and (I suppose being told who we were) look'd upon us very attentively that we had full Leisure to consider him."[75] One of the reasons that European observers found the selamlık so appealing is that, for all its exotic splendor, it spoke to them in terms that were readily intelligible. When in 1758 the Frenchman Pierre-Jean Grosley (d. 1785) watched Clement XIII (r. 1758–69) during his *possesso*—the ceremonial passage of a newly crowned pope from St. Peter's to the Lateran—he was told by a Venetian who had recently seen one of Mustafa III's processions that, "setting aside the beards and turbans, it was exactly like the pope's."[76] Though Grosley does not comment on the comparison, he and other Westerners must have marveled that the sultan's weekly attendance of prayer could match in splendor the pope's inaugural parade.

Such thirst for pomp was not, however, unique to the Ottomans. The period in which the selamlık bloomed was one characterized by a more general surge of ceremonial display as rulers sought to engage and exert control over their populations, often in response to increased social mobility. What resulted was a diversified performative culture that capitalized on, and in a sense regulated, the nonelite's growing desire for recreation.[77] To take the well-known example of the French court at Versailles, the king's daily activities were turned into a progressively more public set of rituals by Louis XIV and his successors. Actions as simple as rising from or retiring to bed—the king's *lever* and *coucher*—became elaborately staged affairs involving a surprisingly large viewership, something noted with interest by Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi during his embassy to France.[78] Recalling the Ottoman ruznames, the king's daily attendance of his chapel—always by a publicly visible route—finds repeated mention in his courtiers' diaries.[79] Sundays especially saw the palace opened up to almost anyone who cared to catch a glimpse of their sovereign, with flocks of people traveling from Paris to see him attend mass or, more curiously, eat his dinner in a practice known as the *grand couvert*.[80] Describing such a day in 1785, a visitor to the palace tells us that the chapel was packed with people who, ignoring the liturgy, were "busy looking at the king." Thereafter, "an incredible crowd" gathered to watch him dine, and "[t]he guard who was at the door sent lots of people away."[81]

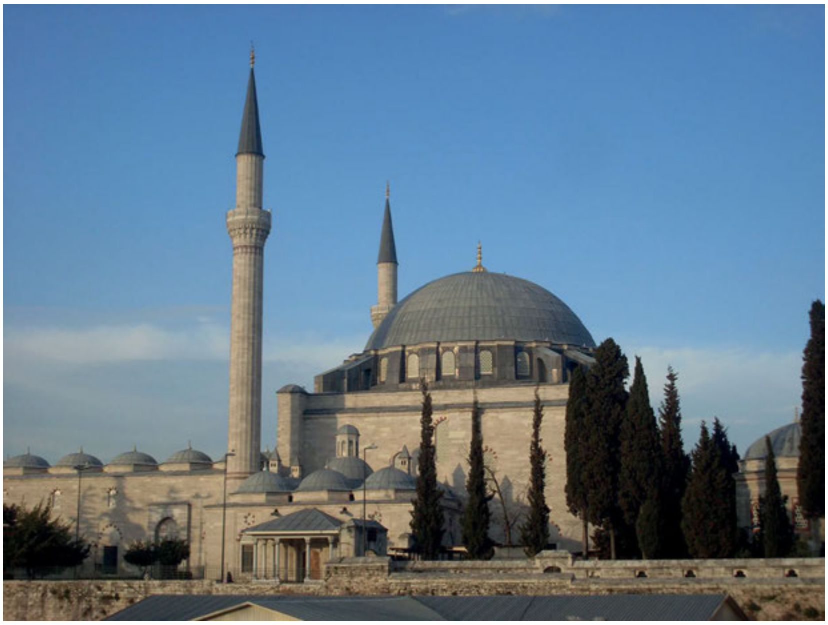
Leaving aside the obvious differences in approach, the shared concern of the Ottoman and French monarchs for exhibiting themselves to the eager gaze of their subjects provides a useful context for understanding the international legibility and cachet of such ceremonies. And just as Versailles framed the French king's movements in a manner that rendered them all the more imposing, so the ceremonial practices of the sultan were significantly enhanced by the venues that accommodated them. The Nuruosmaniye's pavilion should, then, be considered alongside the various permanent and temporary structures—galleries, staircases, triumphal arches—that gave shape to festivals and rituals throughout seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe.[82] Such comparison further refutes the idea that the theatricality exemplified by the Nuruosmaniye was a sort of escapist reaction to Ottoman decline. Rather, we are dealing with a particular—and very successful—expression of a wider trend toward ceremony and its associated spaces, a trend whose international scope was the result of increased contact and competition between the world's polities.[83] These cross-cultural factors reveal themselves even more strongly when we turn to the architecture of the mosque itself.

THE NURUOSMANİYE AND ITS "GRACEFUL NEW STYLE"

As striking as the Nuruosmaniye's royal pavilion would have been, it was surely the adjacent mosque that most surprised observers of the time. Ahmed Efendi may strive in his account to associate the monument with older sultanic complexes, but the actual building is quite unlike any of its forerunners. Istanbul's imperial mosques had traditionally distinguished themselves by their grand scale, multiple minarets, arcaded courtyards, and use of semidomes grouped around a large central dome. While the Nuruosmaniye satisfies all but the last of these criteria, its reliance on a single dome resting on four high and monumental arches—an arrangement visible from a considerable distance—immediately sets it apart. There were, to be sure, earlier sultanic mosques that eschewed the semidome. The Yavuz Selim Mosque—built in the 1520s by Süleyman the Magnificent in memory of his father, Selim I (r. 1512–20)—has a block-like prayer hall formed of four squat arches over which is a large single dome (fig. 106). And in Edirne, the Selimiye Mosque—designed by Sinan for Selim II (r. 1566–74) half a century later—is famously dominated by a single grand dome, albeit with semidomical squinches at its corners (see fig. 153).[84] Neither of these buildings, however, much resembles the Nuruosmaniye, which is differentiated by the verticality and exterior prominence of its baldachin arches.

Much closer to the later mosque, and indeed its likely model, is the Edirnekapı Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, a work of Sinan's dating from the 1560s (fig. 107).[85] Here, as at the Nuruosmaniye, a single dome covering the majority of the building is raised high on a square baldachin whose four grand arches frame rows of windows. Though a royal

FIG. 106. Yavuz Selim Mosque, Istanbul, completed 1522.



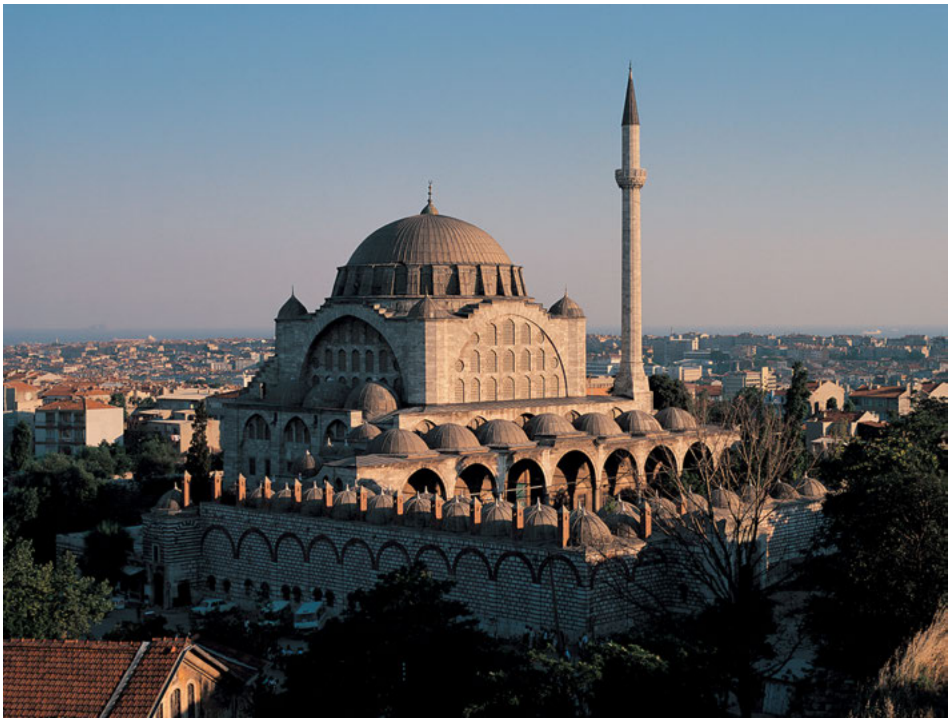


FIG. 107. Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, Edirnekapı, Istanbul, ca. 1563–69.

foundation by virtue of its eponymous patroness, Süleyman the Magnificent's daughter (d. 1578), the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque was an unusual work without any immediate followers, and its location by the city walls meant that it was seldom visited by the sultans. The Nuruosmaniye thus bypassed more obvious models like the Sultan Ahmed and Süleymaniye and instead took up the otherwise uninfluential scheme of a relatively marginal mosque of a princess.[86] This unexpected choice of plan not only lends the Nuruosmaniye a freshness of appearance against the city's existing sultanic mosques, but it also allows the building to achieve its impact with remarkable economy. The dome—which, as Ahmed Efendi notes, ranks among the city's largest—is showcased in such a way as to make a virtue of its singleness, and one scarcely notices that the resultant space is smaller in relation to older sultanic monuments.

A more dramatic departure from convention, though visible only as we near the mosque, is the courtyard that adjoins the prayer hall. Unlike all preceding examples, which are square or rectangular in plan, the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard is semielliptical, the domed bays of its round-arched portico fanning out to achieve the shape (fig. 108; see fig. 1). The outcome is radically different from anything that the mosque-goers of Istanbul would have been accustomed to, and one of the few examples in the Ottoman context of a Baroque whose effect is spatial rather than expressed on the surface. While the two minarets that mark the juncture of the prayer hall and courtyard likewise seem quite different from what came before, their undulating stone caps are in fact the result of a repair carried out in 1890.[87] Historical depictions, including photographs, reveal that the original caps were of the established lead-sheathed conical type, although elongated in profile (see figs. 82, 84, 125).

The innovations evident in the mosque's basic shape find their match in its details and decoration. The Nuruosmaniye proudly displays the novel style inherited from the experimental works that preceded it, and the change of scale and medium is transformative. No longer limited to a gate, fountain, or bathhouse interior, the new manner is here, for the first time, expressed in truly monumental terms—the Ottoman Baroque writ large. Externally, the keynote is struck by the four baldachin arches, which, though themselves slightly pointed, are framed by segmental pediments with concave corners and deep molded cornices (fig. 109; see fig. 84). These pediments recall the arched niche of the fountain that Mahmud built in the suburb of Maçka in 1748 (see fig. 60), the outline of which in turn relates to such European comparanda as the frame created in 1769 for the high altarpiece of the Mariahilf Church in Graz, as pointed out by Turgut Saner.[88] The use of this dynamic, plastic form over the Nuruosmaniye's arches creates a very different effect from that of the Mihrimah Sulan baldachin, with its planar surfaces and stepped pediments, and rather recalls the "façades" of contemporary English table clocks, which were avidly collected by the Ottoman elite (see fig. 28). Under the arch on the qibla side is an apsidal projection containing the mihrab, and enlivening the building's flanks are galleries with mixtilinear arches that support shallow lateral wings crowned by moldings similar to those of the baldachin above (fig. 109). The copious fenestration consists almost entirely of round- and mixtilinear-arched windows with crisply molded frames.

The most striking exterior details, however, are in the architecture of the courtyard, whose three carved marble doorways are among the most elaborate examples of the entire Ottoman Baroque. Crowning the main portal into the courtyard is a round-arched tympanum with a fan-like design formed of pilasters, flutes, and reeds radiating from a lush rosette (fig. 110). The skeleton beneath is clearly the less ornate half-sunburst motif that enjoyed such favor earlier in the century (fig. 17). Also representing an older form dressed in new clothing are the courtyard's two lateral doors, each of which replaces the muqarnas conch with an analogously shaped semivault whose corbelling consists of rows of acanthus friezes and moldings of European origin. Despite

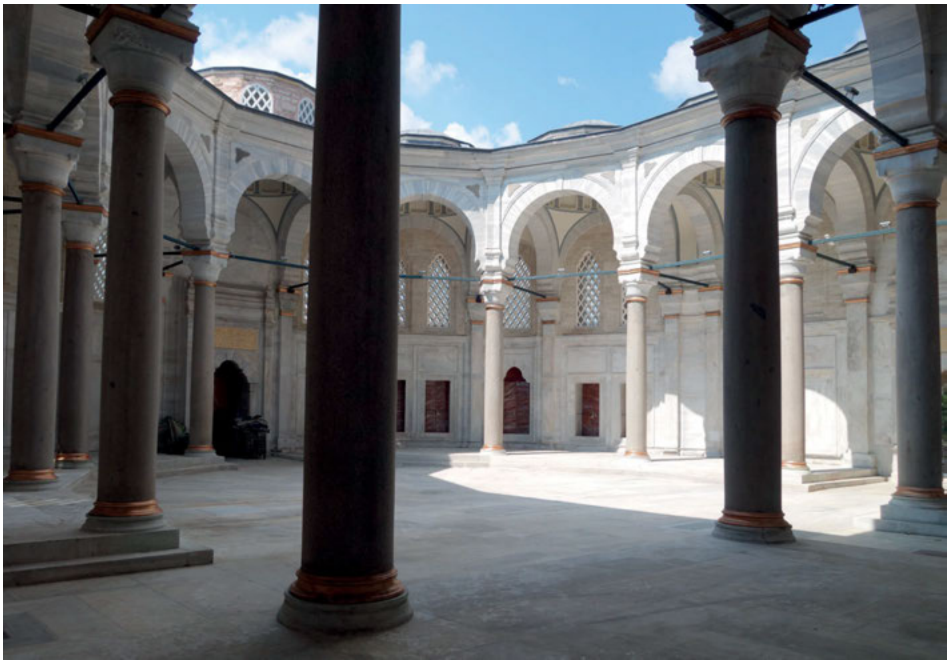
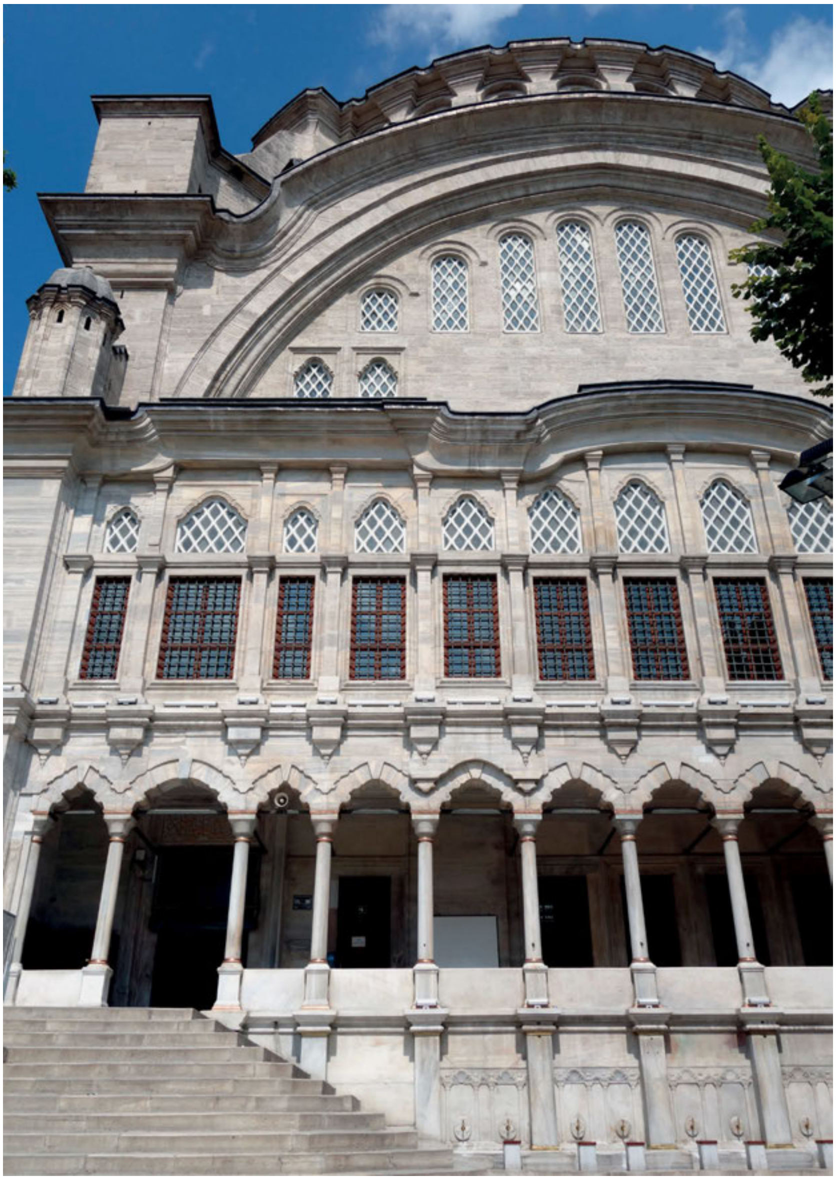
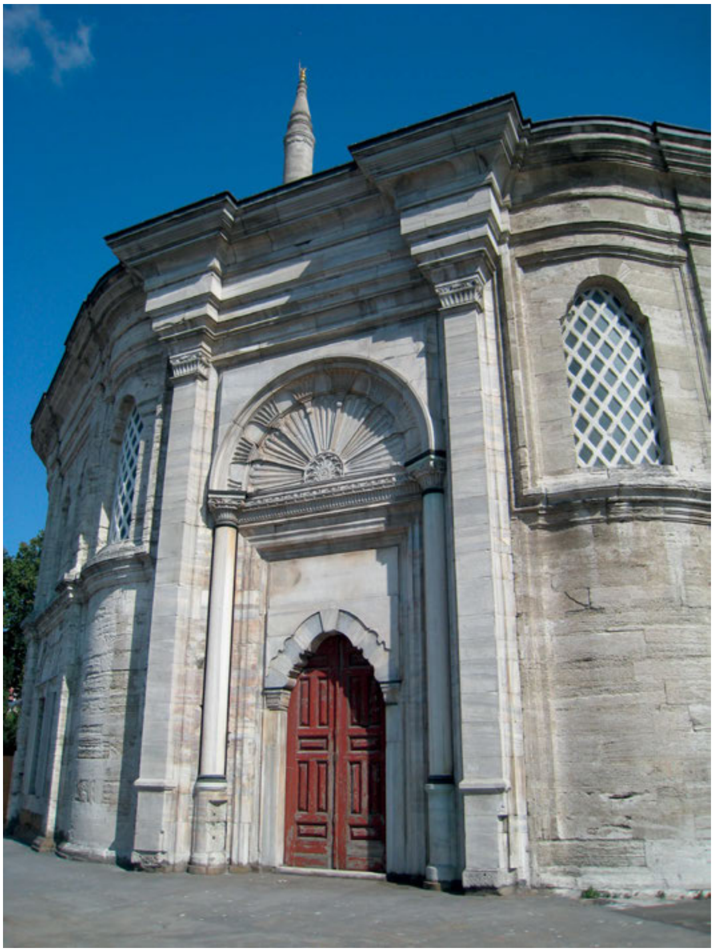


FIG. 108. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard interior looking north.

the identifiable sources of its constituent parts, the overall design is quite unexpected in its originality and impact, resembling neither anything local nor anything European. This mesmerizing concoction is repeated within the courtyard above the door into the prayer hall itself; signaling the superiority of this particular entrance, shells, scrolls, and miniature shield-like ornaments have been added to the semivault's base to further embellish the scheme (figs. 111, 112). A comparison with the main entrance of the Süleymaniye shows just how much of a contrast these variegated motifs present to the network of geometrical muqarnas they have replaced, even if the overall composition is largely unchanged (fig. 113). Notwithstanding their originality, all of the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard doors incorporate panels of Arabic calligraphy rendered in monumental thulth by a number of leading calligraphers (five are recorded as having worked on the mosque).[89] The traditional appearance of these texts only highlights the novelty of the decoration around them. As well as quoting Qur'anic passages that promote prayer and good works, the inscriptions hail Osman III and trace his patrilineage

FIG. 109. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, southwest façade of the prayer hall.





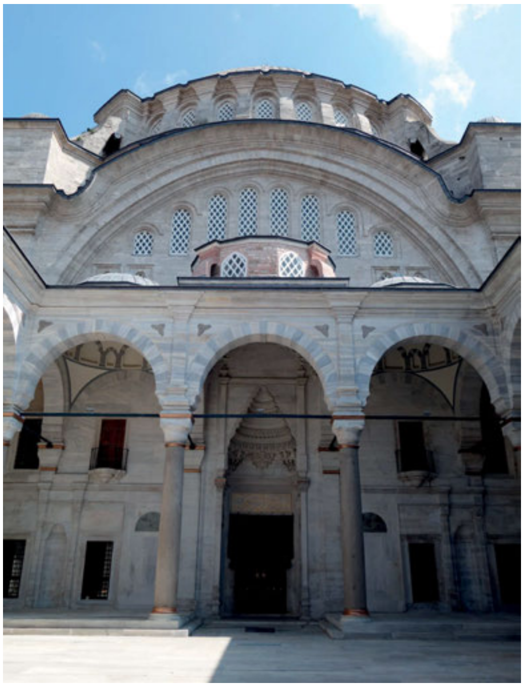


FIG. 110. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, main entrance into the courtyard.

FIG. 111. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard interior looking southeast toward the prayer hall and its main entrance.

back to Osman I (r. ?–1324?), who gave his name to the Ottoman house. This ancestral roll call underscores the Nuruosmaniye's status as a dynastic foundation belonging to a long line of sultanic complexes—"Light of the Ottomans"—and it also, by necessity, omits any mention of the mosque's true originator, Mahmud I.

Inside the mosque, we encounter a space entirely clad in carved white marble up to the arches of the baldachin (figs. 114, 115). This abundance of decorative stonework, to the exclusion of any tiles, instantly sets the hall apart from older mosque interiors, and so too does the absence of freestanding piers, which the single-dome plan renders unnecessary (see figs. 91, 95). The openness and whiteness of the space together enhance the generous luminosity afforded by its many windows, a quality evoked by the waqfiyya—which calls the building "the noble light-filled mosque"[90]—and, of course, by the mosque's own name. Paintwork would have enlivened the unclad surfaces, as it still does today, though what we now see are mostly layers of gaudy overpainting. Only the base of the dome—which has been repainted with an authentic Baroque design uncovered during the mosque's recent restoration—gives a sense of the original scheme.[91]

The dome seems to encompass the whole of the interior, and this impression prevails despite the apse in the middle of the qibla wall and the elevated galleries that extend the space around the remaining three sides. Like their counterparts in some older mosques, these galleries run between, and so help disguise, the piers of the dome,

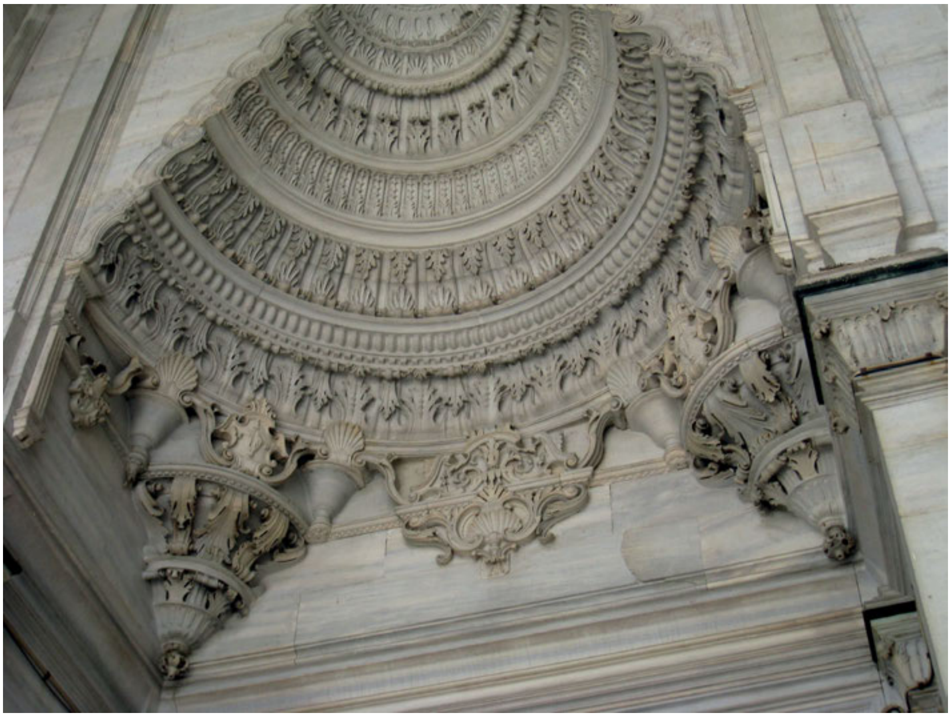


FIG. 112. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard interior, detail of the carved semivault over the main entrance into the prayer hall.

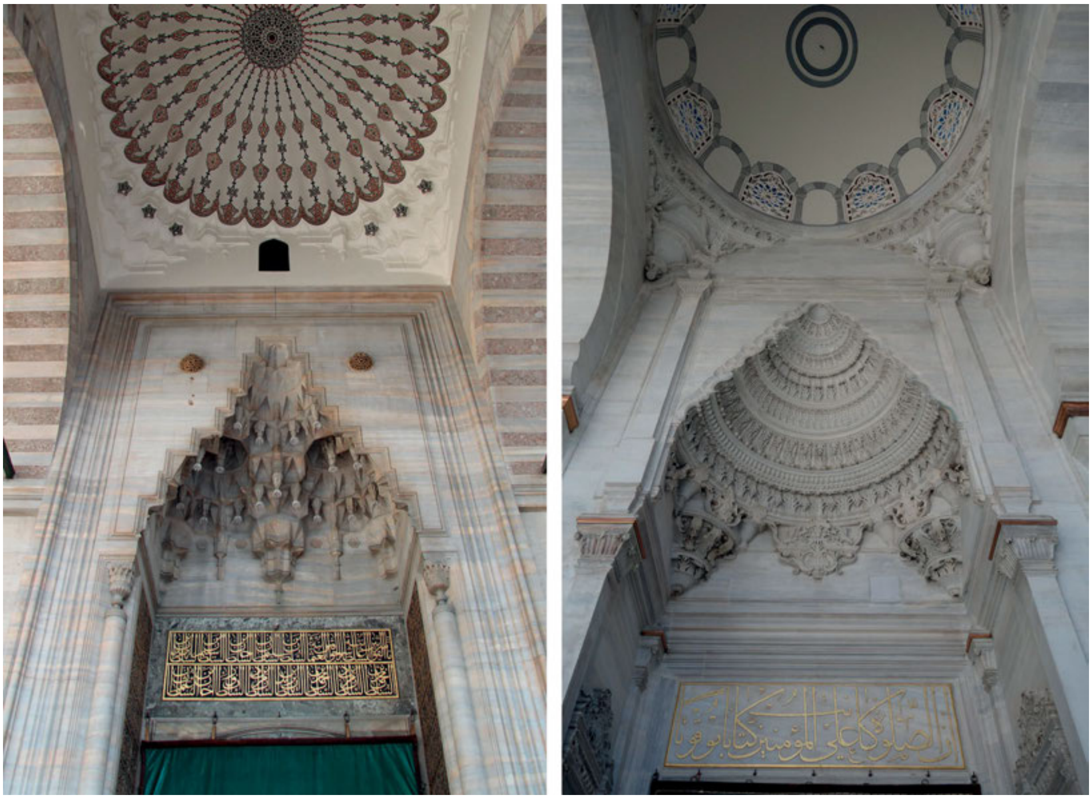


FIG. 113. Comparison of the semivault and dome above the Süleymaniye Mosque's main entrance (left) with their counterparts at the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (right).

but here, in an ingenious new layout, the galleries' supporting elements are themselves largely integrated into or located outside the walls. Most of the gallery space is thus treated as if lying beyond the prayer hall's footprint, an arrangement that enlarges the building from the inside out and leaves its main area almost completely unencumbered. The lateral galleries, which correspond to the mosque's exterior side wings,

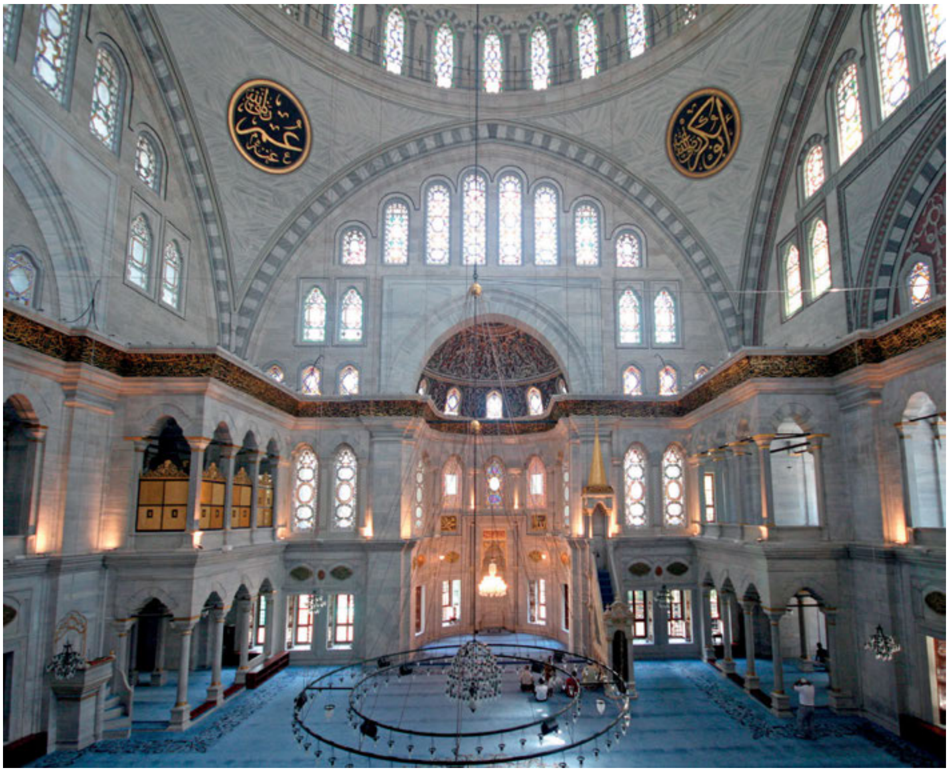


FIG. 114. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior looking toward the qibla wall.

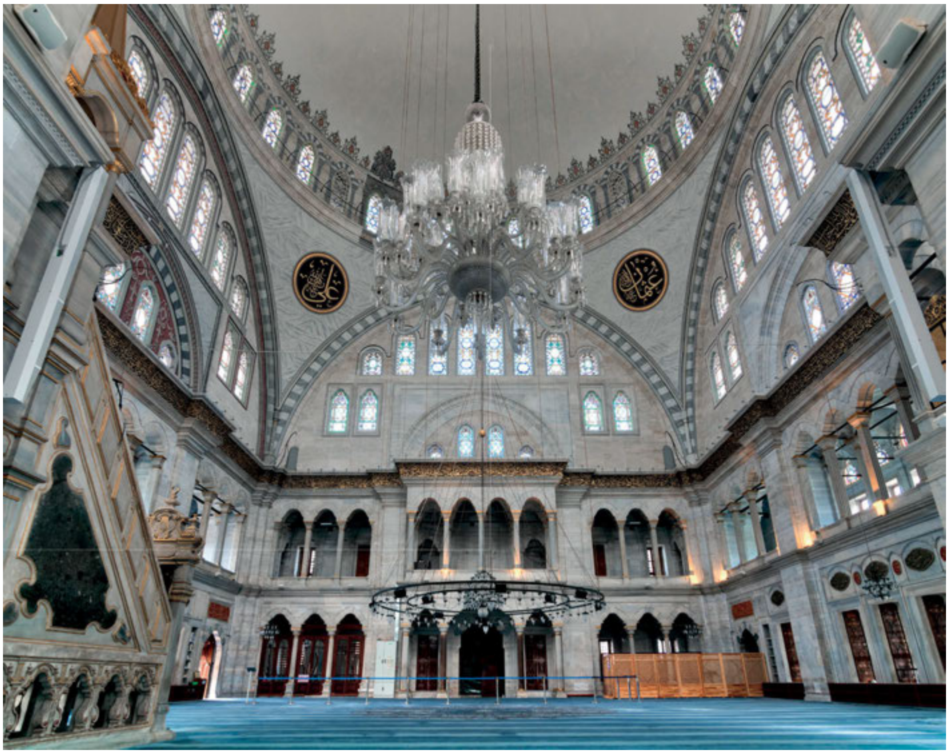
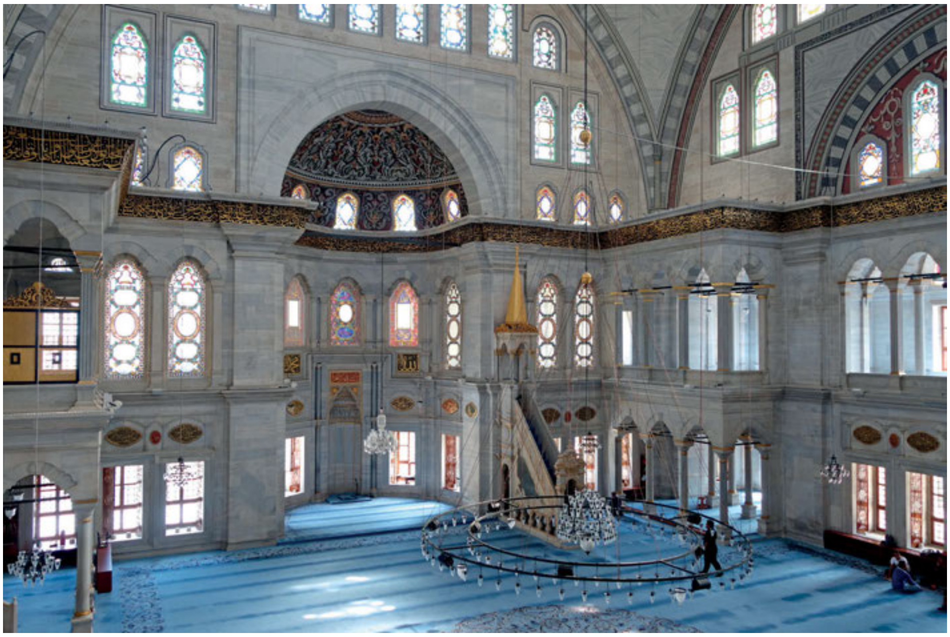


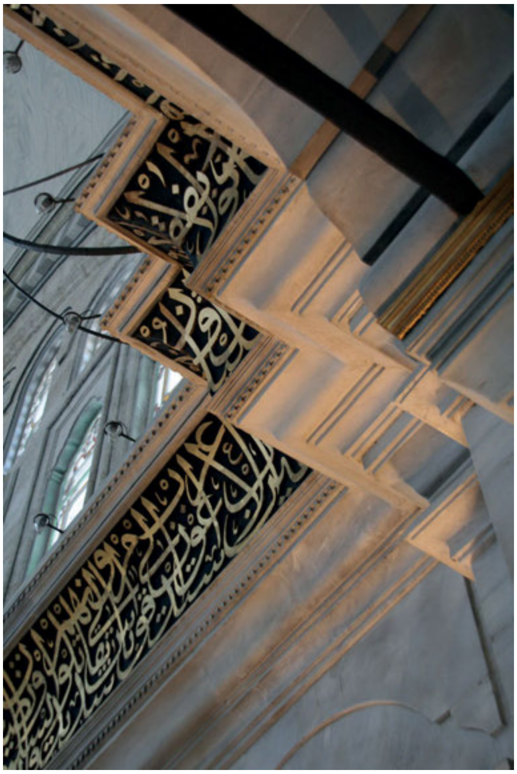
FIG. 115. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, wide-angle interior view toward the main entrance. (© Khaled Eladawy / Dreamstime.com.)

widen near the qibla wall to form two noticeable but unexaggerated box-like projections (figs. 114, 116; see fig. 104). That on the left—distinguished by its latticework screens—is the sultan's private loge, which, though still in its traditional position, is no longer a separate tribune interrupting the floor space. The unenclosed projection on the right, meanwhile, is a gallery for the muezzins, a standard feature in large mosques,

FIG. 116. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior looking south toward the qibla apse and minbar.

FIG. 117. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior, calligraphic cornice.





but one that is here, for the first time, designed as a symmetrical complement to the sultan's loge. Besides being formally balanced, this pairing of royal and liturgical galleries visualized the inseparability of religion and state.

As on the outside of the building, the interior's stonework is showily novel, and particularly notable is the jutting entablature-like cornice that circumscribes the whole of the space at the springing point of the baldachin arches (fig. 117). Carved onto its wide concave surface is a busy but lucid thulth inscription comprising the Qur'an's Victory Sura, which talks of the Prophet Muhammad's role in guiding the righteous to their heavenly reward. This tour de force of an inscription is the first carved wraparound example in Ottoman art, and its traditionally composed text appears very untraditional indeed now that its support is a sculptural Baroque frieze. Marking the upper and lower edges of the cornice, and thus providing a border to the inscription, are thousands of dentils, which occur also in a continuous molding immediately below the gallery story. The sheer abundance of this simple but painstaking ornament at the Nuruosmaniye confirms the motif's royal associations in the Ottoman context. Lower on the walls, framed by decorative blind arcades, are horizontal cartouches alternating with vertical ovals, the former containing the names of God, and the latter those of the Prophet (fig. 116). Serving as a sacred counterpoint to the list of royal names in the courtyard, these thulth panels are the work of the calligrapher Bursalı Müzehhib Ali (d. 1776–77), who has inscribed his own signature in the cartouche to the right of the minbar.[92]

It is on this qibla-facing side of the prayer hall that the interior stonework is at its most exuberant. The minbar and mihrab—while traditional in overall shape—are richly carved with flutes, scrolls, and acanthus leaves (figs. 118, 119). In a manner resembling the exterior doors, the triangular semivault of the mihrab is built up of rows of eclectically combined friezes, in this case including tiny Corinthian-like colonnettes that stand on a dentil molding supported by little foliate corbels. The apse containing the mihrab features Osman's tughra on both jambs of its arched entrance, providing a sultanic counterpart to the more traditional *Allāh* and *Muḥammad* that flank the mihrab itself. The stained-glass windows of the apse and its adjacent walls have mixtilinear-arched frames whose inner edges are studded with a kind of double dentil molding, its squares alternating in direction. Known as the Venetian dentil, this motif is actually of Byzantine origin, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Its use on the privileged qibla wall represents a formal and semiotic redoubling of the already emblematic conventional dentil.

From its broad lines to its smallest details, then, the Nuruosmaniye Mosque is an extraordinarily bold and original statement, even in the context of the architectural projects leading up to it. The same daring style obtains in the other parts of the complex, as we have already seen with the royal pavilion. Thus the library—a recent building type not found in earlier sultanic mosque complexes—recalls the courtyard in its use of an ovoid plan and curved arcades (see fig. 88).[93] The neighboring tomb, mean-

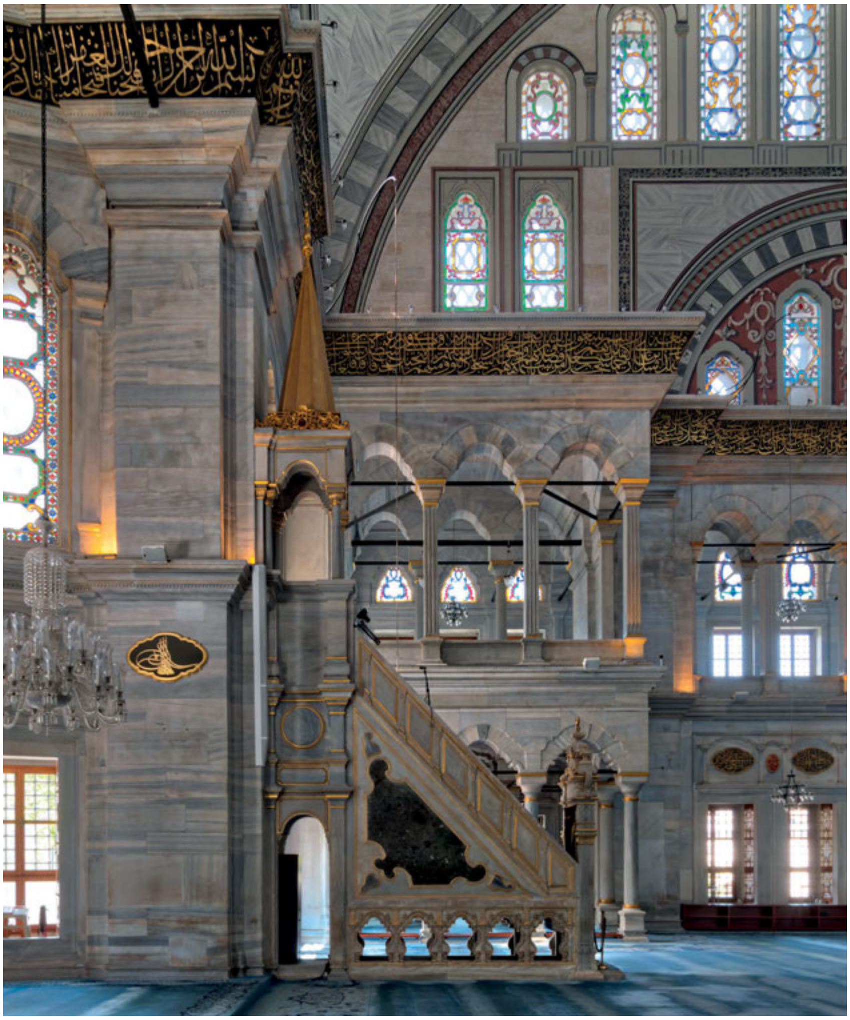


FIG. 118. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior looking toward the minbar and muezzins' gallery. (© Khaled Eladawy / Dreamstime.com.)

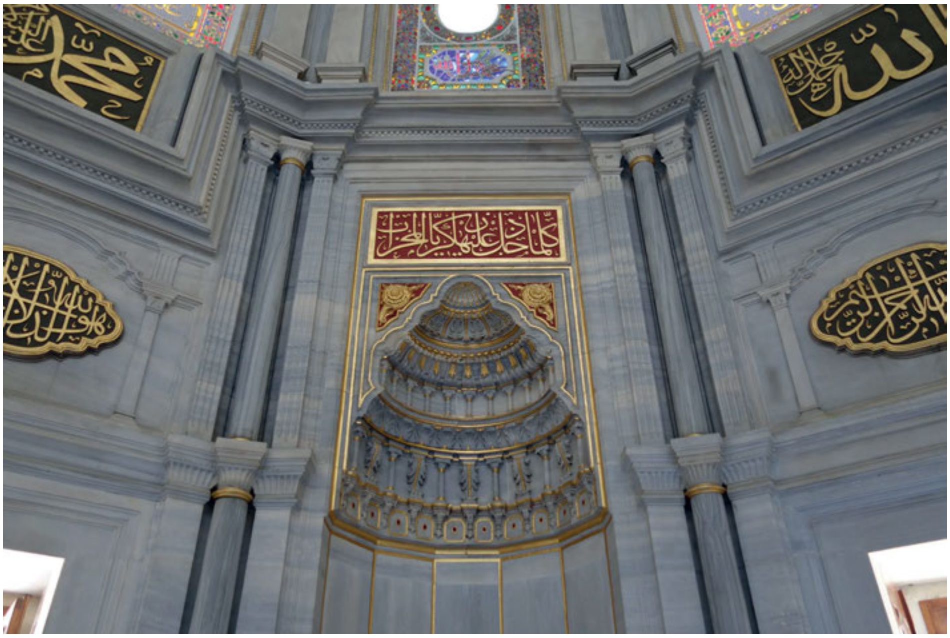


FIG. 119. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, detail of the mihrab and qibla apse.

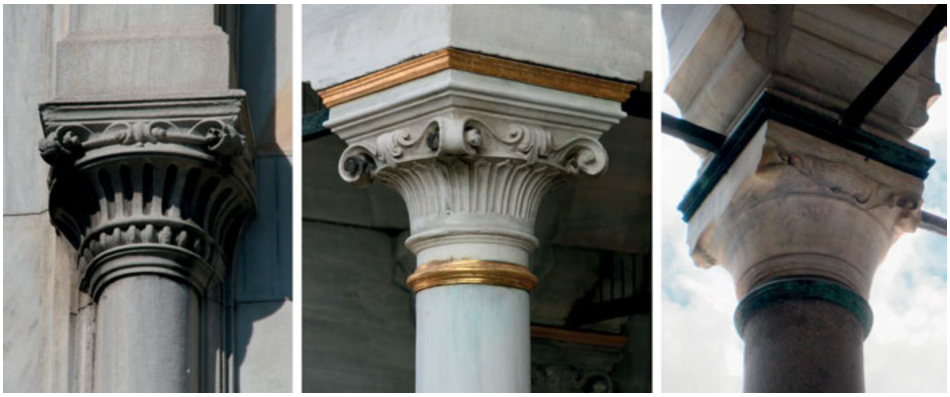


FIG. 120. Nuruosmaniye Complex, scroll capitals of the courtyard exterior (left), tomb portico (center), and courtyard interior (right).

while, has a wraparound inscription frieze in the manner of the prayer hall. What is remarkable is that this overwhelmingly novel effect is tempered by an equally new stylistic maturity. Where works of the earlier 1740s had referred very directly to their Western sources, the Baroque elements of the Nuruosmaniye are more thoroughly localized. This is particularly apparent in the complex's column capitals, which, in a break from the Corinthianizing designs of earlier years, mostly take the form of vase-like bells that are in some cases plain and in others fluted or reeded.[94] Those of the latter category differ considerably from Western standards, where fluting and reeding usually belong to the surface of the column itself. Although similar fluted capitals could already be seen a few years earlier, parts of the Nuruosmaniye—especially the courtyard—debut a fancier kind of capital that would become one of the most characteristic features of the Ottoman Baroque. It consists of a plain or decorated vase-shaped bell with small but prominent volutes issuing from its corners (fig. 120). At the Nuruosmaniye, these corner scrolls are usually accompanied by less protuberant ornaments above the bell's main faces, giving the whole the look of a handsomely streamlined Corinthian capital. Notwithstanding its relationship to Classical models, this design—

which I term the scroll capital—is a distinctive reinterpretation that established a new local type of which we see multiple variants.[95] The stateliest examples at the Nuruosmaniye would have been the marble capitals surmounting the granite columns of the courtyard, but, for unknown reasons, these were never finished: their curiously abstract appearance might be mistaken for a deliberate effect were it not the fact that one of them has been partially carved with the intended design, in which each corner volute is embellished with another leafy scroll (fig. 120; see fig. 108).

The introduction of the scroll capital at the Nuruosmaniye bespeaks a growing self-assurance on the part of the Ottoman craftsmen responsible for the mosque. So clearly does the architecture here follow on from the first Baroque projects of the 1740s that there can be no doubt we are dealing with the same teams of artisans. Their decade or so of experience left them well equipped to tackle a monumental complex, and the result is a fully developed, sophisticated adaptation of the experimental style of their previous efforts. These men, whose earlier careers are basically unrecorded, acquire clearer identities with the Nuruosmaniye, a project that has left us a good amount of documentation.[96] We know, for example, that the architect was a non-Muslim kalfa whom Ahmed Efendi calls "Skillful Simeon" and describes as "one of the master carpenters with perfect proficiency in art."[97] His chief assistant, who probably oversaw the mosque's decorative stonework, was Kozma, kalfa over the stonemasons, of whom almost eighty percent were Christian.[98] The preeminent role of these two kalfas is evident from the fact that they were given robes of honor by the grand vizier at the inauguration, as mentioned by Ahmed Efendi and recorded in the official ceremonial register.[99] The latter lists the two men among the "Servants of the Imperial Mosque," a diverse group of 48 individuals ranging from the principal imam to the head of the sewer builders. At the end of this group, which is already the last in the ceremonial order, are fourteen Christians, with Simeon and Kozma named first. Although the men are relegated to the end of the list because of their religion, that they are included at all indicates their growing status: they may well have been the first non-Muslim Ottoman artists to be formally rewarded at a mosque inauguration.

Certain scholars have argued that the real architect of the Nuruosmaniye was Mustafa Agha, the chief imperial architect of the time, but this assumption is groundless.[100] The chief architect does indeed show up in documents concerning the mosque, though only under his title, which in fact refers to more than one individual, since Mustafa Agha held the post only toward the mosque's completion; preceding him during most of the construction phase was Ahmed Agha. Ahmed Efendi mentions the chief architect's role in procuring land for the complex and his involvement in the committee that decided the height of the mosque's basement. His presence at the foundation-laying ceremony—where both he and Simeon Kalfa received robes of honor—is also noted, and the ceremonial registers show that he (or rather his successor) was among those invested during the mosque's inauguration.[101] In none of these instances does the anonymous chief architect appear in more than his ministerial capacity, and although he must have approved the complex's design, there is no indication that he played any creative role in shaping it. Simeon Kalfa, by contrast, is specifically referred to by Ahmed Efendi as the appointed master builder. Ahmed's description of Simeon as an expert carpenter also bears out his architectural credentials, since many Ottoman architects, including Sinan, had a background in woodworking.[102] It is true that Simeon is not termed *miʿmār*, or architect proper, but this was a matter of discriminatory nomenclature because of his non-Muslim status.[103] Such linguistic obfuscation should not detract from the fact that Simeon is the first dhimmi whose authorship of a major architectural project is acknowledged in contemporary Ottoman sources. Nineteenth-century Ottoman writers are likewise frank on this issue, as when the historian Mustafa Nuri Pasha (d. 1890) attributes the Nuruosmaniye to Simeon and states that all important commissions of this period were given to Greek and Armenian builders.[104]

Non-Turkish Ottoman sources substantiate Simeon's role as architect and shed further light on his identity. An Armenian letter written in 1759 by an Ottoman-Armenian priest concerns Simeon's house, a red waterside mansion. "This house," the priest tells us, "was erected by Red Simon Kalfa, the architect of the new mosque built by Sultan Mahmud; for Sultan Mahmud, and Sultan Osman after him, gave him this place as a reward for his architecture." But the next sultan, Mustafa III, was not so pleased when he spotted the mansion and inquired about its owner: objecting to Simeon's presence in an otherwise Muslim area, he forced the architect to leave the property and move to Ortaköy, where he lived in another red house. "Because of this," the priest continues, "Greeks who wanted to build new houses or repair their houses subsequently dropped their applications," a remark that indicates that Simeon himself was Greek.[105] Why he is so strongly identified with red is not clear, though his decision to paint both his homes in such a conspicuous color reveals the confidence he felt in his status, even after being evicted.[106] His standing is confirmed in an eighteenth-century Greek chronicle written by the Phanariot Athanasios Komninos Ypsilantis, an eminent Paduan-trained physician; he describes Simeon as "a representative of the [Greek] people" who backed the controversial patriarch Cyril V (d. 1775).[107] The position that Simeon enjoyed within the Greek community is another clue to the well-to-do and educated circles in which non-Muslim Ottoman architects might have moved in this period.

Though Kozma Kalfa is not so well documented, his name shows that he too must have been Greek.[108] Others among the Nuruosmaniye's Christian craftsmen have Armenian names, and it is significant in this regard that the Armenian cemetery at Bağlarbaşı contains two tombstones with ornament remarkably similar to that of the mosque. Both of these stones take the form of elaborately carved marble slabs with Armenian epitaphs whose biographical details suggest that the deceased were bankers.[109] Unusually, and signaling the high rank of the individuals they commemorate, the tombstones' epitaphs are each accompanied by a Hijri death date, which is in both cases 1169 (1755–56)—the year of the Nuruosmaniye's completion. The decoration of the larger of the tombstones is particularly reminiscent of the mosque (fig. 121). Surrounding the oval-framed epitaph is a rich assortment of Ottoman Baroque motifs that all have analogues in the Nuruosmaniye. These include shells, leafy scrolls, beaded acanthus leaves, and chains formed of bell-like flowers. Especially telling are the tiny bowls of fruit—an updating of a "Tulip Era" motif—that are perched on the C-scrolls toward the bottom of the tomb; these appear also on the scrollwork pediments surmounting the inner faces of the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard doors (fig. 122). So many

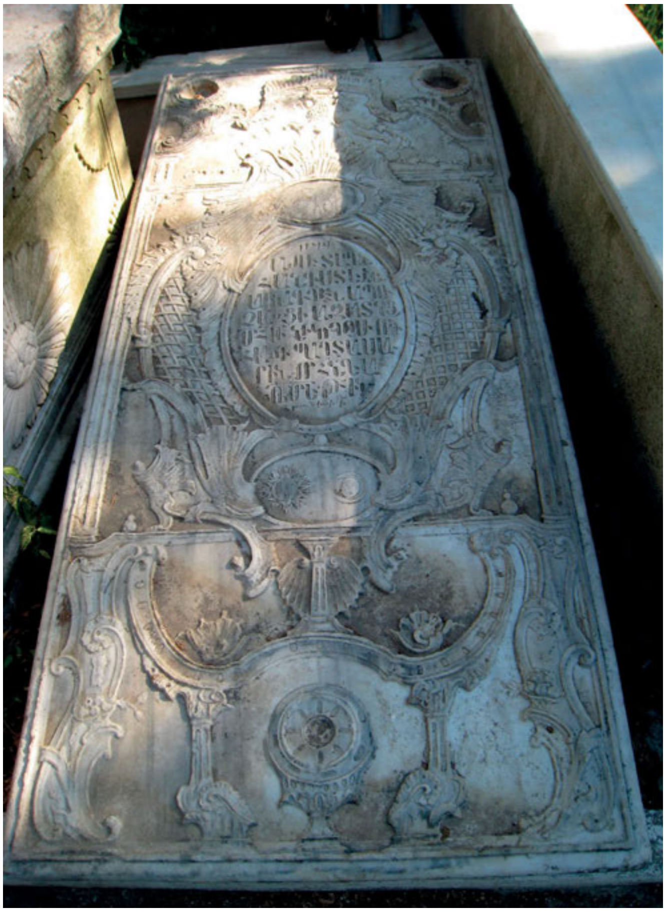


FIG. 121. Marble tombstone dated 1756, Armenian cemetery, Bağlarbaşı, Istanbul.

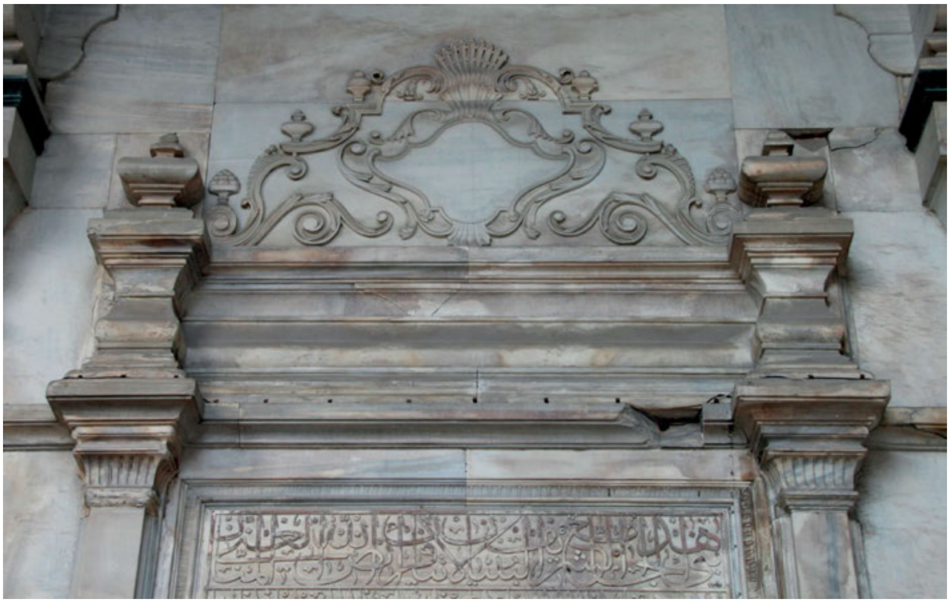


FIG. 122. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard interior, pediment over the northeast door.

and specific are these correspondences that the tombs must have been carved by men who belonged to the same milieu as the stoneworkers of the mosque. No Muslim tombstone of this date has anything approaching such a Baroque design.

While Greeks and Armenians evidently played a major role in building the Nuruosmaniye, Muslim artists and artisans were also instrumental to the project, as

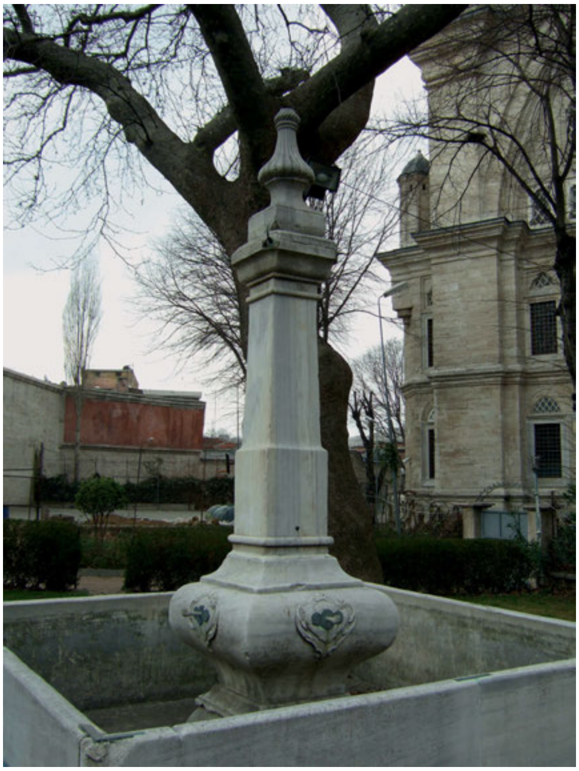


FIG. 123. Nuruosmaniye Complex, marble jetting fountain located between the mosque and madrasa.

reflected by the list of those granted robes of honor at the inauguration. Apart from calligraphers, who were necessarily Muslim, the workforce included Muslims whose jobs either paralleled those of their Christian peers—Kozma's counterpart, for example, was the master stonemason Mehmed—or reflected their own specialized training. Engineering tasks, such as the installation of the mosque's waterworks, seem to have been directed by Muslim experts, already anticipating the imperial architects' later transformation into an engineering corps.[110] How these Muslim and non-Muslim workers interacted and divided their overlapping responsibilities is difficult to reconstruct, though there is nothing to suggest any conflict.

Given the straightforward way in which the Ottoman sources record the leading role of Simeon Kalfa, it is surprising how little they say on what would appear to be the most salient aspect of the Nuruosmaniye: its unrelentingly novel appearance. This is true even of the fifty-five-page account of Ahmed Efendi. He does, to be sure, refer to the building as the "noble mosque of graceful new style" (*cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i nev-ṭarz-ı laṭīf*), and he draws attention to certain features that he finds especially original, including "the various newly appeared crystal pendant chandeliers brought from Vienna that were specially ordered" for the prayer hall.[111] These chandeliers, which have long since disappeared, are mentioned also in the waqfiyya and must have complemented the architecture far better than the pseudo-traditional lanterns that today take their place.[112] Another feature that Ahmed Efendi singles out is "an unparalleled fountain skillfully made in the new manner with four spouts at its lower part and a jet at its top."[113] Located in front of the madrasa and today blocked from view by a fence, this marble work is far from the most impressive part of the complex, but an outdoor spouting fountain was still an eye-catching novelty in Istanbul's cityscape, particularly in a mosque complex (fig. 123). Apart from these scattered references, however, Ahmed Efendi says nothing substantive about the Nuruosmaniye's "new style," let alone its European resonances. Even the unique shape of the courtyard is mentioned only inasmuch as it relates to the structure's measurements, with Ahmed Efendi pointing out that "because its corners are round, some of [its] area is lost."[114] Other eighteenth-century Ottoman sources are similarly unspecific about what distinguishes the mosque from earlier buildings, despite, as we shall see, having much to say about the architecture's impressiveness. Such is the case also with the first Ottoman Baroque works of the 1740s, but these have far less written about them to begin with, and the lack of discourse is harder to explain for a monumental mosque complex that generated copious textual responses. The Nuruosmaniye itself is also silent on the matter: its extensive inscription program never once remarks upon the building's unusual appearance.

Shirine Hamadeh has argued that the lack of any mention of European models in Ottoman commentaries on the Nuruosmaniye "casts doubt on the conspicuousness of Western stylistic references and their significance to the mosque's unmistakably new idiom."[115] But while it is true that the importance of the new style did not lie in any intended or perceived process of visual Westernization (as I shall later discuss), literate Ottomans with access to European prints and luxury goods surely recognized that many of the Nuruosmaniye's innovations drew on Western models. The absence of any written comment substantiating such an awareness does not mean that the Nuruosmaniye's Western references went unnoticed; rather, it suggests that Ottoman audiences were comfortable viewing the new style and did not regard it as alien, even if they recognized its borrowings. The sources' quietness on this score is also a consequence of Ottoman literary norms, which preferred conventional (though still significant) similes and general statements of acclamation to more specific formal or stylistic observations. Aesthetic analysis is even less likely in the case of an author like Ahmed Efendi, who was writing as a clerk concerned with the practical realities of the project.

Off the written page, Ottoman discussion of the Nuruosmaniye's appearance must have been livelier and more openly perceptive. Şemʿdanizade's entry on the mosque pithily suggests as much with the claim that "a village that can be seen requires no description; it is known by those who visit."[116] Perhaps echoing this unrecorded discourse are some of the contemporary European sources, which more fully address the issue of style. The French diplomat Peyssonnel, whose letter was mentioned earlier, is especially informative in this regard, and his commentary on the Nuruosmaniye is the most detailed (not to say most accurate) account we have of its artistic genesis:

> When [Sultan Mahmud] had resolved on raising this Edifice, he procured from Italy, France, and England, the most elegant designs and models to be found in Europe, proper for his undertaking. From these the Prince, who possessed great abilities and taste, formed, himself, the plans of his Mosque, which he shewed to the Ulemas. They, however, objected it more resembled a Christian Church than a Mosque, and advised their Master to give it a form more agreeable to the Mahometan taste, that it might not offend the common people. Sultan Mahmoud, obliged to give way to the insinuations of the heads of the Law, produced a monstrous mixture of the European and Turkish Style, though still magnificent and elegant. He ornamented the Court of this Mosque with a superb Colonnade, the idea of which was furnished by the Church of St. Peter at Rome, which he executed in miniature.[117]

Peyssonnel's curious narrative was quickly picked up by other Western writers and has been parroted in the literature ever since.[118] Recent scholarship, however, has largely dismissed the story as apocryphal because of its absence from the Ottoman sources.[119] There is good reason to be skeptical, but should we be so quick to disregard the account altogether? After all, Peyssonnel had an intimate knowledge of the Ottoman Empire, where he served the French mission for thirty years after arriving in the Aegean port of Izmir in 1748, the same year that work began on the Nuruosmaniye. Having already learned Turkish in his youth in Istanbul, he swiftly rose through the diplomatic ranks to become consul in the Crimea before succeeding his father as consul in Izmir.[120] He was not posted outside Turkey until 1753, which means he was in the region for most of the Nuruosmaniye's construction and thus well placed to acquaint himself with the project. Sure enough, the continuation of his account states that the courtyard columns were brought from Pergamon, as we know to be true from the Ottoman sources.[121] And later in the letter, he rightly identifies the mosque's architect as Simeon, though not without adding some colorful details to his biography:

> Another Armenian, named Echek Simeon, who is, perhaps, still living, or has certainly not been long dead, without being able either to write or read, or even to draw, has, in our own time, executed, in a truly masterly manner, the magnificent Mosque of Sultan Mahmoud. . . . The stupidity and ignorance of this Armenian in every thing but Architecture was so great, that it procured him the name of *Echek Simeon,* or Simeon the Ass.[122]

This passage is instructive for how we might gauge Peyssonnel's overall reliability. While parts of his description are inaccurate (Simeon was not Armenian) or highly dubious (a good architect surely knew how to draw), it is unlikely that Eurocentric prejudice or ignorance are at play here. Peyssonnel cannot have invented Simeon's unfortunate nickname of *eşek* (jackass), which is an idiomatic Turkish insult, and nor is he seeking to disparage Ottoman architecture, which he staunchly defends and calls "the Admiration of foreign Connoisseurs."[123] His characterization must, then, reflect a more widespread—and no doubt questionable—opinion current in some Ottoman circles that regarded Skillful Simeon as Simple Simeon. Peyssonnel's writings are thus of considerable value for what they convey, albeit secondhand, of the Ottomans' own discussions.

Indeed, if we return to the *Tārīḫ*, its description of how the Nuruosmaniye was designed is strangely reminiscent of Peyssonnel's account. Ahmed Efendi relates that Sultan Mahmud, following his inspirational encounter with the sage, summoned Derviş Efendi into his presence and ordered him "to draw the mosque and bring [the plan] with all haste, whereat [Derviş Efendi] immediately that day had a drawing made of the four walls [*çār-dıvār bir resm etdirüp*] and brought it." But Mahmud appears to have wanted something more impressive than this initial diagram, which did not reflect the grandeur of what he envisioned. Consequently,

> with the desire for splendor and the will to commence redoubled by royal urging, a three-dimensional design [*mücessem tersīm*] was immediately commissioned, and upon His Majesty's approval, a great design showing the mosque's entire form, outside and in, exactly as it is today—with its single dome devoid of the bulk of columns beneath, and with its [various] levels and galleries—took shape on a large panel and was submitted before the gracious royal presence; and when the design of the [building's] form and the explication thereof met with His Exalted Majesty's royal approval, it was decided to construct [the mosque] according to this design.[124]

The design in question was a three-dimensional model of the kind we know from other Ottoman architectural projects.[125] Both this model and the drawing that preceded it—neither of which survives—must have been made or supervised by Simeon

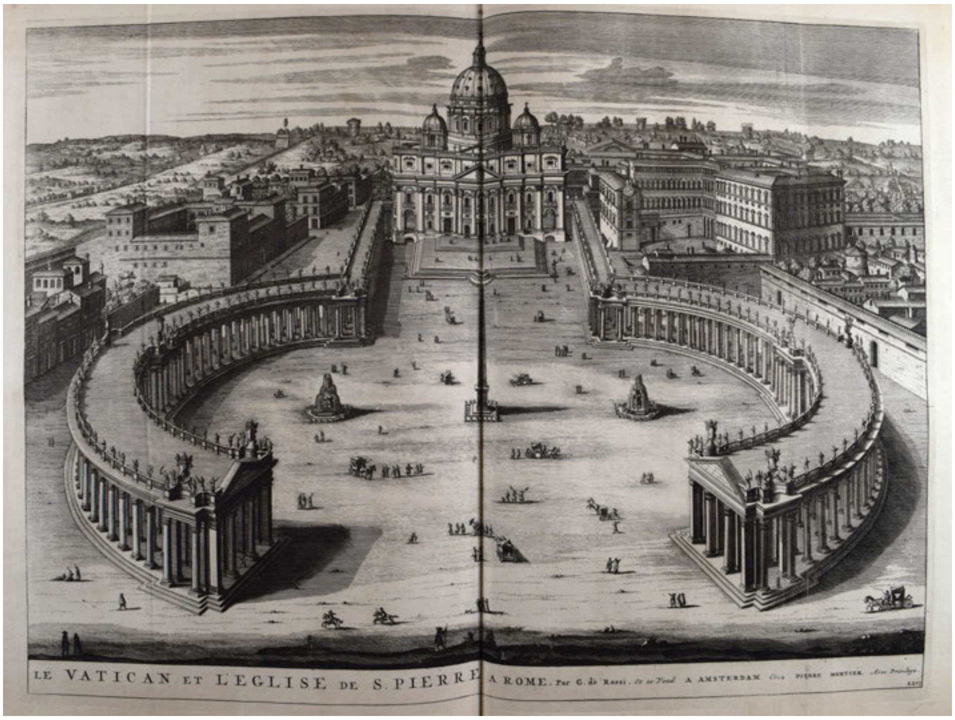

LE VATICAN ET L'EGLISE DE S. PIERRE A ROME. Par G. de Rossi.
A AMSTERDAM
PIERRE MORTIER

FIG. 124. View of St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, and its Colonnades, the latter built 1656–67. From Joan Blaeu, *Nouveau théâtre d'Italie, ou description exacte de ses villes, palais, églises, &c.* (Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1704). Engraving on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul.

Kalfa, though Ahmed Efendi mentions no artists in this connection. Whether the model merely elaborated the drawing or, as seems to be implied, considerably revised it is unclear, but either way, it is significant that the story involves the turning down of a preliminary design. This particular overlap with Peyssonnel's version is striking, even if the other details do not match—there is no mention here of European plans, and Mahmud is now himself the rejecter rather than the rejectee. As for Peyssonnel's claim that the sultan actually designed the mosque, this finds its analogue in another Ottoman source, for the seldom complimentary Şemʿdanizade states that Mahmud, "having as he did a natural disposition for architecture, produced a pleasing design and a graceful plan."[126]

These correspondences show that Peyssonnel's account is at least partially rooted in Ottoman information and lore about the Nuruosmaniye. Even the far-fetched notion that the mosque was initially too church-like may derive from an otherwise unrecorded rumor that had grown out of more credible narratives like Ahmed Efendi's. And though there is nothing in the mosque's appearance to suggest as specific a source as St. Peter's, the architecture alone supports the assertion that European plans and images were consulted for inspiration. Such materials, as discussed in the previous chapter, were plentiful in Ottoman collections of the time, and many of the examples still in the Topkapı Library include views of curved colonnades, those of St. Peter's among them (fig. 124).[127] The importance of these sources to the experimental output of Simeon and his peers has been demonstrated in relation to the Atıf Efendi Library (1741–42) and the library of the Nuruosmaniye itself, both of which have unusual layouts that Turgut Saner has convincingly tied to the plans of European churches.[128] That the likely model for the Nuruosmaniye library was Borromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane gives Peyssonnel's retelling a meaningful context.

There is, moreover, a broader kind of agreement between Peyssonnel's words and those of Ahmed Efendi and Şemʿdanizade. Reduced to their essentials, all three accounts concur that Mahmud had close personal involvement in the project's early design stages. Not only does this bear out what we already know of the sultan's artistic proclivities, but it also underscores the role of the Nuruosmaniye's new style as an official imperial idiom. Related to this latter point is something else the three authors agree on: the magnificence of the end result.

A BAROQUE OF ONE'S OWN: OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE ON THE WORLD STAGE

A recurrent theme in eighteenth-century commentaries on the Nuruosmaniye is the eminent, even superior, status of the mosque in relation to the city's other monuments. Vasıf's account of the inauguration concludes:

> The aforesaid mosque is truly without peer or blemish, a bright and shining second Kaaba that is the envy of temples old and new; its design is heart-cheering and its construction orderly [*ṭarḥı dilkeş ve bināsı ġayr-i müşevveş*], and with its strength and solidity and well-arranged dependencies, it is—needless to say—a graceful temple and noble mosque indeed.[129]

Ahmed Efendi is similarly enthusiastic in his praise, stating that "this beautiful building and gladdening house of worship—all of solid marble and so charming—has no like or counterpart not only in the capital, but indeed in [all] the lands of Islam."[130]

Given that both authors were writing as state-appointed officials, their effusiveness is perhaps to be expected. The Nuruosmaniye's waqfiyya is likewise predictably eulogistic, calling the building "the new mosque without equal."[131] But writings outside the official sphere are scarcely less complimentary. Never one to mince his words, Şemʿdanizade is unreservedly positive about the mosque, which he declares "skillfully made and elegant" (*muṣannaʿdır ve laṭīfdir*).[132] Also glowing in his assessment is Carbognano, the Ottoman-Armenian writer and artist whose Italian description of Istanbul was mentioned in the previous chapter. Carbognano, who would have known the Baroque manner well from his time in Rome, saves the Nuruosmaniye as the grand finale to his discussion of the city's mosques:

> That which, by the beauty and unusualness of its architecture, surpasses by far those that have already been described is the mosque they call *Osmanie* . . . The cornices, doors, and windows are the most beautiful ornaments of this mosque, and the galleries composed of marble that extend down its sides are of great magnificence, but what is most remarkable about it is its dome, being one of the most imposing in Constantinople.[133]

It is notable that Carbognano refers specifically to the Nuruosmaniye's moldings, which constitute one of its most characteristically Baroque features. The building's otherness is apparent also from his accompanying illustrations, among which that of the Nuruosmaniye stands out for its single large dome, curved lines, and bulging forms (figs. 125, 126). One senses in this image just how different the mosque must have looked in contemporary Ottoman eyes. The distinctive beauty of the building is similarly hailed by Ghukas Inchichean (d. 1833), another Armenian Catholic writer who was educated in Italy and wrote a late eighteenth-century guide to the monuments of his native Istanbul. He goes so far as to deem the Nuruosmaniye's "dome and general building style superior to those of all the other mosques," and after noting the use of marble columns to decorate the monument, he praises its doors, windows, and column capitals for their great elegance.[134]

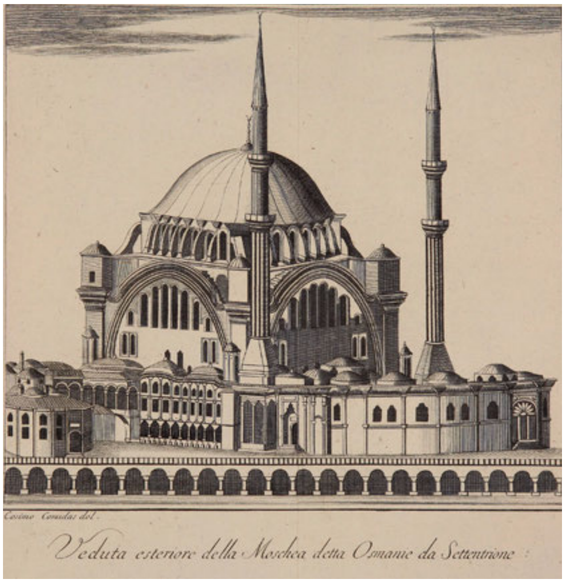

Cosimo Comidas del.
Veduta esteriore della Moschea detta Osmanie da Settentrione

FIG. 125. View of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque. By Marco Sebastiano Giampiccoli after Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, from Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli arricchita di figure* (Bassano, 1794). Engraving on paper.

Non-Ottomans too thought highly of the Nuruosmaniye, as we have already seen from Peyssonnel's intense admiration. Though he does not rank the mosque, he devotes more time to it than any other building. Another Frenchman deeply impressed by the Nuruosmaniye was Flachat, who saw the mosque as it was being erected. His account is unique in crediting the chief harem eunuch Moralı Beşir Agha (whom he inexplicably calls Agi Bectache) with endorsing the mosque's final plan, a claim that, whether true or not, reflects the eunuchs' role in fostering the new style:

> The mosque that Sultan Mahamout had built is, without doubt, the most beautiful that one can see in the Empire, after one has seen St. Sophia. One recognizes there the genius and good taste of Agi Bectache, [who] approved its plan. . . . I do not claim, however, that it is a masterpiece of art. It is square, covered by a dome without columns. The walls are

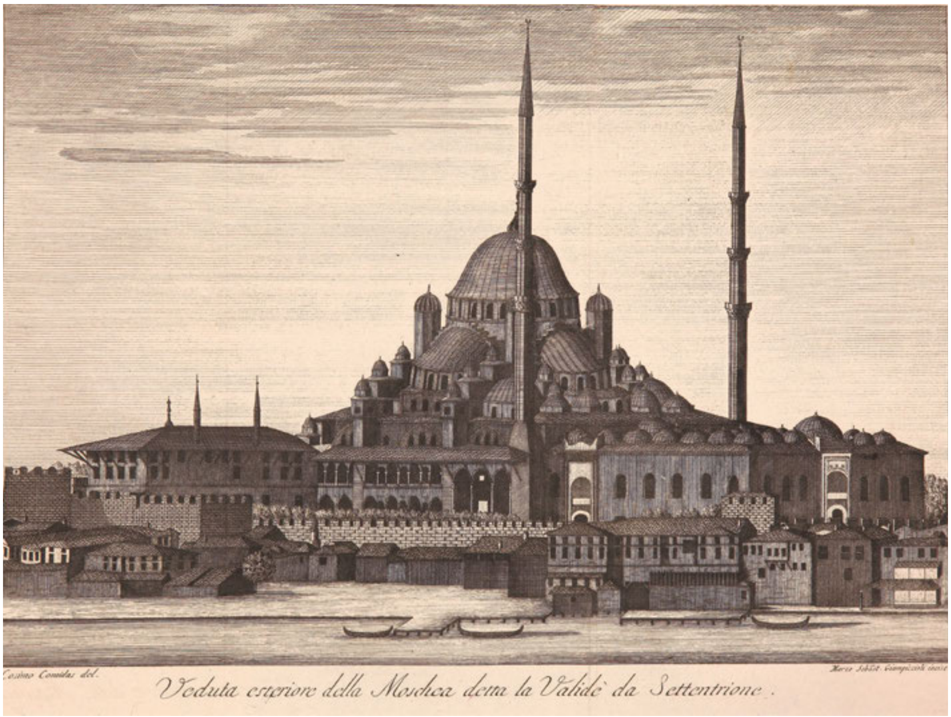

Cosimo Comidas del.
Veduta esteriore della Moschea detta la Validè da Settentrione.

FIG. 126. View of the Yeni Cami. By Marco Sebastiano Giampiccoli after Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, from Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli arricchita di figure* (Bassano, 1794). Engraving on paper.

> made of large blocks of white marble, which provide the thickness, and which are joined to one another with dust of the same marble, with the result that this mosque seems to be made out of a single block of white marble, sculpted on all sides with beautiful cornices supported by pilasters in relief that are placed all around. A framed double cornice forms the windows, which are fitted with crystals from England; the [courtyard] peristyle is decorated with a number of large columns of Egyptian granite of great beauty; the capitals are gilt; the covering of the dome, minarets, and peristyle is all of lead.[135]

It is interesting here to recall Ahmed Efendi's description, which likewise emphasizes that the mosque is "all of solid marble"—it is in fact mostly built of limestone—and that it has a "single dome devoid of the bulk of columns beneath." Carbognano and Inchichean's approbation of the dome also seems predicated on its singleness, a quality that would catch the attention of no less an observer than Antoine-François Andréossy (d. 1828), French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire between 1812 and 1814, who writes that the Nuruosmaniye, "although not as large as the other imperial mosques, is the most elegant and regular both inside and out. . . . Its dome, which covers the entire edifice without leaving lateral aisles, is of a very remarkable architecture."[136] Still more admiring is the American clergyman Walter Colton (d. 1851), who traveled to Istanbul in the 1830s:

> We visited no mosque on which the eye rested with more tranquillity and satisfaction, than upon the Osmanlie. The entire temple is crowned with a single dome of magnificent boldness and beauty. There are no dividing or distorting objects to disturb the full sentiment which the harmony of the whole awakens. One may study it for days and months, and find his first pleasurable emotions only more deeply confirmed. It is the most simple and finished specimen of architecture of which the capital can boast.[137]

These repeated laudatory judgments of the Nuruosmaniye, which begin upon the mosque's completion and continue well into the nineteenth century, tell us much about the appeal of the Ottoman Baroque more generally. That the mosque managed in some viewers' eyes to outshine the city's other monuments may seem curious given later (and still prevalent) classifications of Ottoman architecture, but it should not surprise us that a building of such novel design spoke more effectively to contemporary audiences than did its older counterparts. The Nuruosmaniye represented a fresh departure from models that many would have regarded as timeworn. Flachat says as much when he claims that "[o]ne always finds the same design" in Ottoman mosque architecture, "except perhaps in the mosques constructed during the reign of Sultan Mahamout."[138] Even the sacrosanct Hagia Sophia was now apt to be viewed as old-fashioned (see fig. 44): touring the East between 1763 and 1764, the English nobleman Frederick Calvert, Baron Baltimore (d. 1771), found "nothing very remarkable" about the converted church, opining that it was "very heavy" and "not to be compared to two or three other of the capital mosques."[139] Which these mosques were Calvert does not say, but the Nuruosmaniye may well have been among them. Indeed, with its omission of semidomes, the building was one of the few that could easily resist the trite Western charge (implicit in Flachat's words) that most of Istanbul's mosques were copies of the Hagia Sophia.[140] The English politician and aristocrat John Hobhouse, later Baron Broughton (d. 1869), who toured the Ottoman Empire with Lord Byron (d. 1824) between 1809 and 1810, thus openly celebrates the Nuruosmaniye as a welcome change from its ancient predecessor, again commending its unified and uninterrupted space:

> [The Nuruosmaniye] is well worthy attention [*sic*], as a decisive proof that the taste of the Turks is at least equal to that of the Greeks in the latter periods of their [the Greeks'] empire. The plan of the Osmaniè, whatever may be its real merit, is, in my eyes, far preferable to that of St. Sophia. A noble dome crowns the whole temple, not spreading its heavy arch in the centre of many diminutive cupolas, but swelling into a light and lofty vault immediately from the walls of the edifice. . . . [T]he general appearance of the Osmaniè is that of a magnificent saloon, the graces of which the eye at one glance can comprehend, without the labour of a divided and minute inspection.[141]

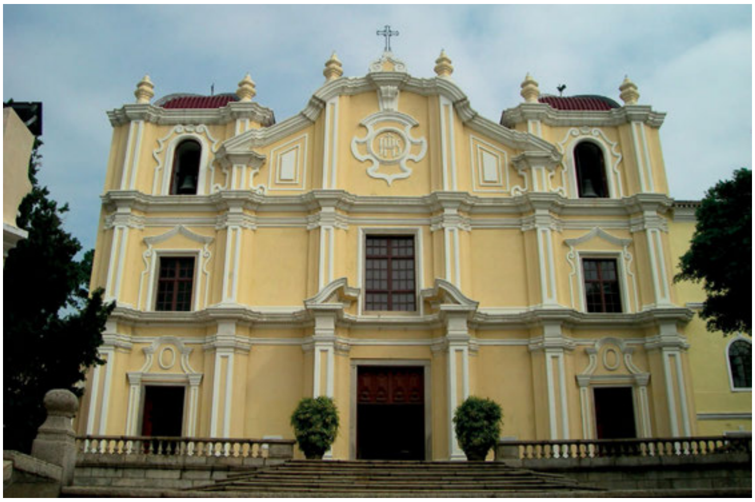
More than being vaguely modern, however, the Nuruosmaniye was truly current, particularly in the broadness of its address. The overlapping compliments paid to it indicate a widely shared aesthetic sensibility of the time, one that united Ottoman and outside observers who all agreed on the monument's beauty and distinctiveness, and who were often struck by the same distinguishing features. This is key to understanding why the mosque, together with the smaller-scale works that preceded it, partook of such a radically new idiom. I have so far spoken of the Ottoman Baroque as a novel, arresting, and—following its cooption by the ruling elite—courtly mode deployed to mark Mahmud's consolidation of power. But there remains the question of why, of all possible approaches, a style with such manifest Western borrowings was selected for this purpose. While part of the answer lies in the impact of European goods on Ottoman taste, this cannot be the main reason; the change came about too rapidly and deliberately to be attributed to the usual suspect of "influence." Nor was the style's adoption principally determined by recent trends in dhimmi artistry and visual culture, for though the court certainly utilized these developments, it would not have done so as a mere expediency without reference to its own ideological agenda. In short, the absorption of so many Western elements cannot have been an incidental byproduct of a desire for aesthetic novelty. A far likelier explanation is that the new manner was designed from the outset to resonate on a transregional level, boldly involving the Ottomans in what had in any case become an internationally thriving mode: the Baroque.

I have already addressed why I believe the Baroque to be an appropriate framework in which to view the transformation of Ottoman architecture during the eighteenth century. In its broadest and—for our purposes—most fruitful sense, the term "Baroque" describes a continuum of related architectural traditions that flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were characterized by their spirited, often showy, and sometimes uncanonical use of Classically derived forms. Perhaps the most notable quality of the Baroque so defined was its geographical extent. Though its origins lay in late-cinquecento Counter-Reformation Italy, the style was enthusiastically taken up throughout seventeenth-century Europe, achieving a reach not seen since the Gothic.[142] England, for example, had remained minimally affected by Classicism until this period, when William and Mary (r. 1689–1702) updated the late-Gothic Tudor palace of Hampton Court with a Baroque rear façade.[143] One of the reasons for the growing prestige of the style was the grandiose interpretation it received in France, especially in the Palace of Versailles, which was converted from a hunting lodge in 1661 and enlarged and remodeled into the late eighteenth century (see figs. 9, 10). Selected by Louis XIV as a magnificent seat for his court, the palace and its gardens came to embody the Bourbon kings' theatrical and absolutist style of rule, establishing a model that other European monarchs—including England's William and Mary—were anxious to emulate.[144]

And it was not only in Europe that the manner spread. The Baroque has justifiably been called "the first artistic expression to go global," with examples extending from Latin America to East Asia.[145] Colonialism played a major role in this dissemination: the Portuguese and Spanish implanted the Baroque (in its Italian-inspired ecclesiastical form rather than its French monarchical iteration) throughout their empires, as shown by such works as the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City (1573–1813) and St. Joseph's Seminary and Church in Macau (1728–58) (fig. 127).[146] These various colonial Baroques invariably took on a local flavor, resulting in original and productive departures from the European models on which they drew. It is tempting to see the Ottoman Baroque—another highly localized rendition of the style—as part of the same phenomenon, but this would be to conflate it with traditions that came about through conquest, and thus to perpetuate the notion that the Ottomans were in Europe's thrall.

A more fitting comparison might be with other cases where the style was actively appropriated by non-Western cultures. At the same time that the Portuguese were constructing St. Joseph's Seminary and Church in Macau, the Chinese Qianlong Emperor (r. 1735–96) commissioned a set of Baroque buildings to be erected as part of the Old Summer Palace complex in Beijing (fig. 128). Designed by European Jesuits in the emperor's service and built between 1747 and 1783, these palace buildings combined eclectic Western forms with Chinese building techniques. They were furnished with real and mock European objects, and their gardens were decorated with animated fountains of a type previously unknown in China. Engravings showing views of these fantastic structures, which were destroyed along with most of the Old Summer Palace in 1860, make clear that they functioned in a manner analogous to Chinese-style pavilions in Europe, delighting in the perceived exoticism of a foreign (in this case Occidental) art.[147]

Such does not, however, seem to have been the purpose of the Ottoman Baroque, which was a far more comprehensive phenomenon than its Chinese counterpart (and, for that matter, than European turquerie, as I shall discuss). While the Qianlong Emperor's Occidentalist tastes did not revolutionize the mainstream of Chinese building, the Ottoman Baroque penetrated all levels of architecture after its introduction. Even palatial examples of the style reveal a very different intent from the Beijing structures, as we see from additions made to the Topkapı Palace under Osman III. Again completing a project inherited from his brother, Osman expanded the harem with a splendid kiosk perched on a high marble terrace, its interior bedecked with Baroque and Ro-



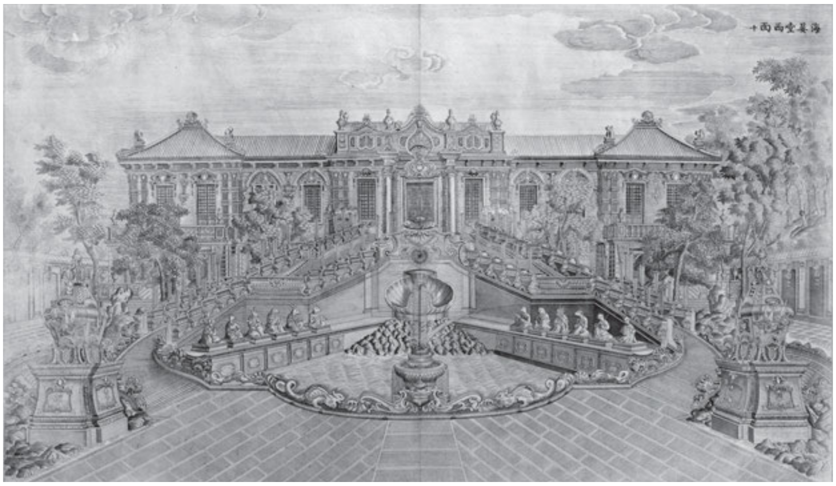
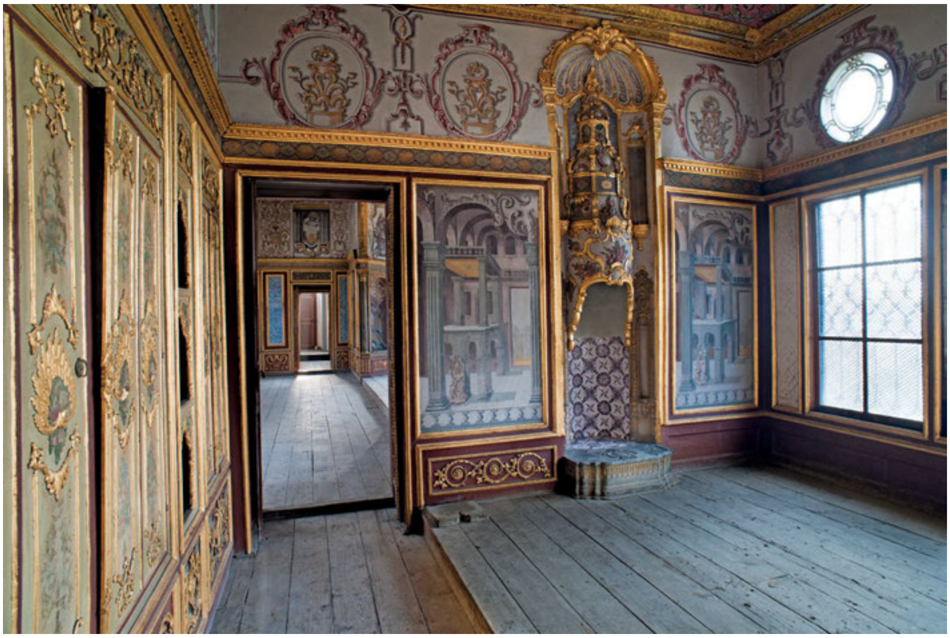


FIG. 127. St. Joseph's Church, Macau, completed 1758.

FIG. 128. View of the Haiyantang Pavilion, completed ca. 1781 as part of the Old Summer Palace, Beijing. By Yi Lantai, from a series of twenty views of the European buildings of the Old Summer Palace, Beijing, 1783–86. Engraving on paper.

coco ornaments of various media (fig. 129).[148] That this kiosk functioned as the sultan's privy chamber shows that it was no mere pleasure pavilion, whatever impressions its fancy decor may today conjure. Elsewhere in the harem, Osman renovated the prayer room of the elite women with a grand marble mihrab lushly carved in the same manner as the kiosk's fireplace, further underscoring the intended gravity of this aesthetic (fig. 130). But it is the style's use for a monumental imperial mosque—at once the most public and prestigious context in Ottoman architecture—that proves the impossibility of viewing the Ottoman Baroque as a kind of cheerful exoticism. Though the Nuruosmaniye lacks the polychromy and ornamental busyness that characterize Osman's kiosk and other palatial structures, a similar distinction occurs also in older Ottoman architecture, where a more sober decorative approach is typical of public mosques. The difference is thus one of degree rather than kind, and this modulation only confirms that the Ottoman Baroque enjoyed preeminence in even the most solemn of environments.

If the Qing version of the Baroque is too whimsical to be likened to what we see in Istanbul, there is another Eastern power that adopted the style with the same seriousness as the Ottomans: Romanov Russia. When Peter the Great founded the city of St. Petersburg in 1703, he resolved to create from scratch a metropolis equal to those of



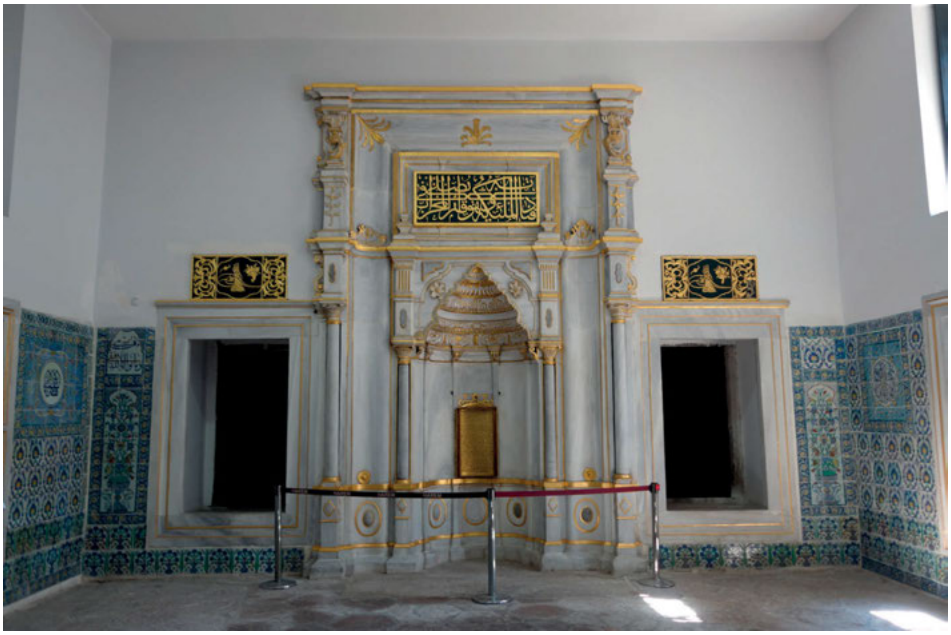


FIG. 129. Topkapı Palace, Harem, Kiosk of Osman III, completed 1754–55.

FIG. 130. Topkapı Palace, Harem, masjid, 1754–57.

Western Europe, enlisting Italian, German, and other foreign experts to realize his dream. The court relocated to the new capital in 1712, and by the time Peter died in 1725, his city had indeed become a magnificent architectural achievement worthy of its Western counterparts, boasting such monuments as the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul and the Peterhof Palace (fig. 131). What made this accomplishment yet more remarkable was its transformative scope: though Baroque elements could already be seen in the architecture of Moscow during the late seventeenth century, St. Petersburg represented a far more sweeping and deliberate attempt to import contemporary Western norms. The result of this campaign—dubbed by scholars the "Petrine Baroque"—marked a turning point in Russian architecture, establishing a brand-new idiom that would remain influential for the next two centuries.[149] Audiences both within and

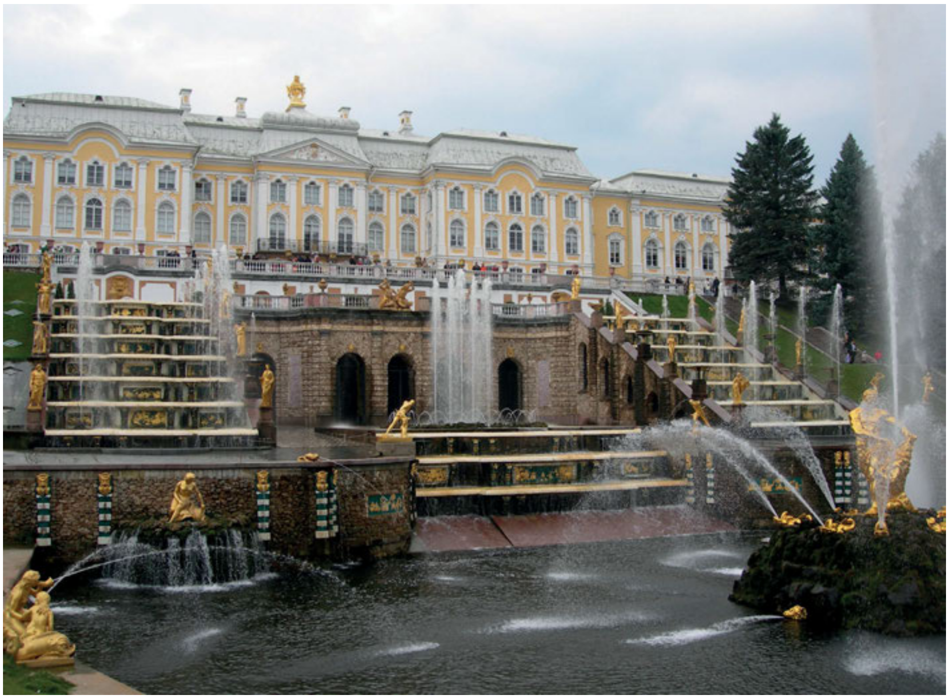


FIG. 131. Grand Peterhof Palace, St. Petersburg, 1714–55.

without Russia were duly impressed: in his eulogy of Peter, the French polymath Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (d. 1757) went so far as to say that the tsar had "caused architecture to be born in his country."[150]

Such positive assessments of Peter's new capital were based on more than just its architectural merits; they also reflected an awareness that Russia had earned its place in the European political sphere. The city's creation coincided with the Great Northern War of 1700–1721, a conflict waged between Russia and Sweden together with their respective allies (including the Ottomans on Sweden's side). Ultimately ending in victory for Peter, the war established Russia as a force to be reckoned with and the dominant power in a considerable swath of Northern and Eastern Europe. The Tsardom of Muscovy was now reborn as the Russian Empire, and the new capital of St. Petersburg was the proclamation of this ascendency. Peter, who had himself traveled to various Western countries to build alliances, evidently understood the role that architecture might have in promoting the image of Russia as a key European player.[151]

The Petrine Baroque offers some telling parallels to the Ottoman. It too came about through the rapid and deliberate adoption of certain European models at a time of growing interaction with the West. It too flourished under the patronage of a monarch confident in his standing both domestically and internationally, symbolizing his political and martial successes. And it too demonstrates that the Baroque could be meaningfully taken up by a non-Western culture. Indeed, the Russian case proves that the Baroque had ceased by the eighteenth century to be a European monopoly, and that its global spread was not dependent on colonial transplantation. As well as demonstrating the transregional relevance of the Baroque, the founding of St. Petersburg also highlights the lofty associations that gave the style such cachet in the first place. The Baroque was a mode that could speak of power and kingly ambition, and it was in this capacity that Peter imported it for the new capital of his own emergent empire. Though the architecture of St. Petersburg tended to follow the rather understated kind of Baroque practiced in Northern Europe, it did not lack in grandiosity, and the Peterhof was in its own time compared favorably to Versailles.[152]

Modern scholarship too has been largely positive in its treatment of Russian Baroque architecture, evaluating it as a resourceful and effective means for Peter to express his imperial aspirations. It is striking how the Ottoman Baroque—despite the many circumstances it shares with the Petrine—has generated a very different reaction among scholars. Neither traditionalists nor revisionists have explored the possibility that Mahmud's aim in sponsoring the new style was akin to Peter's in founding St. Petersburg. There are several reasons why such a connection has not been made. For one thing, the Ottoman Baroque is far less faithful to its European sources than the Petrine, a point to which I shall return. For another, Peter's architectural revolution came at a time when his realm was growing in power and extent; while Mahmud too had won wars and made gains for his empire, the defeats and territorial losses that followed his reign mean that the Ottoman Baroque—regardless of the situation when it first appeared—has become tainted with associations of decline. But a more fundamental explanation for why the Ottoman material has not been viewed as favorably as the Russian is civilizational bias. It seems that the Russians, as a Christian people, are considered to have been culturally equipped to borrow from their Western coreligionists, whereas the Muslim Ottomans are not. According to this uneven approach, what borrowings the Ottomans did make were part of the same unfortunate process that led them to seek Western military and technological advice; no negative assessment is made of the fact that Peter similarly engaged European experts in such fields as fortification and shipbuilding.[153] Even revisionist scholars appear wedded to this dichotomous way of thinking, favoring models that have the Ottomans looking eastward to other Islamic lands for inspiration.

It is interesting to note that one of these lands—Mughal India—had itself long been experimenting with Western themes in its art, much to the approval of later observers. While the Mughals never entered the Baroque fold in the same way as the Ottomans or Russians, their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture made conspicuous use of naturalistic floral decorations and other motifs inspired by European prints, which the emperor and his court avidly collected (see fig. 15).[154] As Ebba Koch has observed, these cross-cultural inclusions allowed the Mughal emperor "to show his world-wide connections and his international status as a ruler belonging to the family of the kings of the world."[155] If such an argument can be made for the Mughals, then why not the Ottomans? The reluctance on all sides to accept the Ottoman Baroque as a legitimate enterprise within a shared cultural framework is all the more puzzling given how deeply entrenched the empire was in Europe, whether geographically or otherwise. It is true that Westerners and Ottomans conventionally spoke of each other in oppositional terms, with religion being the main factor in this conceptual divide, but we should be wary of accepting such rhetoric uncritically. Although modern scholarship (including this book) may itself be guilty of employing paired terms like "East" and "West," these must be understood as convenient shorthands that, if taken at face value, not only reduce each ostensible half to an undifferentiated monolith, but also obscure the continuities and overlaps that existed between them. Whatever each may have said of the other in its discourse, the Ottoman Empire and "Europe" were part of each other's world, and hence part of the same world. Russia, by contrast, entered the game rather late, and was arguably a more remote entity in European eyes than was the Ottoman Empire. Before the founding of St. Petersburg, Western commentators spoke of Moscow no less disparagingly than they did of other Eastern cities, complaining of the prevalence of wooden construction and the general lack of order.[156] Istanbul too may have been accused of these faults, but it was ultimately a European capital familiar to the rest of the continent and long intrinsic to its political and cultural activity.

The Ottoman Empire's status as an established European power reminds us that the Baroque would not have seemed particularly far off from the perspective of Istanbul. While Qing China had every reason to treat European buildings as distant exotica, the Ottomans were in no such position. The Baroque was flourishing on the very borders of the empire in such locations as Hungary and Venetian Dalmatia, and examples of it could be found even within Ottoman territory, as in the vassal state of Ragusa and, more significantly, the recaptured city of Belgrade (see figs. 67, 68).[157] These nearby instances of the style contextualize the Ottoman case as something contiguous with, rather than separate from, the broader European tradition. Some scholars have maintained that the empire was chronologically out of keeping with the West, adopting the Baroque just as their neighbors were turning to Neoclassicism.[158] But this is true only if we take a Francocentric view: in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe—that is, in those parts of the continent closest to the Ottoman world—the Baroque and Rococo continued to thrive well into the second half of the eighteenth century. To take the city of Buda as an example, one of its grandest Baroque monuments, the Church of St. Anne, was begun in the 1740s and not consecrated until 1805, with much of its lavish interior scheme dating from the 1760s and 1770s. In the same city is the White Cross Inn of 1770, a Baroque building whose façade is prominently decorated with Rococo plasterwork.[159]

Besides showing that the Ottomans were not lagging behind Europe once they adopted the Baroque, such examples elucidate the factors that rendered the style so fitting a vehicle for Ottoman self-expression. Given that the Baroque was then the current architectural mode in Eastern and Central Europe—the long-contested territories that lay between the Ottomans and their chief foes, the Habsburgs and the Romanovs—was it not a confident act on Sultan Mahmud's part to stake his own claim to the style? The Baroque was already a widely understood monarchical aesthetic to which elite Ottomans had considerable exposure through portable objects and images. By the 1740s—on the heels of the Treaties of Belgrade and Niš and not long after the establishment of St. Petersburg—the style was ripe for Ottoman reinterpretation. The building activities of its enemies were well known to the empire, which sent numerous embassies to Austria and Russia throughout the eighteenth century. References to architecture appear in several ambassadors' reports, including that of Mehmed Emni Beyefendi, who traveled to Russia in 1740 and wrote a lengthy description of the "Frankish"-style Peterhof Palace.[160] The knowledge conveyed by such accounts would have received physical affirmation with the retaking of Belgrade, where recently erected

Baroque structures stood as markers of the Habsburgs' rule and subsequent defeat. The creation of a comparable kind of architecture in Istanbul was thus a timely and competitive move on the part of an empire seeking to reassert itself in terms that spoke to the conditions of the day.

These conditions included a livelier culture of diplomacy, as discussed in the previous chapters. Notwithstanding Mahmud's victories against his imperial rivals, the Ottomans were fully aware that the world and their relationship to it had changed, and that a diplomatically maintained peace was the surest way to preserve the empire. This provides another context in which to understand the Ottoman Baroque, a style that—for all its self-assertiveness—brought Istanbul into closer aesthetic dialogue with the rest of Europe. This is not to suggest a simplistic homology between Ottoman political and artistic shifts, nor to paint these developments as an exercise in conciliation. Rather, it can be said that the increasingly diplomatic climate of the eighteenth century resulted in a growing sense among the Ottomans of belonging to a common European landscape: no longer aiming to vanquish the continent, they were now seeking to establish themselves as an influential fixture in its balance of power. That the empire's Western neighbors accepted the Ottomans in this new role—allying with them militarily, assisting them technologically, courting them politically—underscores the significance of this conscious reorientation.[161] The British ambassador Porter was particularly welcoming of the change, reporting several months into Osman III's reign that "the Grand Seignor seems to adopt the Steps of his brother, determin'd to live in peace & on a friendly footing with his Neighbours."[162] In another dispatch, Porter implies a connection between the sultan's peaceful policies and his cosmopolitan taste in the arts:

> We continue . . . with the greatest tranquillity possible, and as much ease freedom and liberty as in Sultan Machmuts time, the Grand Seignor seems to take a taste for diversions, there is a band of Musick here in the Christian taste, which he carrys with him his days of recreation, he is frequently abroad.[163]

The rise in these very years of an Ottoman version of the Baroque cannot have been unrelated to the empire's intensified diplomatic efforts with the rest of Europe. As an internationally understood mode practiced across the continent, the Baroque was at once a shared and competitive discourse: the new architecture of Istanbul thus allowed the empire to enter the visual fray as a fully fledged player in the European scene.

Such an argument presupposes that the Ottomans believed their architecture to be significant in the eyes of the world. There is no doubt that the buildings of Istanbul had long addressed outsiders: the city's ever-present communities of foreign diplomats and merchants were continually hosted in sultanic and other elite settings. Cases such as Saʿdabad amply demonstrate the degree to which the Ottomans sought to impress the Europeans who shared their spaces, an effort that was met with commensurate interest and appreciation. Interactions of this type put the Ottomans squarely on center stage. A common criticism made by contemporaneous Western observers—even in the more diplomatically engaged eighteenth century—was that the empire expected to receive embassies from abroad but rarely sent its own.[164] This was largely put down to Turkish arrogance, but another explanation is that Istanbul had inherited from Constantinople the status of a world city, in which the Ottomans could advance their international interests on home turf. Within this microcosmic context, the Ottomans knew that they were playing to a wide spectatorship, and though this awareness had always informed their architecture, the eighteenth century brought a more conscious engagement of outside viewers, particularly after 1740. The intense building activity of these years amounted to a deliberate campaign to update the Ottoman capital in a fashion that would be relevant to the world beyond the empire.

An especially important site in this campaign was the mosque. Though official receptions were conducted in palatial settings, almost all European travelogues include a tour of the imperial mosques as one of the first things on the author's itinerary. The Hagia Sophia was the main object of curiosity and required official permission to enter, but other mosques could often be seen simply by tipping the doorman. La Mottraye, who stayed in Istanbul between 1699 and 1714, writes that access to the Hagia Sophia was not as difficult as earlier travelers had reported, and that he "saw also, with abundance more Ease, and almost for nothing, the other Royal Mosques; and indeed all that [he] had a Mind to."[165] This openness appears to have been correlated with the more diplomatic bent of the period. During his stay in 1740, Pococke found Istanbul to be surprisingly welcoming to tourists, something he attributes to the contemporary political climate:

> I happened to see Constantinople at a time when the Turks were in good humour, and had no reason to be displeased with the Franks (except that the soldiery would gladly have continued the war against the [Habsburg] emperor) they had just made a very honourable peace for themselves with that monarch, and not a very disadvantageous one with the Muscovites whom they dreaded as a power superior to them; so that I went freely all over Constantinople, and was so far from being affronted in the least, that I rather met with civility in every place; entered publickly into such of the mosques as I desired to see, and sometimes even on Fridays, just before the sermon began. . . . This is permitted by speaking to the keeper of the mosque, and giving him a very small gratuity, and at other times sending for him when the mosques were shut.[166]

A later British account describes a similarly hospitable reception at the Nuruosmaniye itself during a group excursion to the imperial mosques organized by the American chargé d'affaires in 1833. Moved to "unqualified admiration" by the mosque's "clean and white appearance," the visitors—women among them—were "equally pleased with the assiduity and politeness of the mufti, or priest, who acted as [their] conductor, in explaining every thing worthy of notice."[167]

Such readiness on the Ottomans' part to admit Westerners into their mosques shows that these visits must have been commonplace and even expected. It should thus not surprise us that a building like the Nuruosmaniye may have been intended to impress outside viewers, whose interest in the city's mosques would have been well known to the Ottoman elite. Indeed, what better way to visually declare the empire's revitalized state to foreign observers than through a new sultanic mosque in the latest style? Palaces were less easily seen and accessed, and they lacked the religious significance that made the imperial mosque such a charged symbol of the sultan's God-given right to rule. From the European point of view, not only were the mosques more conveniently toured than sultanic residences, but they were also (regardless of their style) more intelligible as buildings, a point discussed in chapter 4. The laudatory Western reactions to the Nuruosmaniye prove the success of the Ottoman strategy in creating a monument that would resonate among Istanbul's constant stream of foreigners.

It is important, however, not to lose sight of the local perspective in all this. The principal and officially intended audience of the Nuruosmaniye was the Ottoman people themselves, the majority of whom would have had little if any sense of the architecture's cross-cultural aspects. To be sure, better-informed individuals such as craftsmen and merchants of imported goods would have recognized what the new style shared with European models, but even if this awareness was talked about and made more widely known, most ordinary Ottomans would have responded to the mosque in accordance with their own cultural background. They would have seen in the monument a highly original reinterpretation of a traditional building type, a type whose essential features had been sufficiently retained to satisfy local precepts and expectations. In the eyes of such viewers, the mosque's novel style would have been appreciated not for its foreign references, but for its freshness and inherent magnificence.

The Ottoman elite—including those behind the Nuruosmaniye—would no doubt have been more conscious of the building's dialogue with other traditions, a dialogue that was, as I have argued, quite intentional. Yet even for these Ottomans, "Westernization" was not a relevant criterion. The Baroque was by now too international and diffuse a mode to be understood as belonging to a particular place, much as we find today with Neoclassical public buildings and metropolitan skyscrapers. At the same time, its disassociation from any one geographical referent allowed the style's global variants to take on culturally specific forms that, while still related to one another, differed in identifiable ways. This was certainly true of the Ottoman Baroque, which was so idiosyncratic that nothing about its overall look could be perceived as alien to its context. It is revealing in this regard that when the Franciscan church of Santa Maria Draperis, located in Pera, was reconstructed under Habsburg sponsorship after the fire of 1767, its late Baroque altar and chancel were made using imported Italian marble carved by a Roman sculptor. Clearly, Istanbul's own Baroque was felt to be too local in flavor to suit this Catholic space, though native craftsmanship was used for the adjacent convent.[168]

Such an example shows how fully the Ottomans had made their Baroque their own. Had they wanted to produce a more faithful derivative, they could and would have done so: that the earliest of Istanbul's Baroque column capitals are also the most Europeanizing is proof enough that the more distinctive approach of the Nuruosmaniye came about by design rather than by accident. What scholars have treated as a sign of Turkish ineptitude or incomprehension—that is, the lack of a "true" Baroque sensibility akin to the West's—was, then, a deliberate choice that stamped the new manner as an Ottoman concern. A case of having one's cake and eating it too, this was an architecture whose cross-cultural references were expressed in resolutely localized terms. All that was needed to achieve the desired effect was a generalized evocation of the world outside the Ottoman realm, bringing with it such rich and loaded associations as Versailles, St. Petersburg, and the reconquered Belgrade. The open-ended nature of this evocation—itself a reflection of the Baroque's inherent variety and flexibility—meant that people could recognize in the style whatever it may have reminded them of: witness Peyssonnel's comparison of the Nuruosmaniye to St. Peter's. But none of these allusions (whether intended or perceived) was at risk of obscuring the Ottoman Baroque's truly Ottoman character. The very fact that the style's first monumental product was an imperial mosque is emblematic of this.

The self-assurance with which the Ottomans appropriated Western models may lead us to ask whether the Ottoman Baroque was not in its own way a counterpart to turquerie, a question eloquently posed by Shirine Hamadeh when she wonders "what makes a cartouche on a fountain in Istanbul an index of Westernization, and a Turkish pavilion in Vienna merely an Oriental folly."[169] But there is an important distinction to be made between the Ottoman Baroque and the kind of artistic exoticism found in Europe. Turquerie, together with the related aesthetic of chinoiserie, is always circumscribed in its application, and therefore finds its closest Ottoman parallel in the pre-1740 "Tulip Era" manner, whose Western references are clear yet contained. The Ottoman Baroque, by contrast, makes much fuller use of its borrowed and adapted elements, which appear in all architectural contexts as markers of a favored state style. Structures replicating mosques, kiosks, and pagodas might feature prominently in the gardens of Western palaces, whose interiors might themselves include whole rooms kitted out in imagery and artifacts evoking the East, but for the most part—and especially in more austere contexts such as ecclesiastical architecture—Classicism remained the order of the day in eighteenth-century Europe.[170]

This is not to say that chinoiserie and turquerie were, as is often assumed, invariably or indeed usually frivolous, for many examples demand to be taken as serious references to notions of Eastern magnificence, power, and even learning. When the deposed king of Poland Stanislas Leszczynski (r. 1704–9, d. 1766), who had spent some of his exile under Ottoman protection, was made Duke of Lorraine and given the Château de Lunéville, he personalized his new seat by building a Turkish-style kiosk in its grounds, thus utilizing an elite Ottoman building type to reiterate his own royal status.[171] Likewise meaningful is the mosque-shaped pavilion that Charles Theodore, Prince-Elector of Bavaria (r. 1777–99), constructed in the garden of his palace at Schwetzingen between 1779 and 1795 (fig. 132). Complete with a domed central hall, twin minarets, and legible Arabic aphorisms, the mosque stakes Charles Theodore's claim to being an enlightened ruler of cosmopolitan worldview.[172] The mosque's French architect, Nicolas de Pigage (d. 1796), seems to have based his design in part on another monument with an Eastern referent, the Karlskirche in Vienna (fig. 133). Built between 1716 and 1737 by the architects Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (d. 1723) and his son Joseph Emanuel (d. 1742), this famous domed Baroque church is fronted by a pair of cupola-topped columns that—though fashioned after Trajan's Column—are decidedly reminiscent of minarets. The result is a building that simultaneously recalls

St. Peter's Basilica and the imperial mosques of Istanbul, and it has been convincingly argued that this dual allusion was meant to posit Habsburg Vienna as a Third Rome.[173]

As important as these individual cases are, however, they do not represent a tradition that can match the Ottoman Baroque in extent. Both the Lunéville kiosk and the Schwetzingen mosque are satellites to far larger and typically Western palaces, while the Karlskirche, despite its citation of minarets, remains stylistically unaffected by Ottoman models. Even at its most earnest, then, architectural turquerie was a relatively limited phenomenon that, like the "européennerie" of the Qianlong Emperor, tended to highlight and aestheticize the otherness of its source material. This is true also of another type of turquerie: portraits with sitters wearing Ottoman(izing) garb. Such images range from apparently playful acts of cultural cross-dressing to sincere statements of Ottoman affiliation by ambassadors and others who had made their name in the empire. Famous members of this group include Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who repeatedly had herself depicted in "Turkish" dress even when back in England, and the Genevan artist and self-styled "Peintre Turc," Jean-Étienne Liotard, who portrayed himself in—and actually wore—pseudo-Ottoman garb after working in Istanbul between 1738 and 1742 (see fig. 75).[174] Yet almost all turquerie portraits, no matter how purposeful in their use of Ottoman costume, display attributes that maintain the Western identity of their sitters, whose foreign (or foreign-inspired) dress more often than not marked a temporary excursion from their customary attire.

Turquerie's invocation of esteemed Ottoman models was, in short, achieved by pointing to rather than broadly assimilating them. In some instances, the world of the "Turk" was treated as scarcely more familiar than that of the "Chinaman," with both kinds of Orient conflated to produce a fanciful medley.[175] While the Ottoman Baroque was no less free in how it appropriated and recombined foreign forms, the outcome was a comprehensive synthesis that brought the architecture of Istanbul into closer alignment with neighboring traditions. The conventional way of explaining this difference—that Europe retained its artistic integrity while the East was unable to resist outside influences—can easily be turned on its head to argue that the Ottoman approach shows far greater confidence: we are dealing with an uninhibited cosmopolitanism by which the Ottomans loudly and proudly inserted themselves into an international architectural discourse, visualizing the empire's rightful place among the powers of Europe.[176] By contrast, the standoffish attitude of turquerie, with its exaggerated insistence on Turkish otherness, was at odds with the physical and cultural proximity of the Ottoman Empire, and arguably betrayed a certain unease on the part of Westerners discomfited by the notion of comprising their own codified norms, which continued to be defined with reference to Classical exemplars. As we shall see in the next chapter, one of the reasons the Ottomans were less restricted in their borrowings is that they themselves could lay claim to the same antique heritage as Europe. It was their sense of already having a share in Europe's artistic vocabulary that allowed the Ottomans to coopt and reshape the Baroque on their own terms.

This bold move—so much more difficult to categorize than a case like St. Petersburg—has troubled modern scholarship, just as it did later nineteenth-century observers who were disturbed by the Ottoman Baroque's perceived stylistic impurity.

Viewers of the period itself, however, were evidently unconcerned with such criteria, instead reading the new style as its creators appear to have intended. The unanimity with which eighteenth-century Ottoman and Western sources extol the Nuruosmaniye confirms the building's broad appeal. While Europeans recognized something newly familiar in the monument, their writings do not discuss the phenomenon as one of Westernization. On the contrary, they accept the Nuruosmaniye's Ottoman nature at the same time that they acknowledge its cross-cultural citations, praising the result even if it contravened Western artistic canons—"a monstrous mixture of the European and Turkish Style, though still magnificent and elegant," to requote Peyssonnel, who uses "monstrous" to mean hybrid rather than ugly.[177] The unperturbed response of European observers, which prevails also in their descriptions of other buildings of the time, shows that the Ottomans were not alone in considering themselves entitled to such borrowings. There is nothing to indicate that eighteenth-century Westerners found the Ottomans' interest in European art surprising or inappropriate, nor that they viewed the result as being inconsistent with the "Turkish Style." Far from underplaying this aesthetic scope, eighteenth-century depictions of Ottoman architectural settings, whether real or imagined, openly include Baroque and Rococo details as an intrinsic part of the local environment, producing an effect not unlike that of the Nuruosmaniye itself (see fig. 24).

What impressed Peyssonnel and other foreigners about such architecture was not that it appeared Western, but that its thoroughly Ottoman fabric so successfully incorporated references to the prestigious tradition they knew from their own countries.[178] This tradition was not thought of by its contemporaries as our retrospectively defined Baroque, yet it was surely recognized as something that had spread throughout and beyond Europe, and whose numerous variants all spoke of power and grandeur. Distinctive as it was, the Ottoman version of the style fully partook of its rich and far-reaching connotations, visually underscoring the empire's connectedness to—and ambitions within—the wider world.

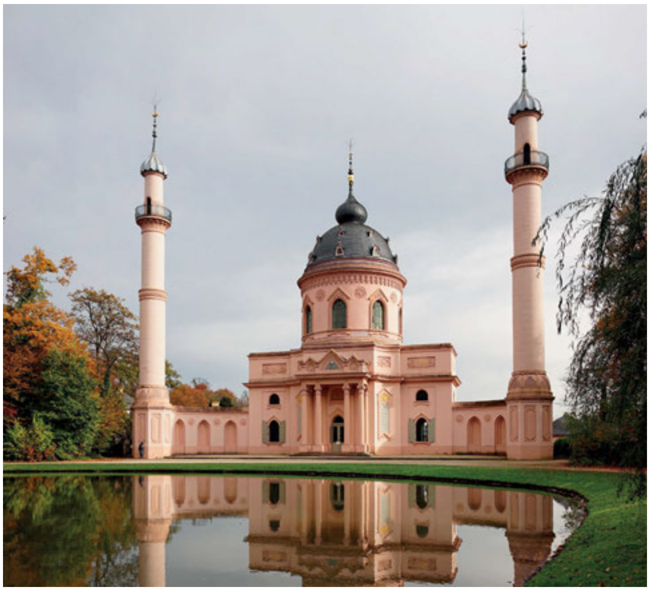


FIG. 132. Schwetzingen Palace, garden pavilion in the form of a mosque, 1779–95.

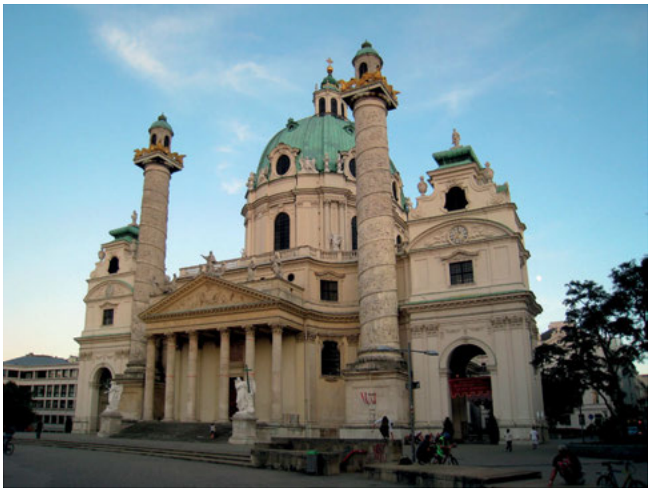


FIG. 133. Karlskirche, Vienna, 1716–37.

CHAPTER 4

THE OLD, THE NEW, AND THE IN-BETWEEN

STYLISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADITION

Osman III's short reign was followed by the longer and more eventful rule of Mustafa III, who came to the throne in 1757 and remained in power until his death in 1774.[1] The son of Ahmed III (both Mahmud and Osman had died without issue), Mustafa was forty years old when he emerged from twenty-seven years of seclusion in the harem to become sultan. The first decade of his rule was characterized by the same peaceful approach to foreign affairs that his two predecessors had favored. Largely through the efforts of the well-regarded and long-serving grand vizier Ragıb Pasha (d. 1763), the empire assiduously resisted French pressure to enter the Seven Years' War (1756–63), a global conflict involving much of Europe. But this commitment to diplomacy was subsequently tested by Russian ambitions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was forcibly made a protectorate by Catherine the Great (r. 1762–96) in 1768. The empress's actions sparked a revolt in the commonwealth, and when the Russians entered Ottoman territory in pursuit of fleeing Polish forces, Mustafa—spurred on by France and certain factions within his own government—declared war on Russia.[2]

Although the Ottomans initially thought themselves at an advantage, the conflict proved extremely damaging to the empire, which suffered a series of humiliating defeats at Russian hands. Military reforms aimed at reversing the situation were initiated in 1770 with the assistance of François, Baron de Tott (d. 1793), a French nobleman and soldier of Hungarian origin who advised the Ottomans in such matters as artillery training and the casting of cannon. As a culmination to his services, Tott helped to found a new school of military engineering in 1776, not long after Mustafa's death (the school established earlier in the century by Mahmud I was by now defunct). He was joined in this endeavor by the talented admiral of the navy Cezayirli Hasan Pasha (d. 1790), who himself did much to modernize the Ottoman fleet. Nevertheless, the war continued in Russia's favor, consuming the latter part of Mustafa's reign and still raging under his successor.[3]

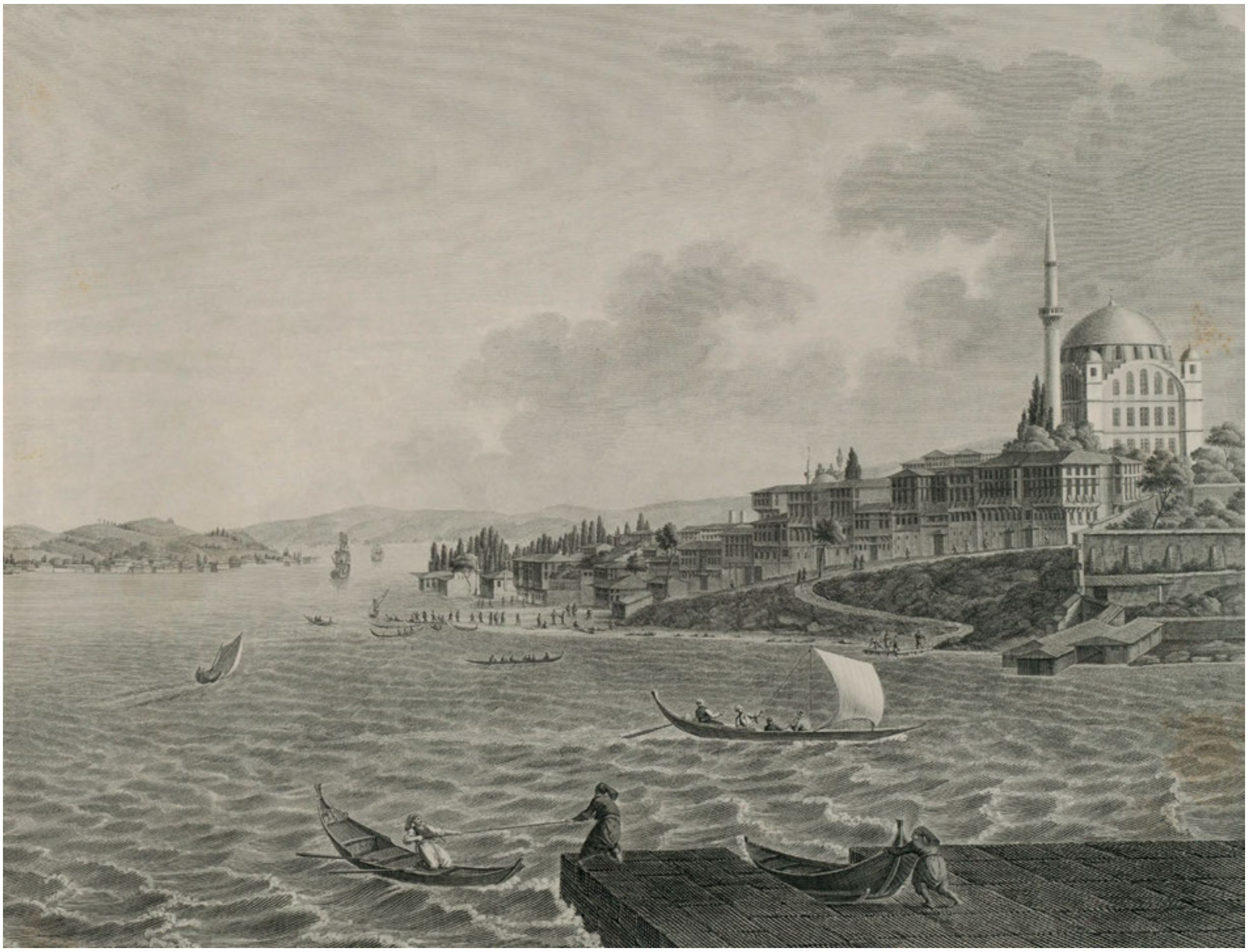
Mustafa may have failed in his efforts to secure his realm against outside enemies, but he fared significantly better on the home front. The sultan was no less anxious than his father had been to add to the capital's architectural wealth, and he enthusiastically restored the damage done to the city by a series of major earthquakes between 1766 and 1767. This building activity, which proceeded even against the backdrop of war, resulted in two grand new royal mosques as well as the reconstruction of the Fatih Mosque, one of Istanbul's most venerable monuments. Built twenty or more years after the advent of the Ottoman Baroque, these mosques demonstrate a striking consciousness of the new style's place in tradition and history, giving us a valuable sense of otherwise undocumented artistic and connoisseurial attitudes. What emerges is a coherent set of aesthetic principles that stake the Ottoman claim to the Baroque in terms that both engage and challenge contemporary discourses in the West. The confidence of this architectural statement is an important reminder that the empire's military losses—whatever their territorial or political repercussions—did not hinder the sustained refashioning of Istanbul into a contemporary global metropolis.

PLACING THE NEW STYLE: THE AYAZMA AND LALELİ MOSQUES

Beyond its intrinsic significance, the Nuruosmaniye had reestablished the mosque as the principal form of sultanic architectural expression. So effective was this royal reclamation that the patronage of nonsultanic mosques seems to have suffered a corresponding decline. The mosque of the grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, completed in 1734–35, is the last monumental example of this category to be built in Istanbul (see fig. 76), and the humbler nature of its successors suggests that the right to construct large domed mosques became an imperial prerogative after the midcentury. Though sparked by the Nuruosmaniye, this shift owed as much to the sultanic complexes that followed it, and particularly those erected by Mustafa, who was eager to continue the newly revived practice. With no wars to win in the early part of his reign, however, the sultan faced certain restrictions in what he could build, as noted by Peyssonnel:

> Sultan Mustapha III. ascended the throne in the time of profound Peace. Desirous to signalize himself by a work of piety, and not having yet any right to add a new Mosque to the public edifices of his Capital, he caused one to be built at Scutari, near the Sea.[4]

The monument in question is the Ayazma Mosque in Üsküdar, begun in 1758 and opened in 1761 (figs. 134, 135).[5] Perhaps again because of his non-ghazi status, Mustafa did not build the mosque in his own name, but dedicated it to his mother, Mihrişah Kadın, and his older brother Süleyman, both of whom had died in 1732 when he was an adolescent. Şemʿdanizade tells us that the mosque was originally named in honor of Mihrişah, though the designation did not take hold.[6] The name currently in use, which was prevalent even when Şemʿdanizade was writing, derives from the mosque's location in the garden of the then derelict Ayazma Palace, itself called after a holy spring (*ayazma*) on its grounds. Mustafa's acquisition of this disused site for his first major mosque constituted an impressive public gift that would have added to the project's legitimacy and prestige. Accompanying the mosque itself was a primary school (*ṣıbyān*



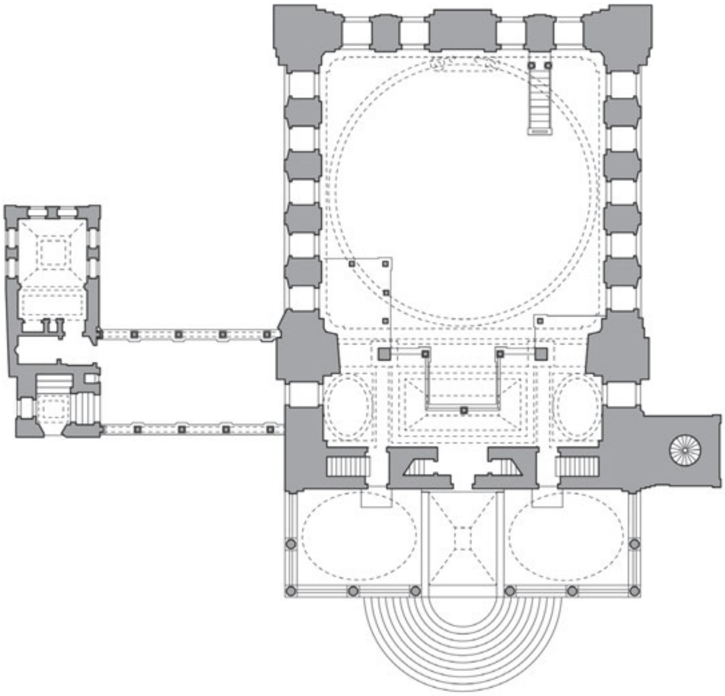
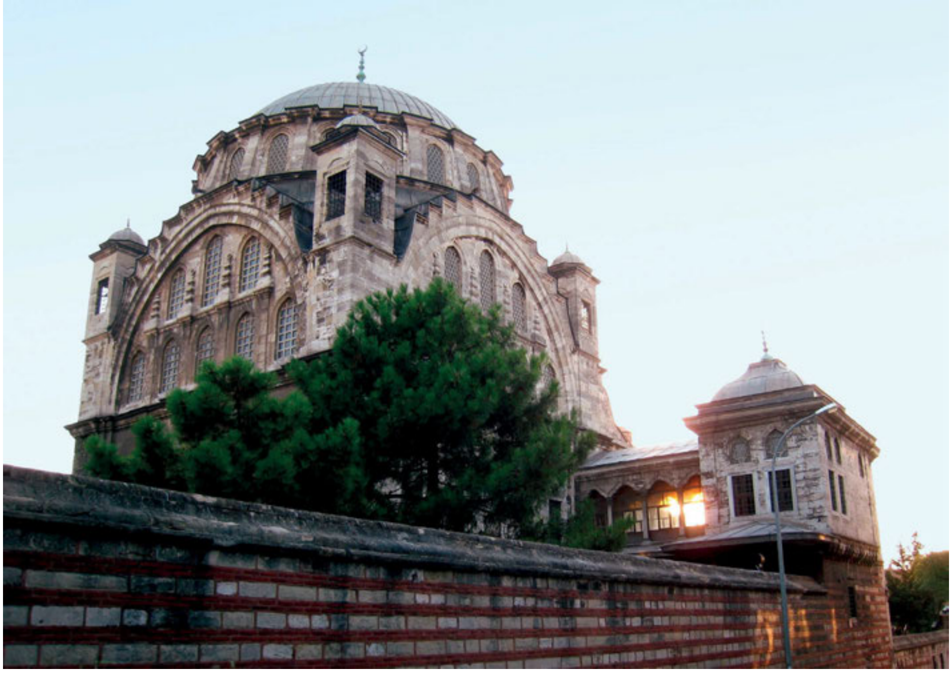


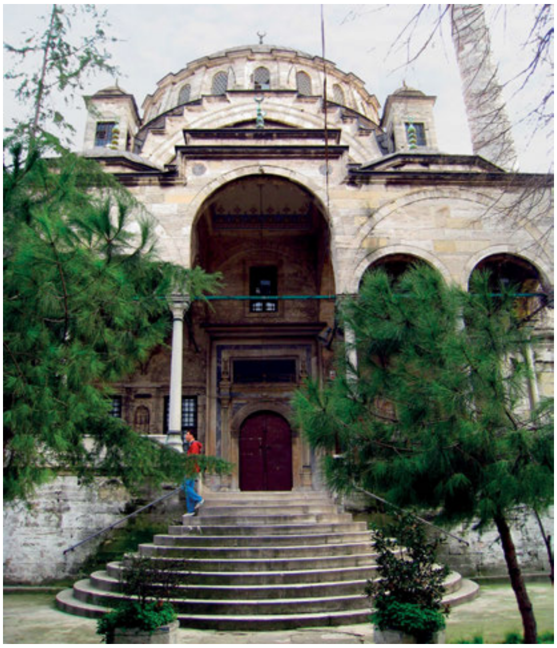
FIG. 134. View of the Ayazma Mosque, Üsküdar, Istanbul, 1758–61. By Née and Duparc after Antoine Ignace Melling (detail), from Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris, Strasbourg, and London: Treuttel et Würtz, 1819). Etching on paper.

FIG. 135. Ayazma Mosque, plan.

FIG. 136. Ayazma Mosque, exterior from the east, with the royal pavilion on the right.

FIG. 137. Ayazma Mosque, entrance portico.





mektebi), bathhouse, timekeeper's office (*muvaḳḳitḫāne*), and a wall fountain, of which only the last has survived.

The architect of the Ayazma is unknown, though scholarly consensus favors Mehmed Tahir (d. after 1788), to whom I shall return. Regardless of who designed it, the mosque demonstrates a remarkable continuity with the Nuruosmaniye and has been dubbed its miniature.[7] It follows its bigger cousin in the outlines of its prayer hall, whose single dome is raised high on four copiously fenestrated arches. Adjoining the prayer hall is the sultan's pavilion, which takes the form of a two-story L-shaped structure formed mainly of colonnaded passageways (fig. 136). As is not uncommon for smaller royal foundations, the mosque has only one minaret (with a later stone cap) and no courtyard; it is fronted instead by a domed and arcaded portico that is approached by a dramatic semicircular stairway (fig. 137). Even with these obvious differences, the Ayazma's resemblance to the Nuruosmaniye is immediately apparent, underscoring the success of Mahmud's mosque in setting a new model. The similarity extends even to the way the buildings are sited, for the Ayazma too occupies a hilltop location, in this case giving the mosque far more grandeur and visibility than it would otherwise have had; its elevated position means that it can clearly be seen even from across the Bosphorus.

The inauguration of this compact yet ambitious complex was an event of some importance. In a contemporary dispatch, the British ambassador Porter echoes his earlier views on Mahmud by relating the Ayazma to the Ottomans' steadfast avoidance of conflict in this period:

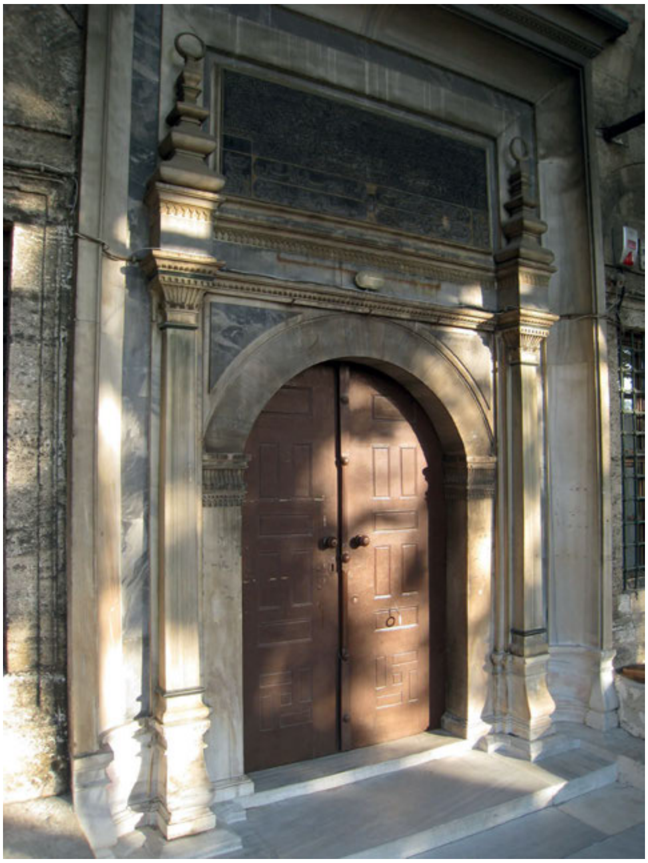


FIG. 138. Ayazma Mosque, main entrance.

> [N]o sign of any motion either by Land or Sea, no thought but Consecrating a new Mosque, built by the Sultan at Scutary, and of the approaching birth of a Prince, or Princess, expected next Month; The Vizier in great power, living quiet and at ease. . . . [H]e has sufficient aquanimity [*sic*] to seem to enjoy it, to seek to continue it, and to avoid whatever may intervene with its stability.[8]

The grand vizier described here is Ragıb Pasha, who indeed treaded carefully enough to remain in power until his natural death in 1763. He played an important part in the new mosque, composing the versified chronogram that is written above its door in a fine *nastaʿlīq* (elongated cursive) hand signed by the grand mufti, Veliyyüddin Efendi (d. 1768) (fig. 138). It was in fact these two men, and not the sultan, who inaugurated the mosque, as we learn from the Ottoman sources, which describe the customary distribution of honorific robes.[9] Mustafa's absence is curious given his investment in the project and may again reflect the decorous ascription of the mosque to his mother and brother. The court chronicler Vasıf judiciously avoids mentioning the sultan's nonattendance, thus leaving his association with the mosque undiminished in the official narrative.

The building too is keen to present itself as Mustafa's pious work. While authored and calligraphed by the sultan's representatives, the overdoor inscription calls the edifice "the exquisite mosque built by the Shah, Sultan Mustafa," who is himself described as "a paragon for the people of Orthodoxy."[10] This lucid and easily read text appears immediately below a dense thulth inscription mentioning the sultan's mother and brother, a clever juxtaposition that gives notional precedence to the mosque's

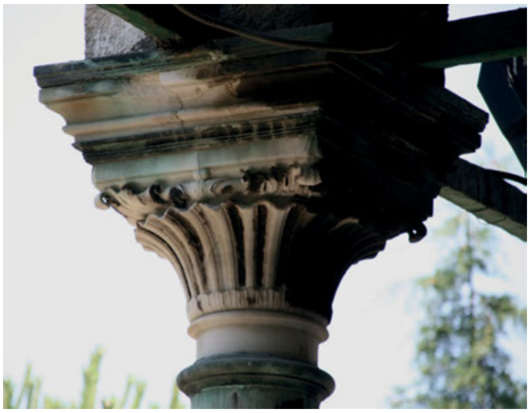


FIG. 139. Ayazma Mosque, column capital of the entrance portico.

commemorative function while effectively claiming the monument for Mustafa himself. Architecturally also, the mosque is entirely worthy of its royal founder, proudly displaying the by-now established Baroque style. The columns of the entrance portico are topped by a particularly beautiful variant of the Ottoman scroll capital, with its volutes shaped as acanthus leaves and its bell carved to look like an overblown corolla (fig. 139). A slightly plainer version of this design occurs inside the prayer hall under the round arches forming the gallery at the back (fig. 140). Projecting forward from the right-hand side of this gallery is the sultan's private loge, which, because of the mosque's smaller dimensions, has been placed away from its customary position against the qibla wall; it is screened by an elaborate arcade of openwork wood resting on stone columns, and the wall adjoining it is decorated with Chinese blue-and-white tiles that have long been misidentified as European because of their similarity to contemporary Western faience.[11] The mihrab and minbar opposite are expertly carved works of marble inlaid with colored stones; particularly impressive are the openwork parapets of the minbar, composed of lush scrolls and vegetal elements (figs. 141, 142). Circumscribing the whole of the prayer-hall interior, including the galleries, are two continuous bands of dentils. Such moldings appear also within the mihrab, around the window- and doorframes, and—true to their royal connotation—all over the arcade screening the sultan's loge. This abundance of dentils is supplemented by a less extravagant use of the motif on the main gate into the mosque precinct and on the fountain marking the precinct's exterior northern corner. Rising behind this fountain, the stylish pavilion by which the sultan would have entered his loge leaves us in no doubt of the building's imperial nature (see fig. 136).

Those who saw the Ayazma in its own time were duly impressed. Vasıf, from whom we might expect such praise, speaks of the mosque in the same terms as he does the Nuruosmaniye, likening it to the Kaaba's heavenly prototype and extolling its luminescence.[12] Şemʿdanizade is less generically eulogistic, remarking in particular on the mosque's high-quality stonework and its imposing mihrab and minbar, the latter of which is truly a sculptural tour de force. He also makes the interesting observation that the building resembles "a well-fashioned incense burner with a single minaret in the shape of a rose-water flask,"[13] a comparison that suggests that the most salient features of the mosque in contemporary viewers' eyes were the height and singularity of its dome and the luxuriance of its decoration, which, like an actual incense burner, makes rich use of openwork (see fig. 27). The Ayazma's loftiness and beauty are noted also by the Ottoman-Armenian banker and writer Sargis Hovhannisian (d. 1805), who penned an account of his native Istanbul in the early 1800s.[14] Western travelers have little to say on the building, which was off the usual tourist trail, but relevant in this regard are the writings of Sauveur Lusignan, a man of mysterious origins who claimed to have spent a long and colorful residence in the Ottoman Empire before settling in England. In a letter describing an excursion to Üsküdar undertaken in 1786 with a party

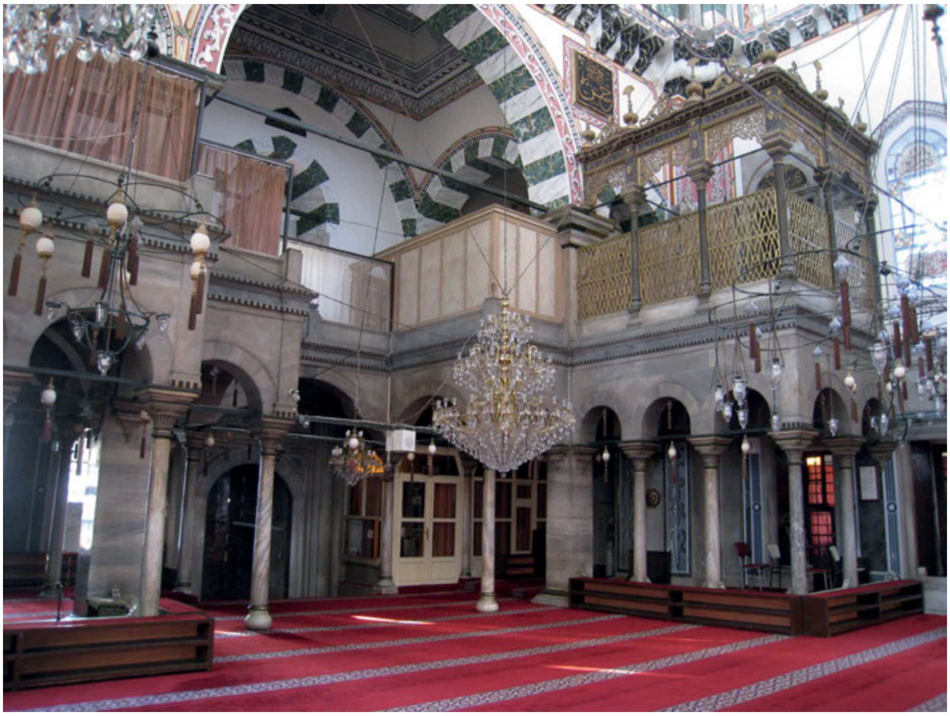
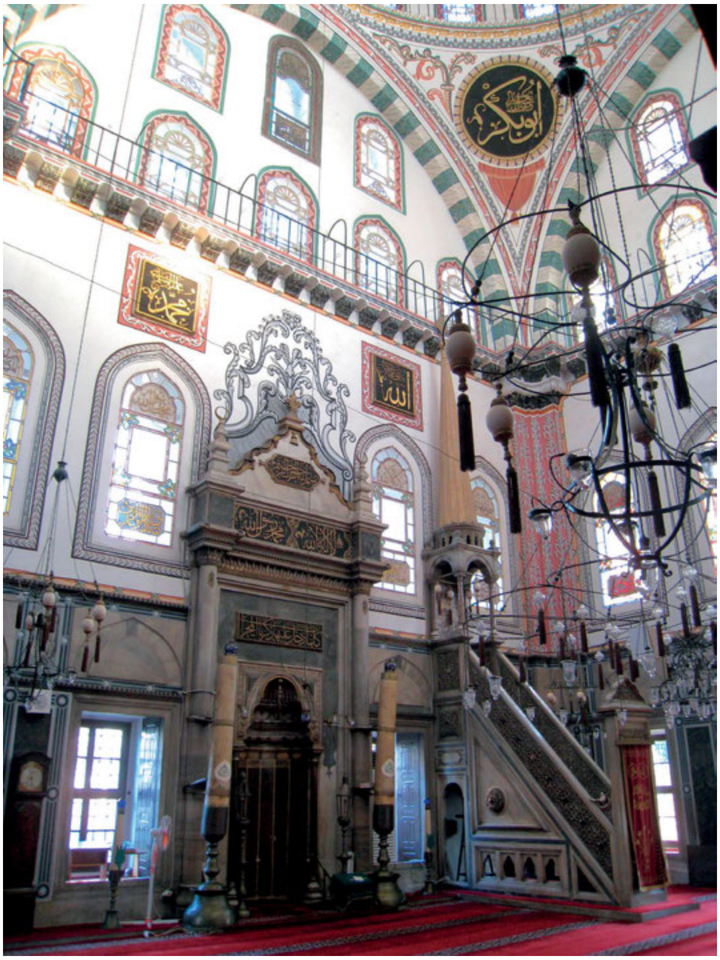
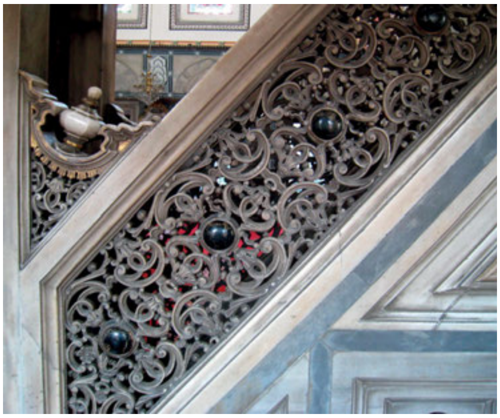


FIG. 140. (top) Ayazma Mosque, interior looking toward the north, with the prayer-hall entrance to the left and the royal prayer loge to the right.

FIG. 141. (bottom left) Ayazma Mosque, interior looking south toward the mihrab and minbar.

FIG. 142. (bottom right) Ayazma Mosque, detail of the minbar.

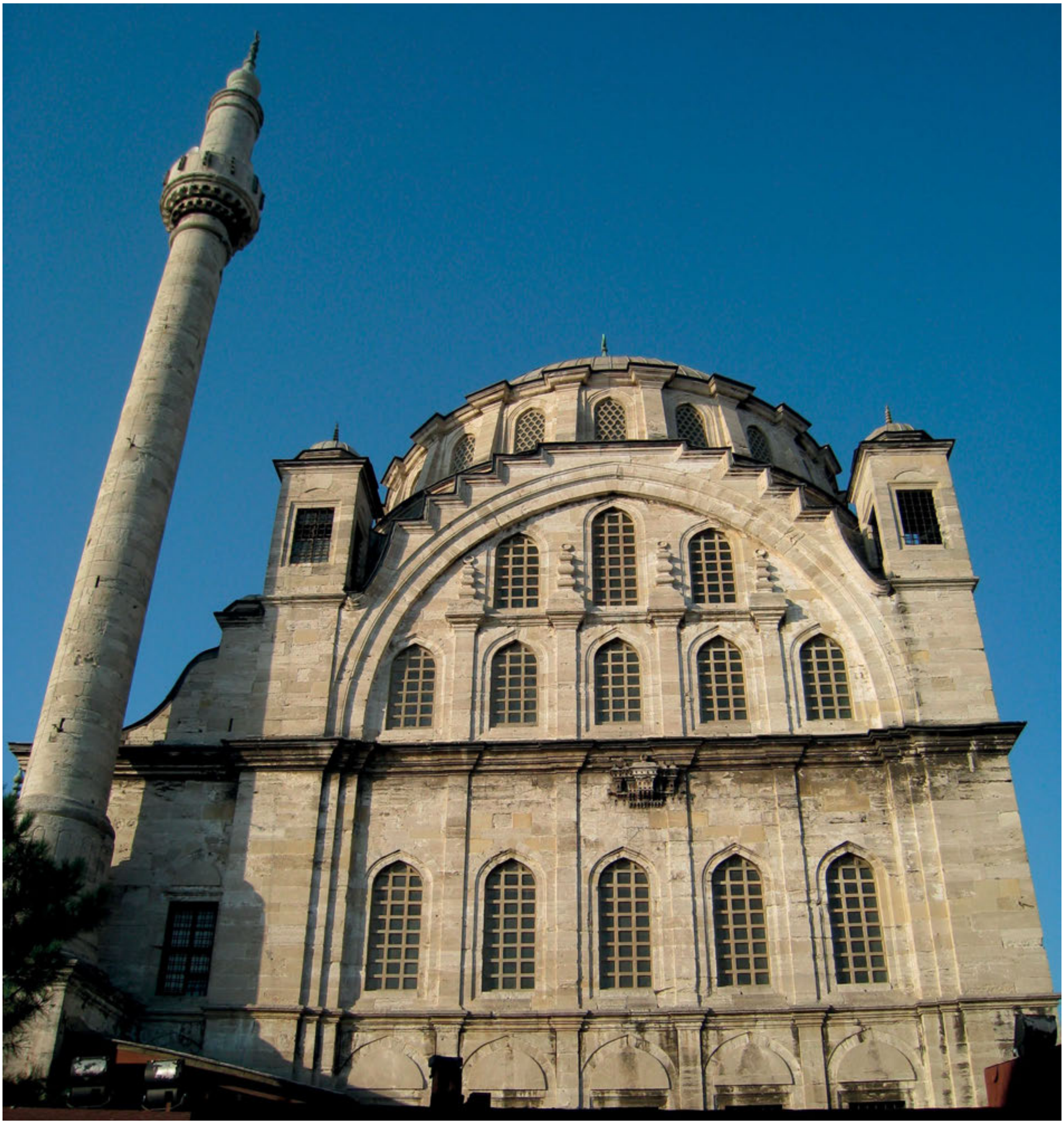




of Englishmen, Lusignan asserts that "there is nothing remarkable in [the town's] buildings, if we except the jami or mosque of Sultan Mustapha, which makes an elegant appearance."[15] It is telling that the rest of Üsküdar's imposing though generally older monuments failed to make such an impression on Lusignan, for whom the Ayazma's up-to-date style must have been an important distinguishing factor.

While largely fashioned in the same modern mold as the Nuruosmaniye, however, the Ayazma exhibits notable references to older architectural norms. The great arches of the prayer-hall baldachin have stepped outlines, and the windows that they frame terminate in four-centered pointed arches (fig. 143). Both of these features bypass the Nuruosmaniye and hark back to its sixteenth-century model, the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque at Edirnekapı (see fig. 107). Scholars have argued that the Nuruosmaniye's daring novelties were followed by a more cautious return to tradition, as if the Ottomans were unprepared for where Mahmud's mosque had taken them.[16] The reappearance at the Ayazma of the four-centered window, a type whose use had decreased considerably in the 1740s, might be adduced for such an interpretation. But if the mosque's unknown architect was striving for conservatism, he could have done a far better job of it. His incorporation of older forms into the building's Baroque fabric is selective and witty, serving to accentuate the new style rather than mitigate it. The steps framing the baldachin arches are themselves delineated by a prominent Baroque molding, and the lowermost step in each case descends into a sweeping curve. Contrasting with the baldachin's pointed-arched windows are the bell arches of the royal pavilion and the round arches of the entrance portico. And carved in relief between the pointed windows are pilasters carrying Baroque pinnacles with finials in the shape of crescent moons. These unusual reliefs, which are repeated in-the-round over the entablatures of the entrance and mihrab, are a recasting of the pinnacles that crown the main door into the courtyard of the mid-sixteenth-century Süleymaniye Mosque (fig. 144). Though referring back to this old prototype, the reliefs produce an effect that is alien to earlier Ottoman architecture, where baldachin tympana are decidedly planar.

What we have, then, is a careful and knowing juxtaposition of traditional and Baroque features—steps leading into curves, crescents surmounting balusters, pointed arches alongside round ones. The overall aesthetic is still very much of its time, and the few (if prominent) references to the past suggest a kind of commentary on the part of the architect. It is as if he is reflecting on the relationship of the new style to what had gone before it, creatively interspersing the one with the other in a way that affirms the great changes that had taken place. The Ottoman Baroque was, after all, two decades old by this time, with a long enough past to be retrospectively contemplated in terms of the empire's artistic history. Various restoration projects of the period would have encouraged this diachronic approach, for the Baroque was now being used to restore Istanbul's historical monuments, including the Mahmud Pasha Mosque of 1463. Located next to the Nuruosmaniye, this esteemed old foundation—which follows the inverted T plan characteristic of early Ottoman architecture—was renovated in 1755–56 by Osman III, who added a new marble minbar, mihrab, and prayer loge carved in the latest Baroque manner (fig. 145); a repair later in the century would see the columns of the portico encased in piers with scroll capitals.[17]



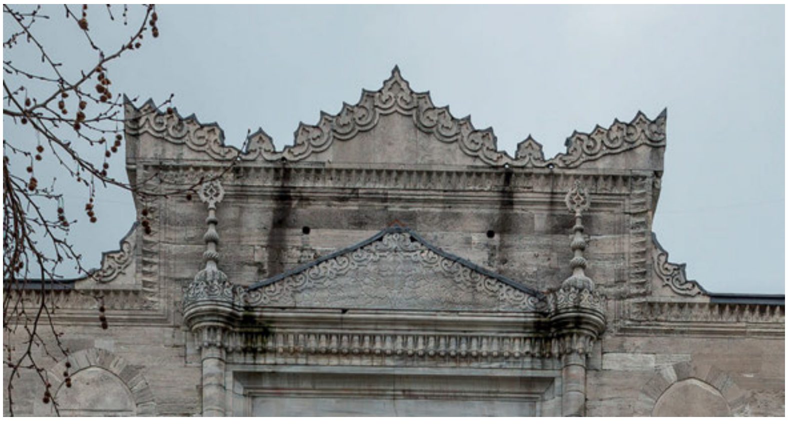
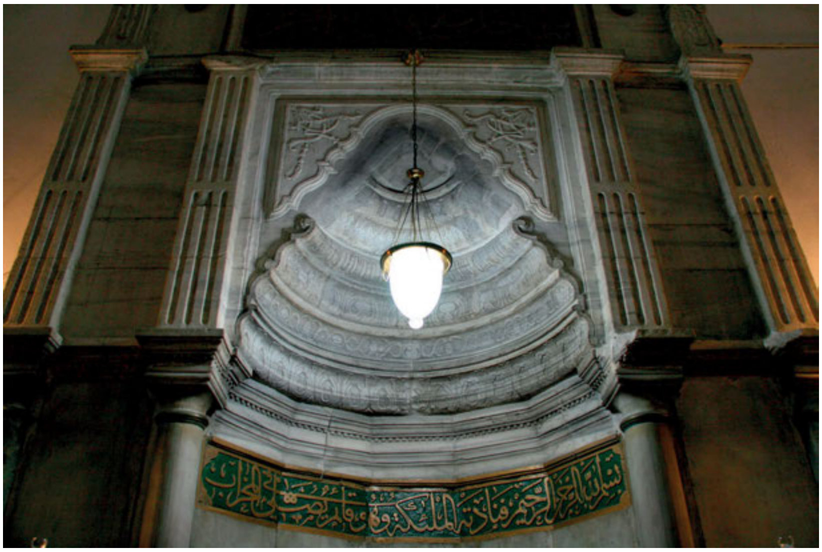


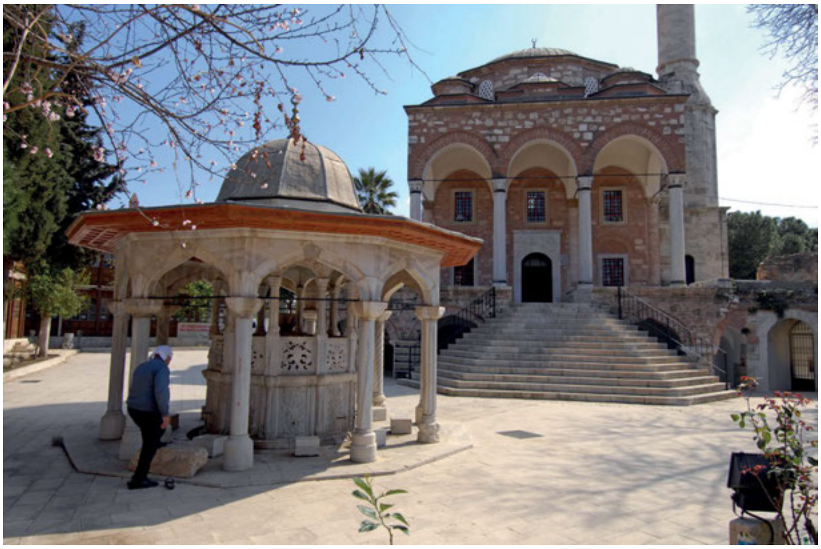
FIG. 143. Ayazma Mosque, southwest façade.

FIG. 144. Süleymaniye Mosque, pinnacles and cresting of the courtyard's main gate.

FIG. 145. Mosque of Mahmud Pasha, Istanbul, completed 1463, detail of the Baroque mihrab added 1755–56.

FIG. 146. Cihanoğlu Mosque, Aydın, 1756.





It was also in the decades after the midcentury that Ottoman Baroque motifs began to appear often in architecture outside Istanbul, as exemplified by the Cihanoğlu Mosque of 1756 in the Aegean town of Aydın, and the *sabīl-kuttāb* (fountain-cum-school) that Sultan Mustafa built between 1758 and 1760 in Cairo (figs. 146, 147, 148).[18] While local in overall character, these regional instances of the style drew on, and thereby acknowledged, the new imperial vocabulary of the capital. Thus Mustafa's eminently Cairene sabīl-kuttāb includes scroll capitals and other pieces of stone- and metalwork so close to those of Istanbul that they may have been imported from there, much like the Dutch blue-and-white tiles that decorate its interior and are almost certainly remnants of a group first bought for the Topkapı Palace.[19] The Baroque style was, moreover, spreading in these years beyond its mainstay of architecture to media and categories that had previously shown little response to it. I have already noted that Istanbul's Muslim tombstones did not as a rule incorporate Baroque features before the second half of the eighteenth century, and the same is true of other art forms such as illumination, where the new formal repertoire acquired prominence only after the 1750s.[20]

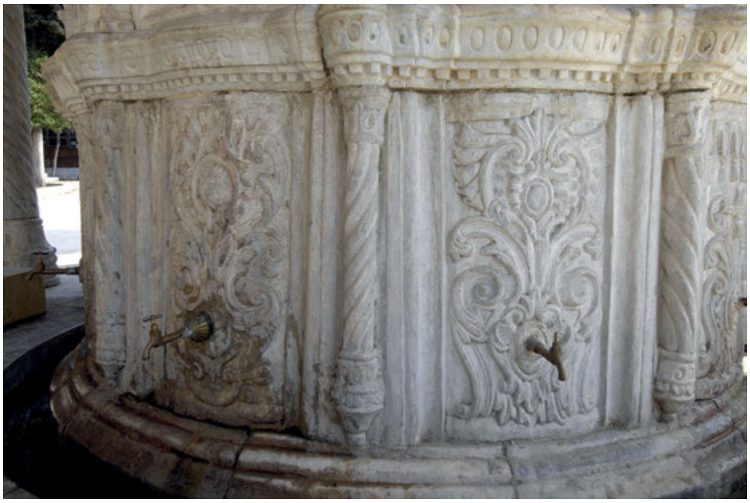


FIG. 147. Cihanoğlu Mosque, carved marble tank of the ablution fountain.

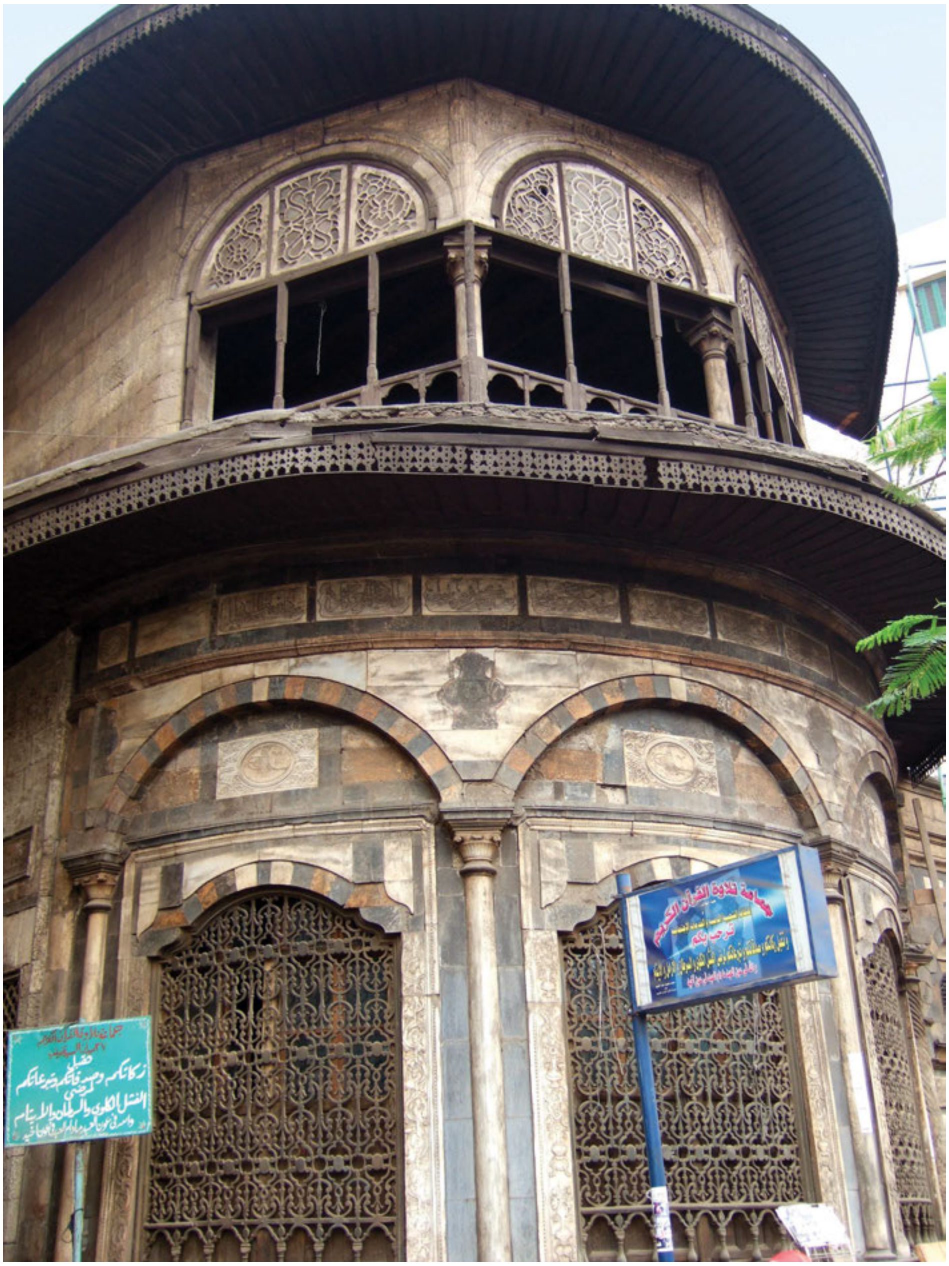


FIG. 148. Sabīl-kuttāb of Mustafa III, Cairo, 1758–60.

Having thus proven its longevity and consolidated its presence, the Baroque could now claim a legitimate place in the Ottoman tradition, and the Ayazma confirms as much by situating it in a longer aesthetic timeline. Such consciously synthesized forms as the crescent-topped pinnacles are ingenious statements declaring the fully Ottoman character of this particular kind of Baroque. That the building was designed against this conceptual backdrop is revealed by the comparison it invites to the Edirnekapı Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, a comparison that also links the Ayazma to another, much closer, mosque erected by Sinan for the same princess on the Üsküdar shore.[21] In referring back to its sixteenth-century predecessors, the Ayazma—itself dedicated to a royal woman—evokes an association with their admired patroness and architect while at the same time underscoring its own stylistic modernity.

This type of deliberate engagement with the empire's architectural history is characteristic also of Mustafa's second and greatest mosque, the Laleli, constructed in the walled city between 1760 and 1764 (fig. 149).[22] Peyssonnel again provides a valuable account of how the monument came into existence:

> Several years after [the building of the Ayazma], when the Khan of the [Crimean] Tartars, Krim Guerai [Qırım Giray (r. 1758–64, 1768–69)], in the first Campaign of the last War with Russia, had laid waste New Servia, and annihilated the Establishments that Empire had there formed, the heads of the Law were eager to honour Sultan Mustapha with the surname of *Gazi*, or Conqueror, and the Mufti bestowed it on him by his *Fetfa* [fatwa]. In consequence of this Decree, that Prince built, in Constantinople, in the *Lalelu Mahalla*, or quarter of Tulips, the Mosque which bears his name, and is denominated *Nour Mustapha*, though the common people usually call it *Lalelu Djami*, the Mosque of tulips, from the name of the quarter in which it is built.[23]

Despite his usual reliability, Peyssonnel is here muddling his facts: the Laleli had already been completed by the time that war with Russia broke out, meaning that Mustafa, like Ahmed I before him, decided to build in spite of the traditional restrictions. It is true, however, that the sultan was proclaimed ghazi not long after the success of his vassal Qırım Giray (who himself commissioned works in the Baroque style[24]), and this was evidently a matter of importance to him: the dispatches of the French ambassador show that he requested the title in February 1769 before it was finally granted to him in May following a short-lived Ottoman victory at Khotyn.[25] Mustafa's keenness to earn the honorific may have been motivated by a desire to retroactively legitimize his already finished mosque, which would account for Peyssonnel's atypical confusion. At any rate, the newly bestowed title became increasingly untenable as Ottoman military fortunes worsened. An Ottoman journal tells us that when the sultan attended Friday prayers at the Hagia Sophia in February 1771 and was hailed as a ghazi during the sermon, two members of the congregation shouted, "It is a lie! He is no ghazi!" (*yalandır, ġāzī değildir*). The event was reported with relish in the European press.[26]

Perhaps it was because of his shaky claims to an intramural foundation that Mustafa did not succeed in attaching his name to the mosque. The appellation recorded by Peyssonnel—evidently coined on analogy with "Nuruosmaniye"—cannot have

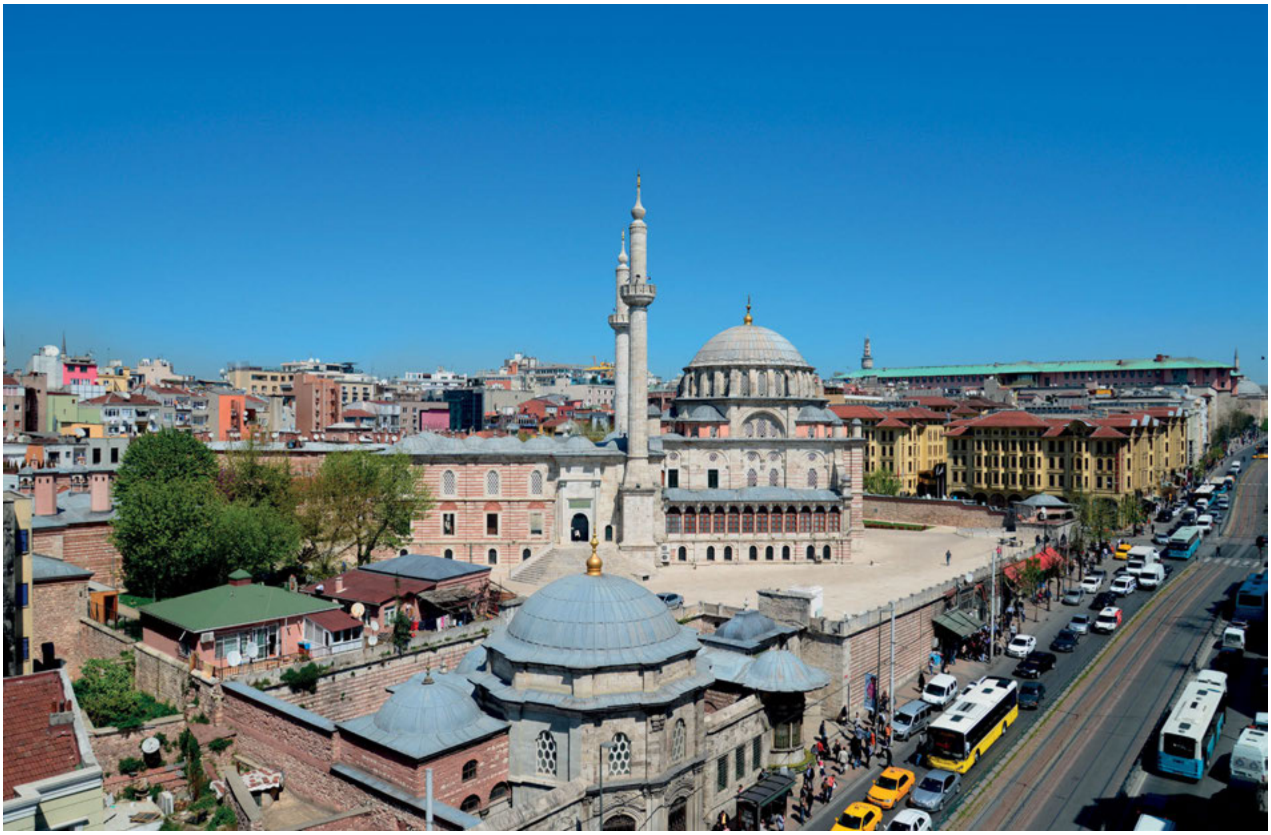


FIG. 149. Laleli Complex, Istanbul, 1760–64.

been widespread, since it is nowhere else attested. A French ambassadorial journal contemporary with the mosque's opening reports that the building was designated "Sultan mustafa jamissi"—the Mosque of Sultan Mustafa—upon its opening.[27] The Ottoman sources, however, almost always identify it as Laleli in reference to its district, which in turn is called after a legendary local sheikh known as Laleli Baba. Popular lore still holds that Mustafa, following his later restoration of the Fatih Mosque, moaned, "I have built three mosques, but one of them has been taken by my forefather [Mehmed the Conqueror], one by a mystic [Laleli Baba], and one by the water [ayazma]."[28]

Whether or not Mustafa ever voiced such a complaint, the Laleli was certainly intended as his personal legacy to the Ottoman capital. It is the last sultan's mosque to be built in the walled city, where it stands, like the Nuruosmaniye, on the right of the Divanyolu as one moves away from the Topkapı Palace.[29] More specifically, it is located along the less built-up southern branch of the route, which bifurcates shortly after passing the Nuruosmaniye. This choice of site spared the Laleli from having to compete with all the monuments along the Divanyolu's northern branch while still giving it the prestige of an intramural setting.[30] Construction began even as the Ayazma was still being completed; Vasıf records that the foundation-digging ceremony, held in April 1760, was led by the sheikh of the Hagia Sophia, and involved prayers, sacrifices, and the distribution of alms to the local poor.[31] In September of the same year, to quote a British newspaper of the time, "The Grand Signior, assisted by the Grand Vizier and the Mufti, laid . . . the first Stone of a magnificent Mosque, which his Sublime Highness intends to build at his own Expence." Ottoman records of this ceremony show that the sultan was not in

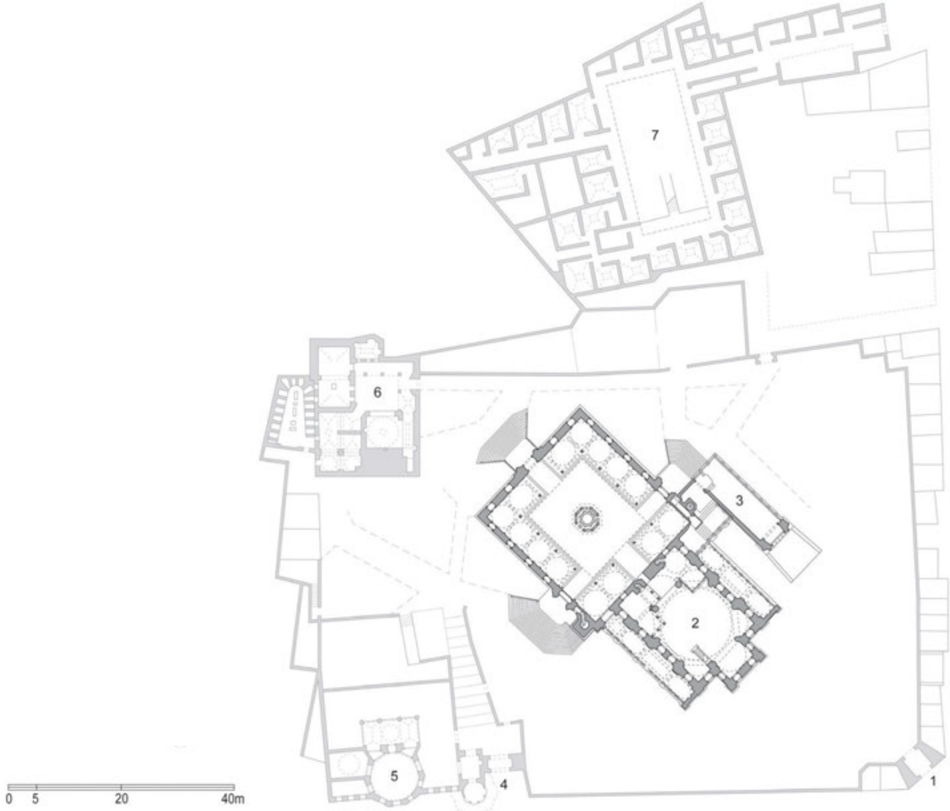
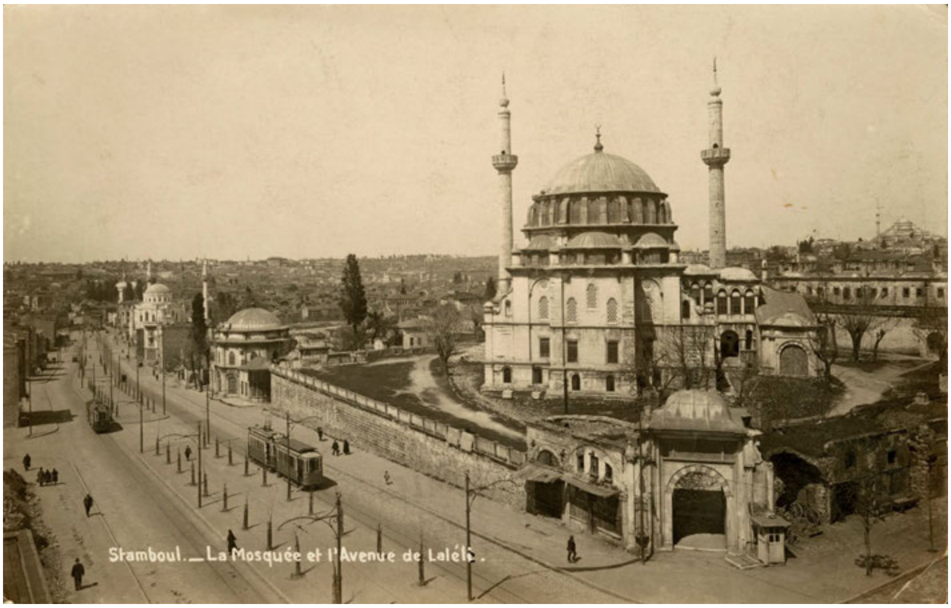


FIG. 150. Laleli Complex, plan: (1) main gate; (2) mosque; (3) royal pavilion; (4) secondary gate and sebil; (5) tomb; (6) imaret; (7) Taş Khan.

fact present, though his association with the mosque was enough to see him inserted into the newspaper report.[32] The emphasis on Mustafa's financing of the construction suggests that the Ottoman court was anxious to preempt any criticisms of the project, which could not be paid for as tradition required by the spoils of war.

Also casting Mustafa's mosque in a good light were the circumstances by which land was acquired for it. Like the Nuruosmaniye, the Laleli was a tight squeeze in a crowded city, and existing structures had to be bought and destroyed to make way for it. Vasıf stresses that the purchases were made to everyone's satisfaction, and he is seconded by the Baron de Tott, who writes that "[e]ither the Interest or Religious Zeal of the Proprietors, prevented Mustapha from meeting any Obstacle."[33] One reason for the lack of conflict was that Mustafa used the earth and stone dug up at the site to fill in part of the shore near the Yenikapı, resulting in a whole new neighborhood. Tott tells us that the houses built on the infill were inhabited by "Turks" who had been compelled to move there from the mosque's site, but Hovhannisian, who is a more reliable source, writes that the new district was given to the Armenians.[34] Either way, the creation of the neighborhood was a highly visible and ambitious act of urban regeneration that would have further vindicated the Laleli project.

The complex makes the best of the substantial though by no means vast plot of land it occupies (figs. 150, 151). Delimited by a roughly rectangular perimeter whose southern side was moved slightly back from the road in the 1950s,[35] the foundation's core comprises a mosque with a courtyard and royal pavilion, a tomb and sebil bordering the Divanyolu, and an imaret. Just north of the rectangular precinct is a khan that would have generated revenue for the complex, while to the east once stood a madrasa



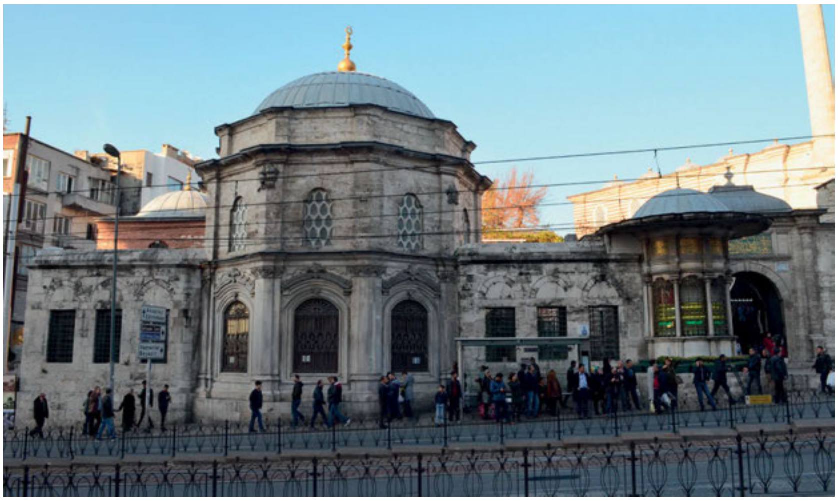


FIG. 151. Laleli Complex, as viewed with the former Divanyolu in the direction of the main gate in the 1920s, before the precinct wall and gates were moved back from the road. Photographic postcard.

FIG. 152. Laleli Complex, tomb, sebil, and secondary gate.

that was destroyed in 1911. The mosque itself has two minarets, though only the southwest one had been erected at the time of its opening, the other being added six or seven years later.[36] The reason for this delay is unclear, but the second minaret was almost certainly planned from the start, as its base and foundation are enclosed by the royal pavilion. It is perhaps significant that the addition of this minaret came not long after Mustafa was declared a ghazi. Both minarets were modified in the late nineteenth century, their conical lead caps replaced by the bulbous stone finials we now see. Elevating the mosque is a high vaulted basement that, uniquely among sultanic complexes, functions as a building in its own right, enterable by a door next to the sebil; contemporary sources indicate that this space was a storehouse (*maḫzen*).[37] A fire necessitated extensive repairs to the mosque and its ancillaries in 1783; this restoration seems largely to have preserved the buildings' original appearance. Although he did not succeed in fixing his name to the monument, Mustafa was able to secure his burial in the tomb, whose street-facing windows were updated with elaborate marble frames in the early nineteenth century (fig. 152).[38] The combination of an imperial tomb and double minarets marked the sultanic status of the Laleli, successfully distinguishing it as Mustafa's own foundation.

The Laleli's construction is unusually well documented, and scores of weekly payrolls have survived.[39] These record an average of 770 workers, with non-Muslims outnumbering Muslims by approximately three to two.[40] While the mosque's architect is nowhere confirmed, art historians are justified in their customary attribution to Mehmed Tahir Agha. Vasıf's entry on the foundation-laying ceremony talks in some detail about the early plan of the mosque, telling us that "a pleasing and magnificent design was commissioned from the chief architect, who—expending the greater part of his energies and investigating every part of the site—composed an elegant design [*resm-i ḫoş-āyende*]." No name is given for the architect, though we know from other sources that the post was at that time held by Hacı Ahmed Agha. Vasıf goes on to say that "five [other] architects who accompanied him in producing the design also drank from the cup of favor,"[41] which suggests that Ahmed Agha, in keeping with what we know more generally about the rank of chief architect in this period, should be understood more as a team leader than as the main creative force behind the building. One of the five architects working under Ahmed must have been Mehmed Tahir Agha, who was his deputy before succeeding him as chief architect. He held the title, with interruptions, between 1761 and 1784, including at the time of the Laleli's completion. As this long tenure implies, Mehmed Tahir had greater direct involvement than other eighteenth-century chief miʿmars in the architectural process, and the documents trace his participation in numerous projects.[42] Most telling with regard to the Laleli is the written protocol of its inauguration, which records that Mehmed Tahir received his robe of honor not with the state ministers, but together with the craftsmen and builders, in the same way as Simeon Kalfa before him.[43] Judging from the opening ceremonies of other mosques whose architects are known, this detail is good evidence that Mehmed Tahir Agha was indeed the Laleli's main designer.

Among the reasons that Vasıf gives for the positive reception of the Laleli's initial plan is that "it resembled the Mosque of Sultan Selim,"[44] meaning the Selimiye in Edirne, built by Sinan between 1569 and 1575 (figs. 153, 154). The observation is borne out by the finished building, which, like its predecessor, consists of a single-domed octagonal baldachin with semidomical squinches at its corners, an apsidal projection containing the mihrab, and a quadrangular courtyard preceding the prayer hall. Vasıf's mention of the analogy—an unusually specific comparison for an Ottoman chronicle—indicates that it was not only artists and craftsmen who were reflecting on the empire's artistic past, but patrons and other observers also. That the Selimiye should have been selected as a model is not surprising given its status as a great royal foundation and Sinan's masterpiece, and it is worth recalling that the mosque inspired a treatise by Dayezade Mustafa in this period. Interestingly, Dayezade quotes an observer as saying that the Selimiye's only fault "is that it is in Edirne rather than in Istanbul";[45] the Laleli was thus making good this flaw by bringing Sinan's distant exemplar into the heart of the capital, creatively translating it into the new Baroque idiom.

One quality of the Selimiye that would have been especially appealing in eighteenth-century eyes is its celebrated use of a single dome, which distinguishes it

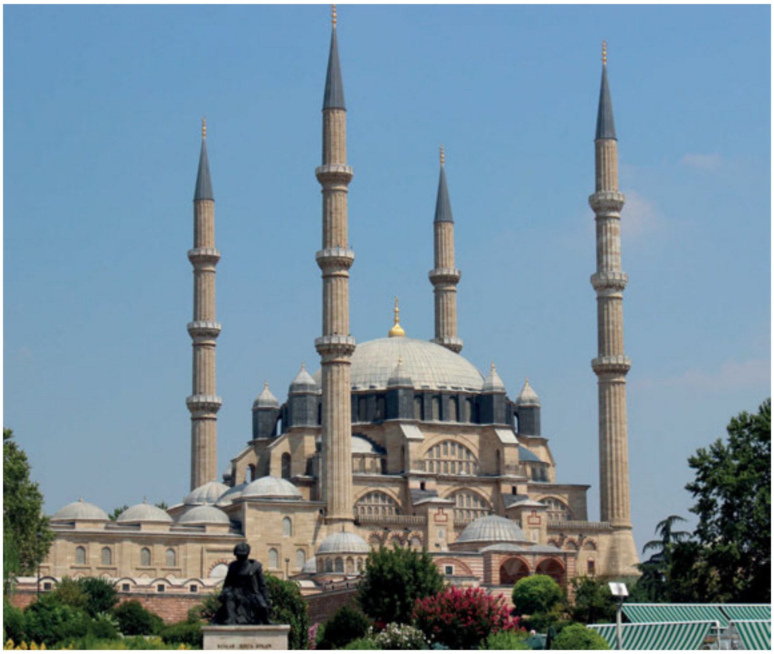
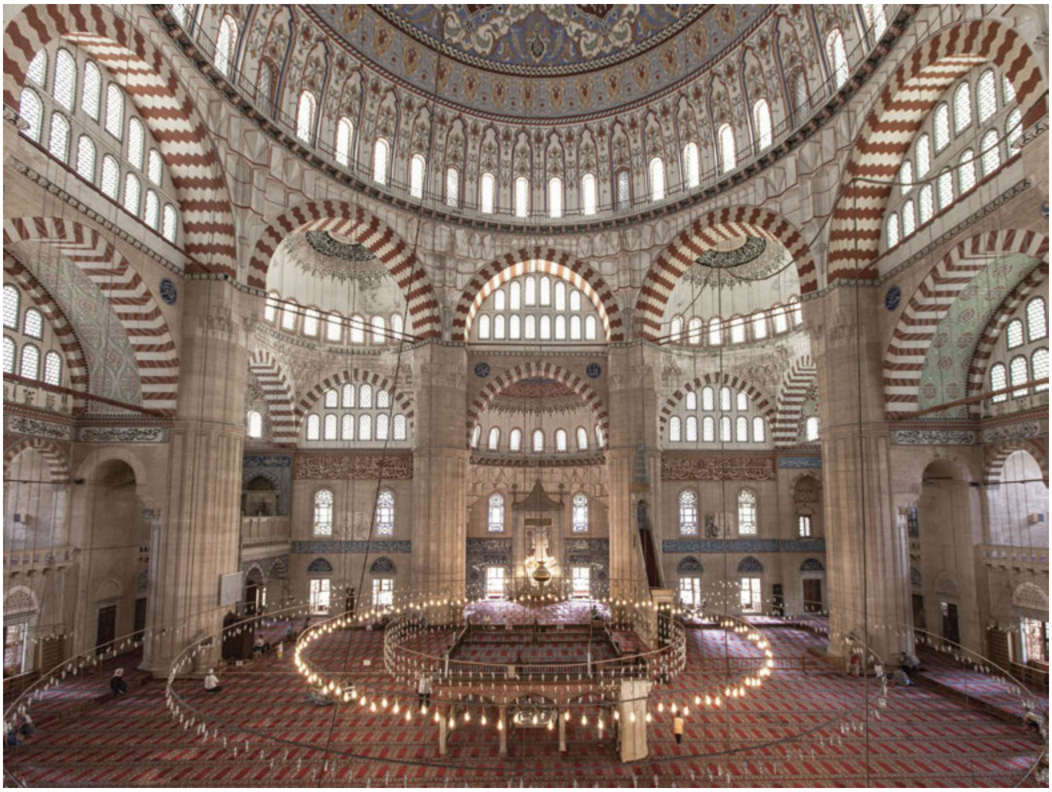


FIG. 153. Selimiye Mosque, Edirne, 1568–74.

from most of Istanbul's imperial mosques and brings it closer to what we know of Ottoman Baroque preferences. As before, however, the result of this historical engagement is more original than it is nostalgic. To begin with, the Laleli is much smaller than the Selimiye, and this seeming deficiency is turned into an advantage, for the building's reduced footprint augments its relative height: whereas the Selimiye's dome reaches 43.25 meters and has a diameter of 31.25 meters, the Laleli's is 12.5 meters wide and 24.5 meters high. The later mosque thus appears to shoot up into the air, eschewing the squatter profile of its sixteenth-century counterpart (see fig. 151). There is both physical and documentary evidence that the prayer hall's length and breadth were somewhat reduced after construction began, with the result that the lateral piers of the baldachin were incorporated into the walls instead of being left freestanding as at the Selimiye, tightening the dome's hold over the space (figs. 155, 156).[46] This alteration means that the prayer hall is not as wide as the courtyard that precedes it, but the shortfall is elegantly addressed by the use of vaulted galleries along the hall's flanks, which are thus brought in line with the courtyard (fig. 157). Although possibly motivated by economic factors, the revised design endowed the mosque with greater verticality and better answered contemporary standards, which, as we saw with the Nuruosmaniye, placed a great emphasis on uninterrupted spaces that could be viewed at one glance.

The Laleli's loftiness is further enhanced by the high basement that raises it above the bustle of the street, as well as by the dramatically narrowing stairways that lead up to the courtyard's three gates (see figs. 149, 160). No less theatrical, and again distinguishing the building from older monuments, is the royal pavilion adjoining the mosque (figs. 158, 159). As with the Nuruosmaniye, the Laleli's position on the north side of the Divanyolu means that the main approach to it is from the back, in this case through a grand round-arched marble gate flanked by little fountains and located at the southeast corner of the precinct (see fig. 151). This gate leads to a substantial area that surrounds the mosque and serves as a sort of outer court, again recalling the



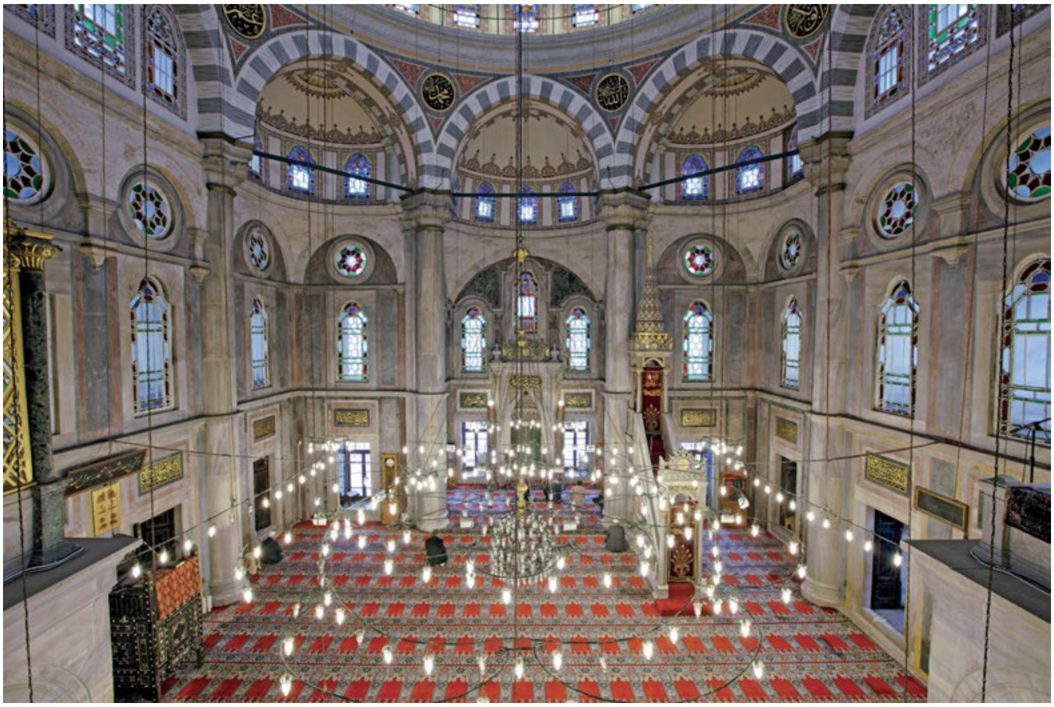
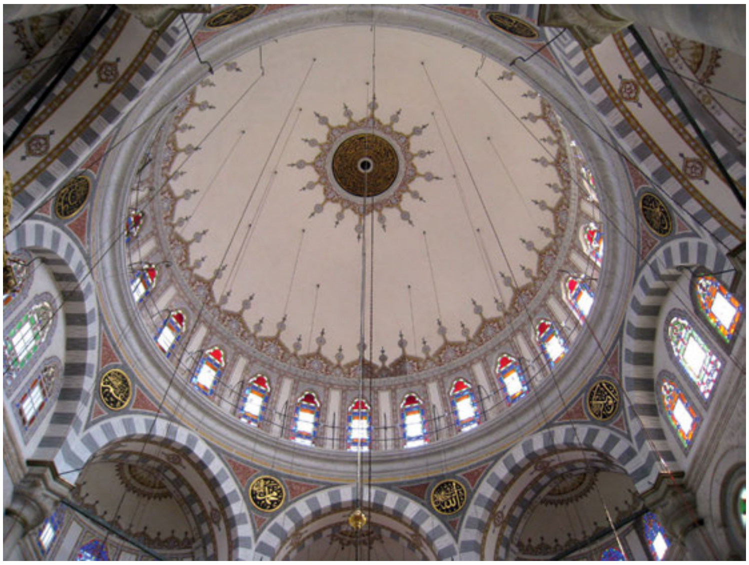


FIG. 154. Selimiye Mosque, Edirne, interior looking toward the qibla wall.

FIG. 155. Laleli Mosque, interior looking toward the qibla wall.



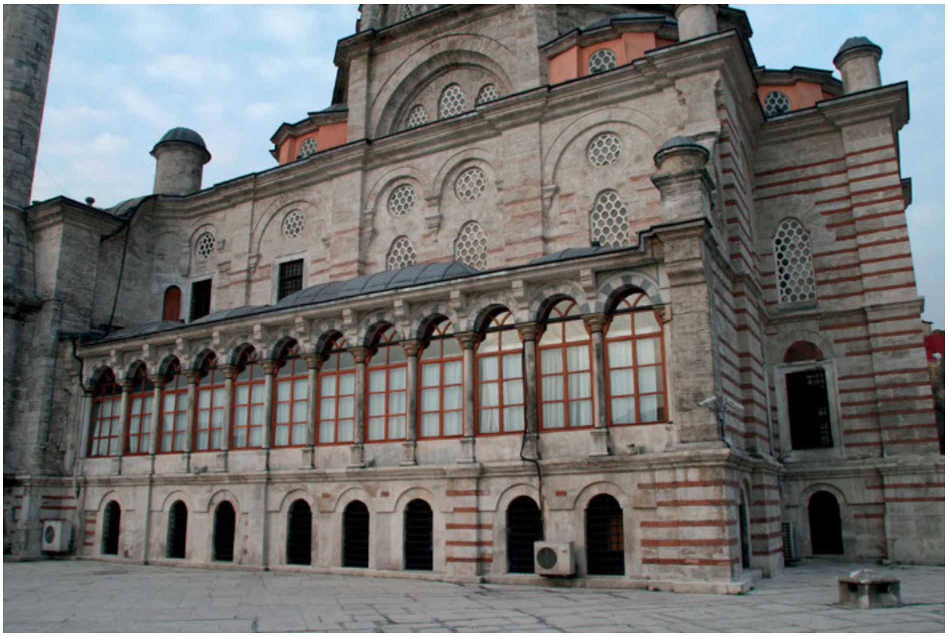


FIG. 156. Laleli Mosque, interior looking toward the dome.

FIG. 157. Laleli Mosque, southwest façade of the prayer hall.

Nuruosmaniye. Facing the direction of the gate is the back of the qibla wall and the pavilion's entrance, which is located just to the right of the prayer hall and fashioned as a round-arched marble portal in the same manner as the precinct gate. The portal gives access to an imposing arcaded ramp that extends parallel to the prayer hall before turning the corner and joining the royal loge, which, like the Ayazma's, has been pushed back to the hall's northern corner. Apart from a small and externally invisible lavatory at the bend of the ramp, the pavilion contains no residential elements to distract from its role as a showcase for the sultan's movements in and out of the mosque. Even more than the Nuruosmaniye, then, the Laleli exploits topographical conditions to establish a rival axis to that defined by the courtyard on the other side, transforming the area around the back of the mosque into a stage for the selamlık and other sultanic visits.

Complementing the mosque's eighteenth-century proportions and layout are its stylistic features, which again differ substantially from their counterparts at the

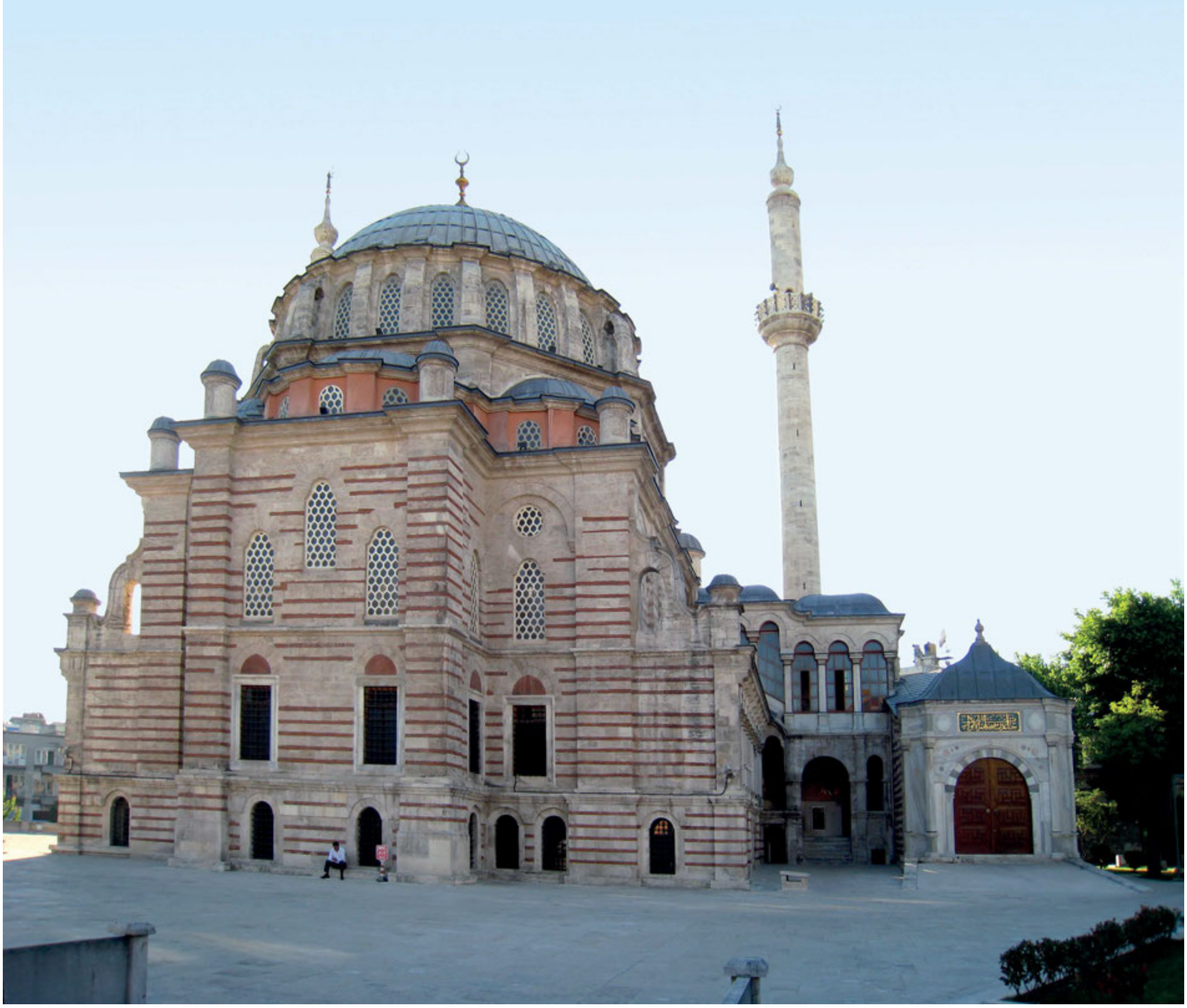
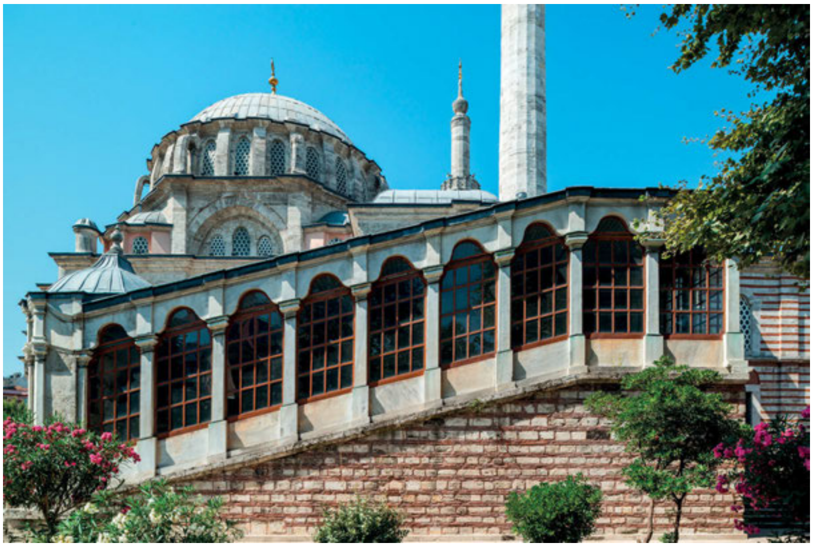


FIG. 158. Laleli Mosque, qibla façade of the prayer hall, with the royal pavilion on the right.

FIG. 159. Laleli Complex, royal pavilion, with the prayer hall behind.



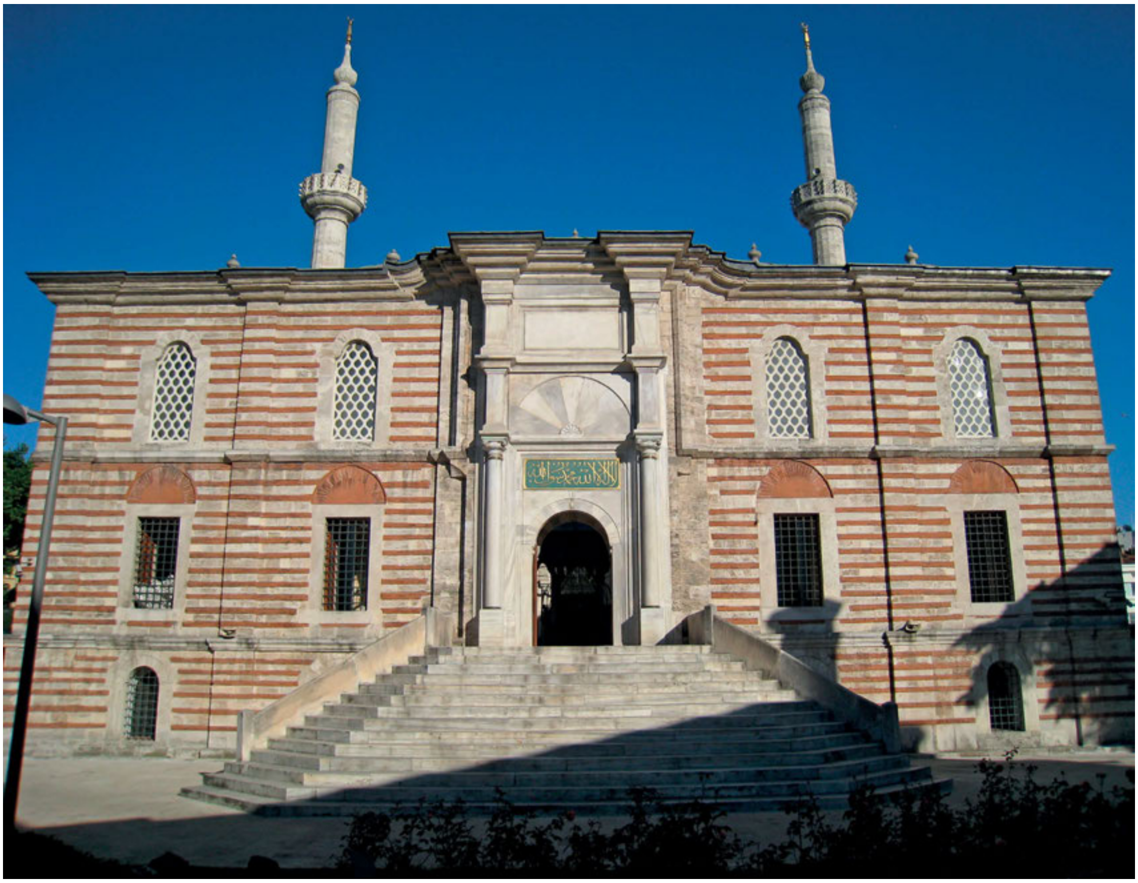


FIG. 160. Laleli Mosque, northwest façade and main entrance of the courtyard.

Selimiye. Round arches and deep cornices are used throughout, and curvilinear flying buttresses brace the sides of the prayer hall and the base of the dome (see fig. 158). Most of the column capitals are variations of the scroll type, with those of the courtyard distinguished by their streamlined monumentality. The courtyard as a whole is notable for its Baroque details. Each of the three marble gates leading into it takes the form of a round-arched door surmounted by a fanned arrangement of stone wedges and flanked by columns that support an entablature (fig. 160). The entablature is doubled in the case of the main gate to the northwest, where the roofline rises in a Baroque sweep to accommodate the additional level. Crowning the inner face of this gate, and likewise of the door into the prayer hall opposite, is a marble panel carved with C- and S-scrolls and vegetal designs (fig. 161); these elements form asymmetrical cartouche-like compositions informed by the Rococo. In the middle of the courtyard is an octagonal ablution fountain with bell arches and leafy column capitals. The surrounding portico arches, while retaining the hint of a point, are flanked by pilasters that support a simple but elegant cornice running all the way around.

A similar decorative approach can be found inside the prayer hall (figs. 155, 162). The circular piers of the baldachin have irregularly shaped foliate capitals above which runs a continuous cornice. Incorporating the sultan's screened prayer loge at the back of the hall is a gallery that is made up of round arches borne on leafy scroll capitals with simplified egg-and-dart moldings around their echini (fig. 163). Analogous capitals support the entablature of the mihrab, whose niche is a less sculptural version of the

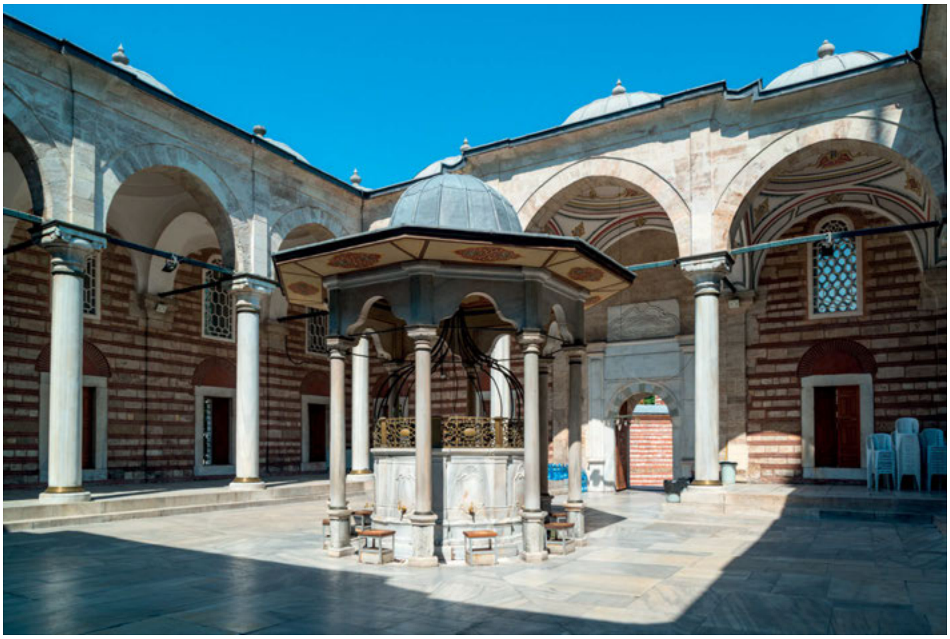


FIG. 161. Laleli Mosque, courtyard interior looking west toward the ablution fountain and the courtyard's main entrance.

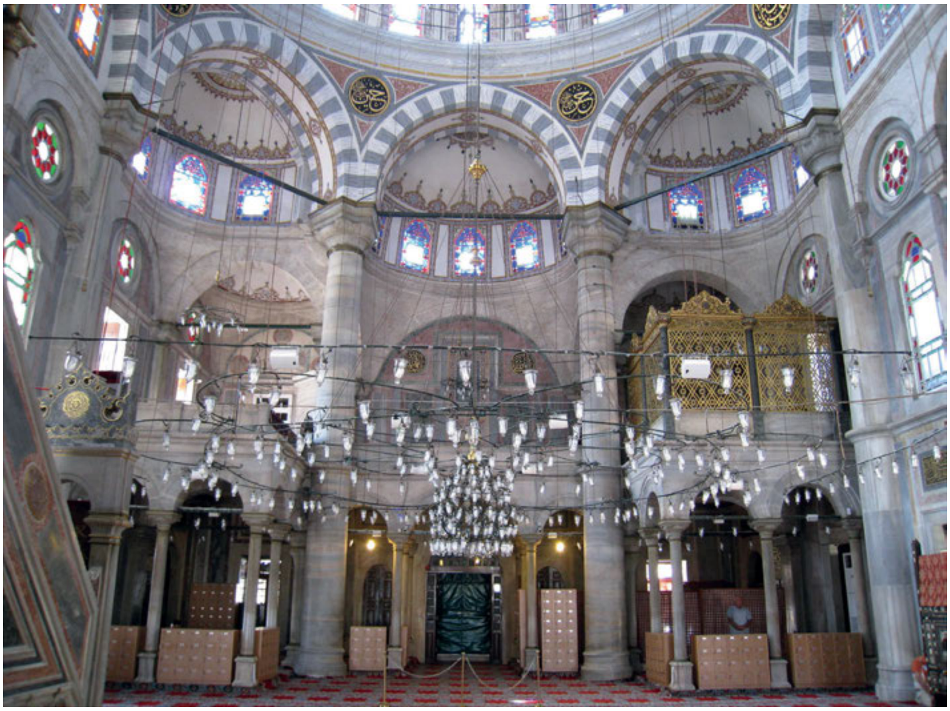


FIG. 162. Laleli Mosque, interior looking toward the entrance, with the muezzins' gallery on the left and the royal prayer loge on the right.

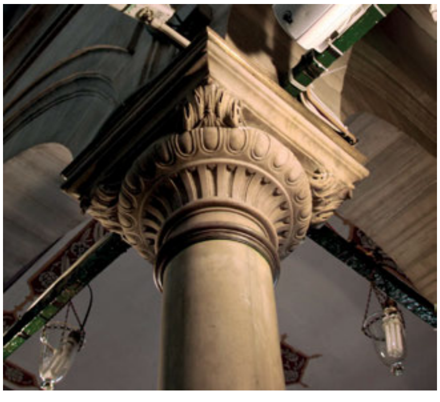
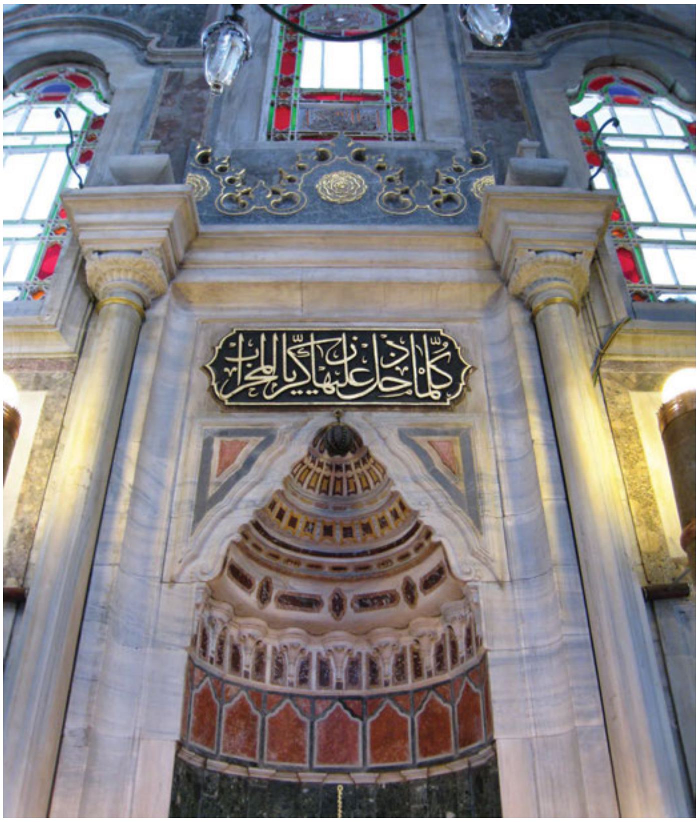


FIG. 163. Laleli Mosque, column capital of the muezzins' gallery.



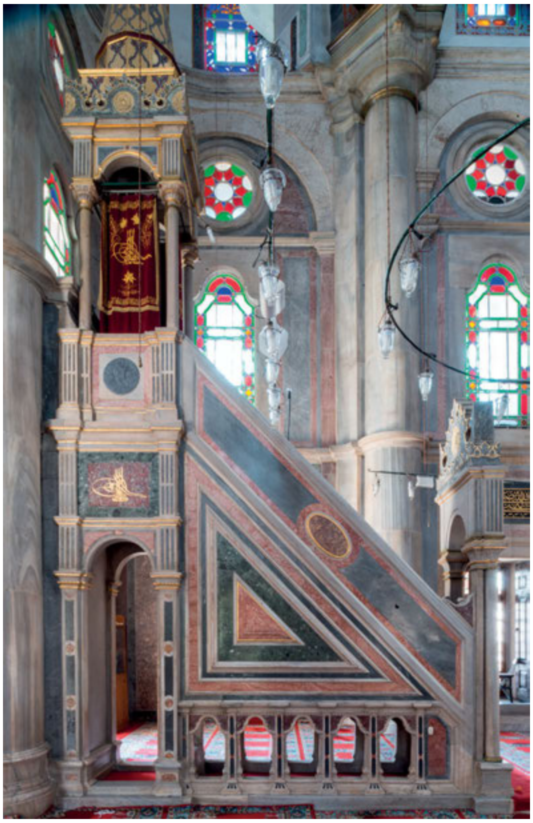


FIG. 164. Laleli Mosque, upper part of the mihrab.

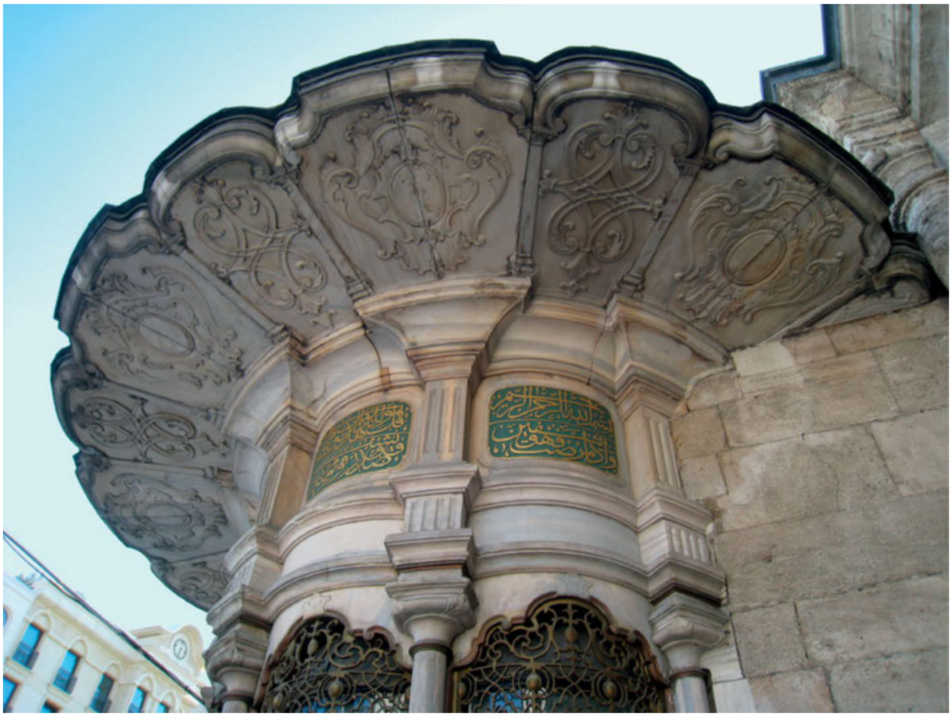
FIG. 165. Laleli Mosque, minbar.

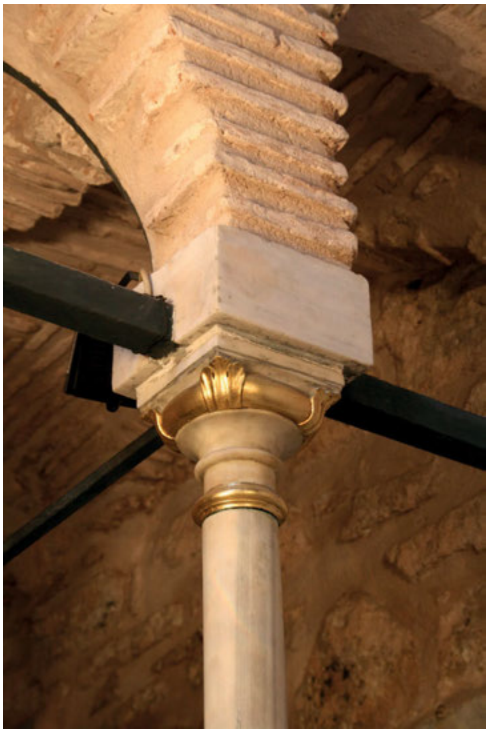
Nuruosmaniye's (fig. 164; see fig. 119). The neighboring minbar is carved with a range of Baroque forms, including pilasters, bell arches, and dentil moldings (fig. 165). Prominently displayed on each side of the minbar is Mustafa's tughra, an innovative calligraphic flourish that is in keeping with the copious use of inscriptions throughout the prayer hall. These features, which all follow eighteenth-century patterns, are interspersed with unmistakable references to older buildings. The wooden shutters of the doors and windows are inlaid with a traditional three-dot chintamani design, and decorating the minbar and mihrab are elaborate multifoil crests punctuated by rosettes, recalling such models as the mihrab of the Selimiye and the courtyard gate of the Süleymaniye Mosque (see fig. 144). As with the mosque's more general evocation of the Selimiye, these historicizing touches contextualize rather than counteract the scheme's otherwise modern character: flanking the crest of the mihrab, for example, are two bulbous Baroque pinnacles. A similar stylistic fusion occurs at the Laleli's nearby tomb, where marble pediments and entablatures carved in the eighteenth-century manner appear alongside reused sixteenth-century Iznik tilework.

Notwithstanding the obvious differences between the two buildings, the Laleli shares much of its craftsmanship with the Nuruosmaniye. The documents, as noted, show that Christians constituted a majority of the workforce, and it is significant in this regard that the eighteenth-century underground holy well of the Greek church of St. Mary of the Spring at Balıklı—largely rebuilt in 1835—includes four slender marble columns with scroll capitals analogous to those of the Laleli sebil (figs. 166, 167). Underlining this Greek connection, one of the major figures involved in the Laleli was

FIG. 166. Laleli Complex, upper part of the sebil kiosk.

FIG. 167. Church of St. Mary of the Spring, Balıklı, Istanbul, mid-eighteenth-century column capital of the holy well.





the chief stonemason Kozma—the same Kozma who had worked alongside Simeon Kalfa at the Nuruosmaniye. He was the only Christian to be honored with a robe at the inauguration, and in a contract he signed relating to his duties, he is termed "master builder of the imperial mosque" (*ser-ḳalfa-ı cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn*), which indicates that he may have been Mehmed Tahir's deputy as he had been Simeon's.[47] As for Simeon himself, it seems that he was no longer active by this period: there is no record of his work after the Nuruosmaniye, and the story of his red shoreline house, discussed in the previous chapter, implies a comfortable retirement.[48]

Kozma's participation in both monuments provides a useful framework for considering the continuities and differences between them. Like him, many of the artists working on the Laleli would have had years of experience in the new style, and this is everywhere evident in their handiwork. The Nuruosmaniye's bombastic novelty has here been tamed into a more serene, almost studied rendition of the Ottoman Baroque. The courtyard gates, for instance, take the main door of the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard and reduce it to its abstract essentials, replacing its plastic half-sunburst with a flat blind arch formed of triangular wedges (see figs. 110, 160). As with the selective incorporation of historical references, the effect of this toned-down approach is not to reject the new style, but to present it in a more contemplative fashion. Now fully settled and naturalized, the Ottoman Baroque reveals its modus operandi at the Laleli—exaggerated proportions, spatial unity, theatrical staging, and a character-

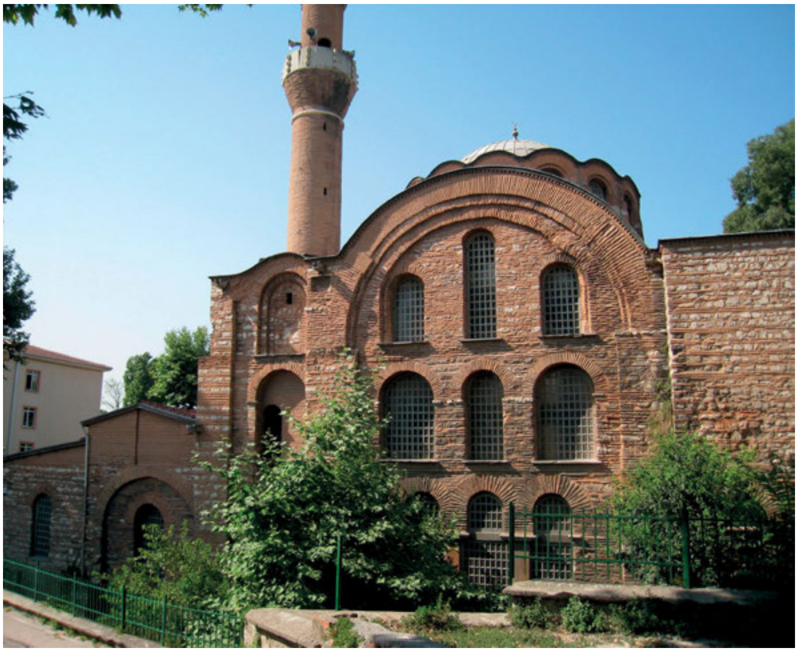


FIG. 168. Kalenderhane Mosque, formerly the Church of Theotokos Kyriotissa, Istanbul, ca. 1200 with later Ottoman additions.

istic decorative vocabulary. Certain features like the Nuruosmaniye's curved courtyard were evidently felt not to be essential to the desired outcome, and the result is no less fresh for abandoning such experiments. On the contrary, the use of a rectangular courtyard, together with the octagonal plan of the baldachin, instantly sets the Laleli apart from the Nuruosmaniye, allowing Mustafa's mosque to proclaim its originality on its own terms.

Indeed, the Laleli fully revels in its individuality, and perhaps the most striking way in which the building distinguishes itself is through a bold citation of Byzantine architecture. The walls of the courtyard and the prayer hall's exterior are largely constructed of alternating courses of brick and stone, and though this technique had a long, unbroken history in local architectural practice, it was not at all typical of Istanbul's imperial mosques.[49] It is a hallmark, however, of numerous high-ranking Byzantine churches that the Ottomans appropriated and converted, among them the Chora (the Kariye Mosque), built between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, and Theotokos Kyriotissa (the Kalenderhane Mosque), erected in about 1200 (fig. 168).[50] The use of brick and stone at the Laleli was, on the one hand, a resourceful decorative expedient, enlivening the building's façades in a manner that was both economical and visually effective. But the technique also served to associate the monument with its esteemed Byzantine forerunners, and that this connection was intended is clear from the mosque's interior, whose walls and furnishings are copiously veneered with beautiful colored marbles, predominantly red and green in hue.[51] Such cladding can be found also in the converted churches just named (fig. 169), as well as in the most revered of all Byzantine monuments, the Hagia Sophia. The Laleli even makes specific reference to the erstwhile cathedral through two superposed panels of geometric ornamental inlay (some of it overpainted) on the wall of the raised gallery at the back of the prayer hall. Comprising abstract scrolls arranged around a central green oval, the lower panel is undoubtedly based on similar inlay designs that decorate the interior of the Hagia

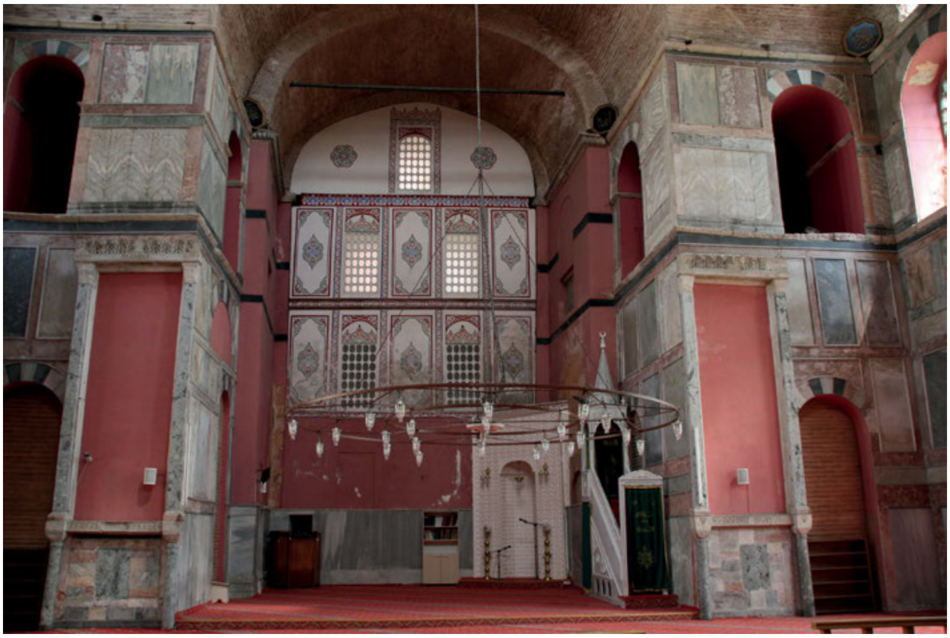


FIG. 169. Kalenderhane Mosque, interior.

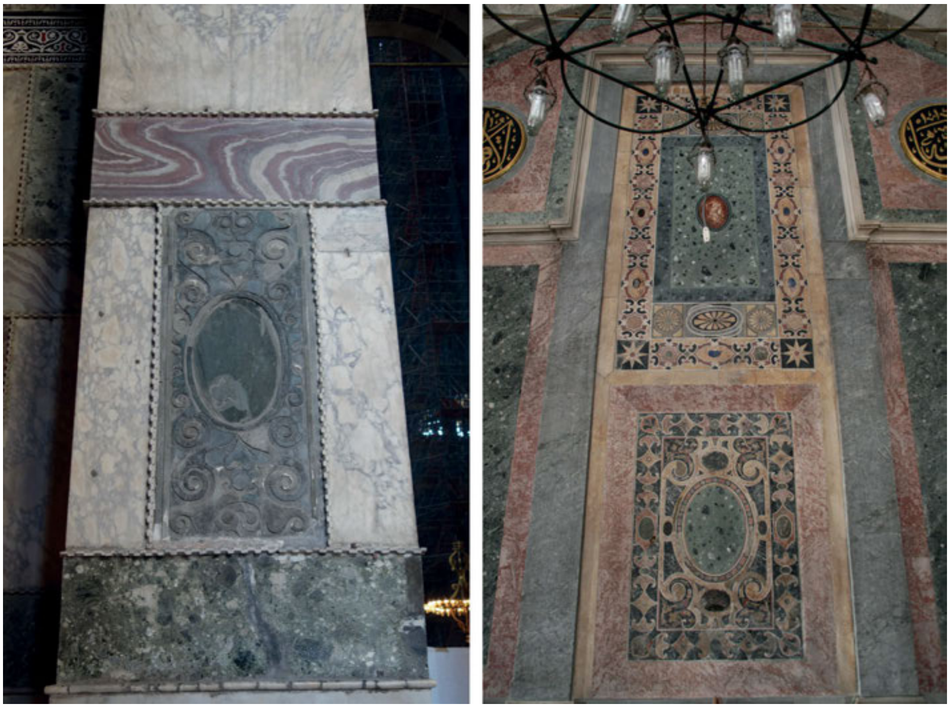


FIG. 170. Comparison of decorative panels in the Hagia Sophia (left) and the Laleli Mosque (right).

Sophia (fig. 170). Such ornamental polychromy lends the far more intimate space of the Laleli a jewel-like richness.

With its prestigious associations, the Laleli was a fitting monument to its royal founder. The sources show that the mosque was inaugurated twice in as many weeks, first by the grand vizier and mufti and then by Mustafa himself, who arrived in splendid procession for his first selamlık at the building.[52] The protocol for the second ceremony largely followed the opening of the Nuruosmaniye, except that the lack of a reception room in the pavilion meant that the sultan, who oversaw the distribution of robes, sat instead on a throne placed outside the ramp. In his record of the event, Vasıf calls the Laleli "the envy of the distinguished mosques that preceded it and the sultanic temples that came before."[53] Less generalized praise is offered by Mustafa's waqfiyya, which describes the monument as

> a most excellent, charming, and wondrous blessed noble mosque and light-filled elegant temple; admirably composed, strongly built, and high-columned; made of pure marble—polished, gilt, and decorated—and resembling the Ever-Inhabited House [the Kaaba's heavenly prototype], brightly illumined and without like or comparison.[54]

The emphasis here on the building's height and rich stonework reflects the actual architecture.

The unofficial sources have less to say about the monument, whose measured design was unlikely to engender as much commentary as the larger and more audacious Nuruosmaniye. Şemʿdanizade is extremely positive about the building, calling it "a fitting, well fashioned mosque that brings together the faithful."[55] Carbognano, however, writes that the Laleli "has nothing of note except for a grand subterranean edifice made up of three naves with semicircular arches and large square piers," referring to the mosque's basement.[56] Carbognano's compatriot Mouradgea d'Ohsson must have felt differently, for though he does not describe the Laleli in his famous *Tableau*, the mosque and tomb are both separately depicted on a plate illustrating the section on mosques (fig. 171). That this plate has only two other images—one of the Hagia Sophia and the other of the Sultan Ahmed—demonstrates that d'Ohsson held the Laleli in high regard. Moreover, the difference in how the monuments are visualized elucidates

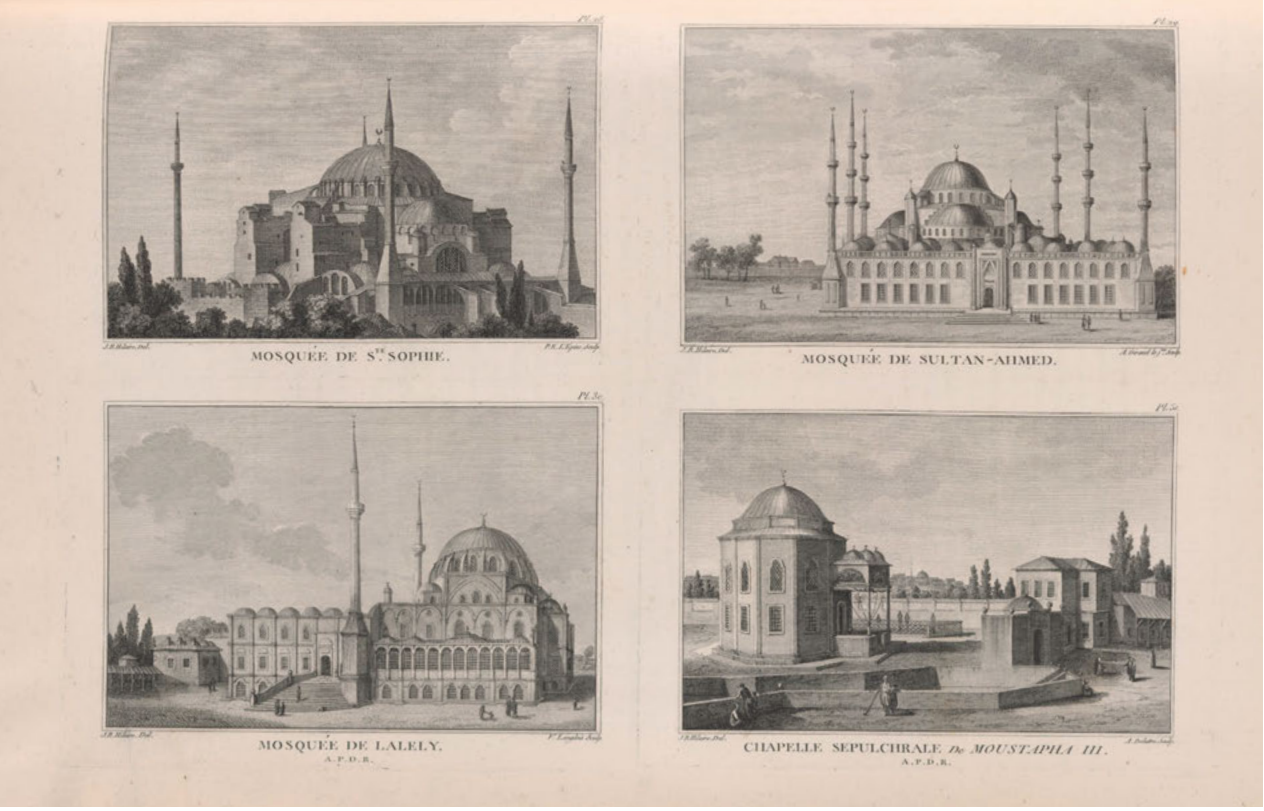

MOSQUÉE DE S^{TE}. SOPHIE.
MOSQUÉE DE SULTAN-AHMED.
MOSQUÉE DE LALELY.
A.P.D.R.
CHAPELLE SEPULCHRALE De MOUSTAPHA III.
A.P.D.R.

FIG. 171. Views of the Hagia Sophia, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Laleli Mosque, and Laleli tomb. By P. E. L'Épine, A. Giraud le Jeune, V. Langlois, and A. Delattre, after Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, 1787, from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* [. . .] (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1787–1820). Engravings on paper.

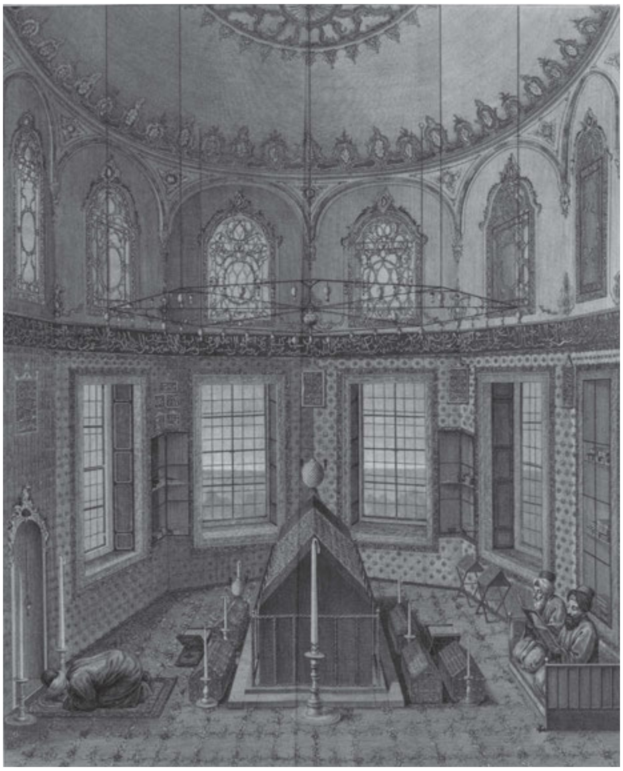


FIG. 172. View of the interior of the Laleli tomb. By Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Née, 1787, from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* [. . .] (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1787–1820). Engraving on paper.

the later mosque's appeal to contemporary observers: the Laleli looks far less bulky than the two older edifices and, despite being nowhere near as large as them in real life, is shown as if loftier, the minaret closest to the viewer rising the full height of the frame. Both minarets have their original lead caps in the image, while the tomb appears without the nineteenth-century additions to its windows. The tomb was considered noteworthy enough that d'Ohsson devotes an additional full-size print to its interior, which is depicted with its original Rococo paintwork rather than the inauthentic archaizing scheme that now takes its place (fig. 172).

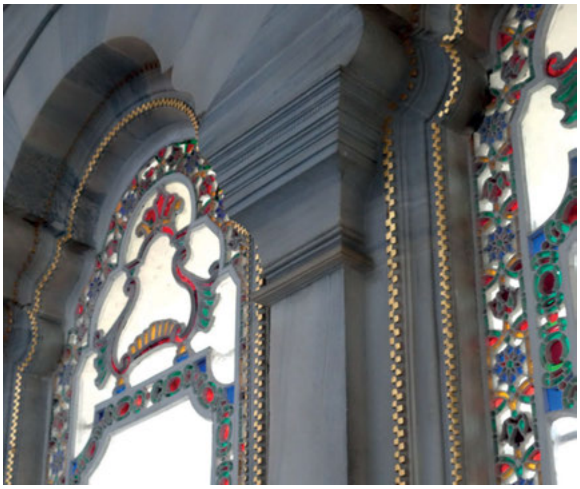
Matching d'Ohsson's visual enthusiasm for the Laleli is the verbal reaction of Dallaway, who describes the monument as a "small, but most elegant, mosque . . . built by Sultan Mahmoòd in 1753." This misattribution is important for showing that the Laleli's architecture was understood as being of a piece with the novel style established under Mahmud. Dallaway continues by telling us that the building "is completely wainscoted with veneered marble, and has two large embroidered tablets, representing the cities of Mecca and Medina."[57] The embroideries have not survived and are otherwise unrecorded, but the marble cladding—still a defining feature of the prayer hall—caught the eye also of Charles Pertusier (d. 1836), a French artillery officer who visited Istanbul in the early nineteenth century and wrote a guidebook to the city:

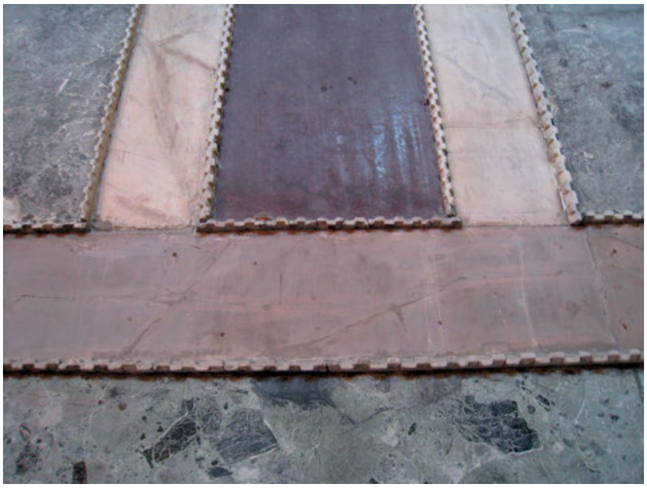
> [T]he Lalei Mosque . . . is of a very elegant construction and revetted with very beautiful marbles. Its height is composed of a single dome; in the porticoes of its inner court, one finds with pleasure the Ionic order, though not without some alterations.[58]

Pertusier's interpretation of the columns is more significant than it may seem. Though he does not tie the marble-clad interior to Byzantine models, his recognition of a Classicizing quality to the courtyard surely echoes something of the mosque's own affinity to late antique Constantinople. The commensurability of these different registers of Classicism is, I would argue, both presupposed and instantiated by the Laleli, whose mingling of the antique with the modern tells us much about the underpinnings of the Ottoman Baroque at large.

THE BYZANTINE CONNECTION

The Laleli was neither the first nor the only eighteenth-century mosque to incorporate Byzantine references. We saw in chapter 3 that the qibla wall of the Nuruosmaniye makes use of a variant dentil molding whose squares face alternating directions. This is a motif of Byzantine origin that features prominently in the Hagia Sophia, which is





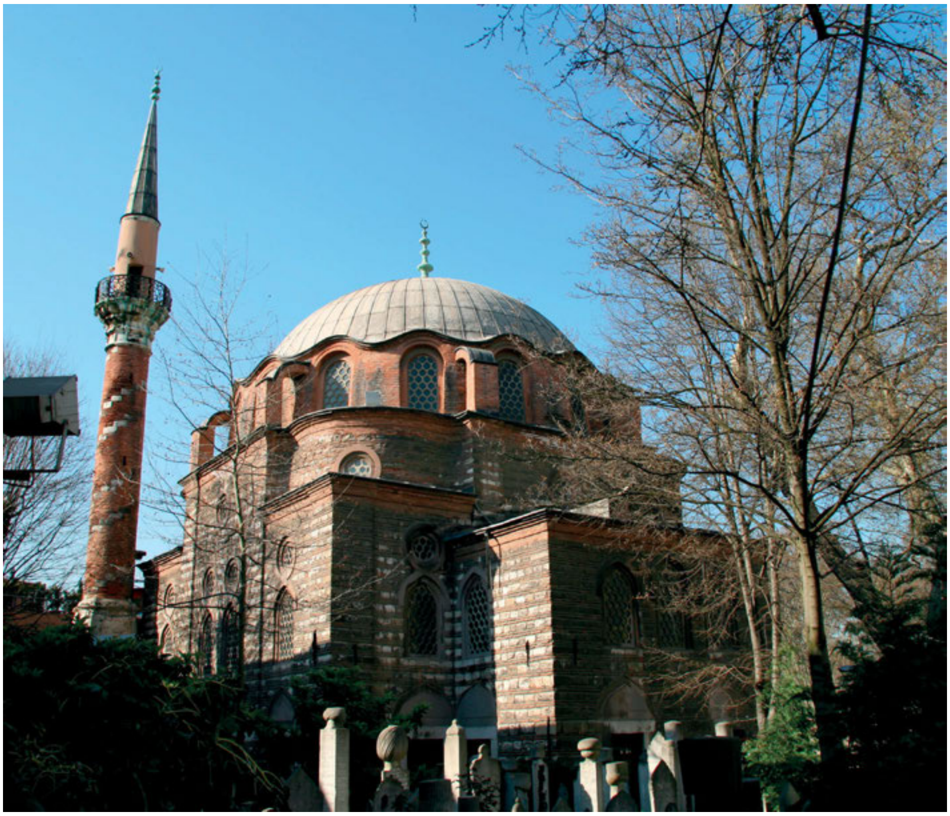


FIG. 173. (top left) Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior, double dentil moldings around the windows of the qibla apse.

FIG. 174. (top right) Hagia Sophia, interior, marble wall panels framed by double dentil moldings.

FIG. 175. (bottom) Zeyneb Sultan Mosque, Istanbul, 1769.

clearly the source of the Nuruosmaniye's rendition (figs. 173, 174).[59] More patently Byzantinizing is the mosque built in 1769 near the Sublime Porte by Mustafa's sister Zeyneb Sultan (d. 1774) (fig. 175).[60] Constructed of alternating courses of brick and stone, this curious little monument is almost affectedly archaizing and might be mistaken at first sight for a converted church. Its single dome is encircled by a fenestrated band whose undulating roofline and round-arched windows very much follow Byzantine prototypes. A closer look reveals some early Ottoman quotations also, among them the pointed arches of the windows and portico, and the arabesques and geometrical interlace carved onto the marble panels over the precinct and prayer-hall entrances (fig. 176). These Islamicate details reveal an awareness of the continuities between late

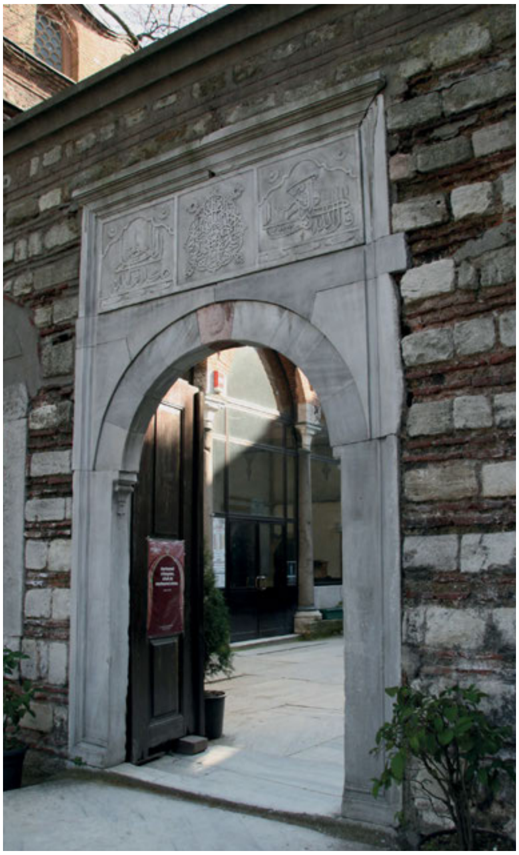


FIG. 176. Zeyneb Sultan Mosque, precinct entrance.

Byzantine and early Ottoman architecture.[61] The final element in the mix is the Baroque: the mosque's capitals are all of the scroll variety, and cheek by jowl with the arabesques and interlace are Classicizing moldings and tassel-shaped corbels from which spring the round arches of the doorways. While confirming the building as a product of its time, these modern touches do not lessen the mosque's decidedly Byzantine feel.

Such overt harking back to Constantinopolitan models is rare in the Ottoman Baroque, though it happens enough that it cannot be dismissed as accidental. Ottoman interest in Byzantine architecture was, of course, nothing new, and earlier borrowings abound. The semidomes of the Hagia Sophia, for instance, left an enduring mark on the designs of numerous imperial mosques, most famously the Süleymaniye (see figs. 44, 94). Entailing a more literal kind of appropriation was the use of spolia, a recurrent practice in Ottoman architecture, and one ubiquitous in the Mediterranean world.[62] Nevertheless, the long-standing cognizance of the empire's pre-Islamic tradition seems to have come into sharper focus in the eighteenth century, yielding throwbacks that cannot be ascribed to mere continuity. This phenomenon was in part consistent with the kinds of aesthetic retrospection that I have already identified as operative in these years, particularly after the Nuruosmaniye.[63] But there appears to be something else at play here, namely a recognition of the rapport between Istanbul's Byzantine heritage and the Baroque. Many of the forms characterizing the new manner drew on models that were themselves related to the late antique architecture of Constantinople, and this overlap cannot have escaped certain Ottoman observers. The insightful way in which the Laleli and other mosques draw on Byzantine precedents bespeaks a real understanding of the Baroque's shared lineage with local Greek art.[64] This in turn suggests that at least some Ottomans were both aware of and anxious to challenge European discourses that claimed possession over the legacy of antiquity. By demonstrating the consonances between the Baroque and the pre-Islamic works on their doorstep, those who fostered and practiced the new style were asserting their right to it as cultural insiders with their own Classical patrimony.

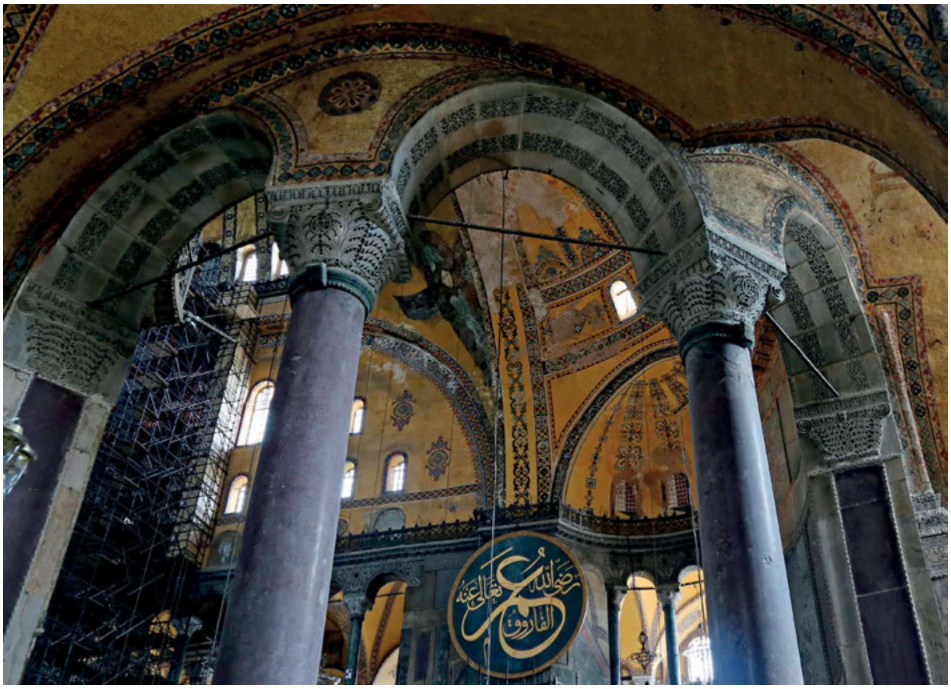
The eighteenth-century reevaluation of the Greek past began even before the Baroque and was prompted, like so much else, by the court's return to Istanbul. Suffice it to recall Saʿdabad's renowned fountain, which boldly imitated the Serpent Column in the Hippodrome (see figs. 8, 12). The ancientness of the bronze column—produced in Delphi after 497 BC and relocated to Constantinople between AD 324 and 330—had long been recognized by the Ottomans, who attributed the work to Constantine the Great (r. 306–37) and believed it to have apotropaic qualities. In 1700, the column's heads were knocked off, the culprit(s) being variously identified in the sources.[65] By 1718, however, the heads were apparently back in some form or other, for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in a detailed and otherwise reliable letter on the Hippodrome, reports seeing the serpents "with their mouths gapeing"; she was probably observing a short-lived repair.[66] Ottoman efforts to preserve the monument—whether by restoring the original or erecting a new version of it—dispels the repeated Western assertion that the Turks had no interest in their ancient heritage. On the contrary, the serpent jet at Saʿdabad was designed to recapture the damaged column's artistic success, and perhaps also its talismanic power. Besides referring to the city's past, this charged act may also have been a response to growing Western interest in the empire's antiquities, visualizing the Ottomans' superior entitlement to what their forerunners had bequeathed them. That they never took the column itself down is proof enough of the concern they felt for the ancient remains on their soil, despite the European commonplace that the Turks lacked antiquarian sensibilities.[67]

Something else that made the Serpent Column such a fitting model for the Saʿdabad jet was that it allowed the Ottomans to rival the figural fountains of Europe in terms that made sense to native audiences. In this instance, the column's similarity to Western zoomorphic fountains was coincidental, but where Ottoman Baroque architecture was concerned, the local connection was quite real. The Italian(ate) columns that inspired Ottoman imitations at the start of the 1740s had the same pedigree as their Constantinopolitan counterparts, which too followed the Corinthian and Composite orders. Indeed, some early Ottoman Baroque column capitals, particularly those of grander proportions, diverge from the sculptural contours of their Western equivalents and come closer in effect to the Byzantine "basket capital," a stylized variant of the Corinthian in which the carved decoration adheres closely to the surface of a bulbous bell whose corners are sometimes marked by protuberant volutes. The columns of the Cağaloğlu Baths, for instance, reconfigure their Baroque design in a manner that resonates with this Byzantine aesthetic, and the validity of the comparison is borne out by the columns' beaded bronze collars, which can only have been borrowed from such local sources as the Hagia Sophia (fig. 177; compare fig. 43). Many of the capitals in the former cathedral display monogramed roundels that prefigure the princely medallions featured at Cağaloğlu and other eighteenth-century royal monuments. Although I earlier considered these medallions in relation to their stylistically closer Italian analogues (see fig. 65), the Byzantine material provides a complementary frame of reference, triangulating between the Ottoman and Baroque traditions by virtue of its family resemblance to the latter (we might recall that the eighteenth-century Roman church of Santi Celso e Giuliano likewise employs monograms to decorate its column capitals). There are numerous other Baroque motifs for which Byzantine versions can be adduced, including egg-and-dart and dentil moldings, which appear together on the marble entablature of the sixth-century Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, known to the Ottomans as the Mosque of Küçük Ayasofya (Little Hagia Sophia) (fig. 178).[68] Like the dentil-studded cornice of the Nuruosmaniye, the entablature bears a low-relief inscription along its length, and its wide soffit is carved with geometric compositions that are close in concept to the marble panels decorating the undersides of the Nuruosmaniye's interior galleries. Even the Nuruosmaniye's iconic Baroque courtyard can be locally contextualized: its curved arrangement of pinkish columns—celebrated as spolia from Pergamon—might be likened to the exedrae of the Hagia Sophia, two of which are supported by porphyry monoliths (fig. 177).

To be sure, what correlations exist between the Ottoman Baroque and Byzantine architecture are thoroughly subsumed under a style that is above all international and modern in character. But it is precisely because of its seamlessness that this amalgamation of influences must be understood as conscious rather than indiscriminate. The extensive restoration projects of the period compelled Ottoman architects and craftsmen to look again, and more closely, at the numerous Byzantine monuments on which they were set to work. Among the buildings thus refurbished were the Hagia Sophia, whose eighteenth-century accretions I have already discussed, and the previously mentioned Kalenderhane, to which the chief eunuch Moralı Beşir Agha added a sultanic prayer loge in 1747.[69] An official journal entry about the loge's installation explains it as a return to the building's presumed royal function under the Byzantines, stating that "when the aforesaid mosque was an ancient place of worship, it was worthy of being visited by kings."[70] The fact that many, if not most, of the builders involved in these projects were themselves Greek raises the question of whether their ethnicity inflected their approach to the material. The Ottoman Greek community's increasing exposure to Western intellectual currents, which stressed the Hellenic origin of European art and learning, must have had an impact on how some of its members situated themselves in relation to their Constantinopolitan heritage, though the extent to which such an attitude shaped the kalfas' output is impossible to ascertain from the surviving evidence.[71]

One did not, however, have to be an artist to spot the commonalities between the new Baroque style and the Classically derived architecture of which Istanbul was already possessed. Even in the course of their daily business, the city's ordinary inhabitants would have regularly encountered the many Byzantine churches, ruins, and columns spread throughout the city (fig. 179). The same was true of the courtly elite, for as Gülru Necipoğlu has discussed, the grounds of the Topkapı Palace were a veritable archaeological museum, scattered with everything from a Corinthian victory column to mosaic-decorated churches.[72] By the seventeenth century, these pre-Ottoman remains were mistakenly thought to include the portico of the Conqueror's Pavilion, a treasury-bathhouse complex in the palace's third court that was built by Mehmed II in about 1460 (fig. 180).[73] Later viewers were thrown by the portico's Westernizing architecture and Byzantinizing decoration, which set it apart from other works associated with Mehmed: its round arches are borne on variants of the Modern Ionic capital close to those found in Renaissance Italy, and its vault was once decorated with figural mosaics. In its own time, this extraordinary structure, whose creators already recognized the relationship between Western and Eastern Classicism, allowed Mehmed to present himself as a universal king and heir to the Roman emperors. The lack of any similar buildings in its wake meant that its message and origin were eventually forgotten. Ottoman architecture would not utilize European and Byzantine models so prominently again until the mid-eighteenth century, by which time the Conqueror's Pavilion could itself be counted as a source of "antique" inspiration: the fluting around the bells of its column capitals may well have been the source for the analogous decoration found on many Ottoman Baroque capitals.[74]

In his description of the portico, the English traveler Aaron Hill (d. 1750), who was in Istanbul between 1700 and 1702, tells us that six of its columns "the *Turks*



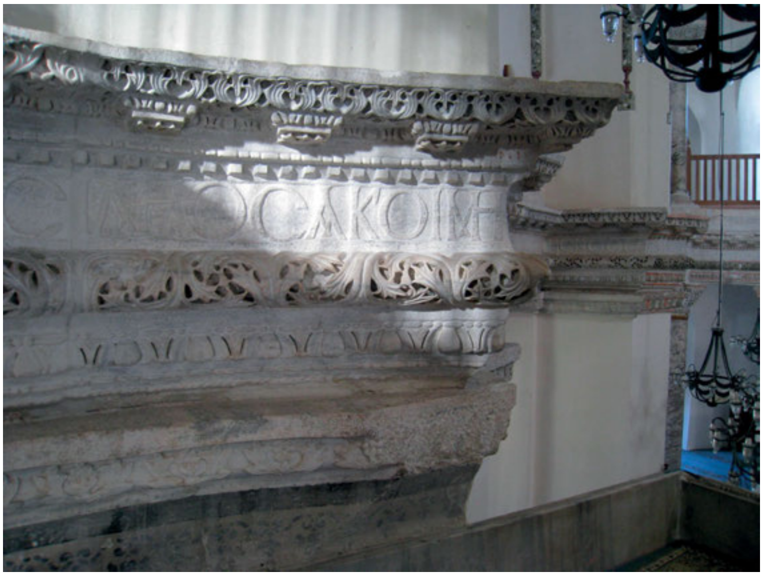


FIG. 177. Hagia Sophia, interior, porphyry columns of the southeast exedra. (iStock.com / © ca2hill.)

FIG. 178. Küçük Ayasofya Mosque, formerly the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Istanbul, 527–36 with later Ottoman additions, marble architrave.

report to have been brought from *Troy* to *Constantinople*, when 'twas yet *Byzantium*."[75] The reference here to Troy is notable in light of the widespread fifteenth- and sixteenth-century belief in the Turks' descent from the Trojans. This notion was popular among the Ottomans' Western allies and sympathizers, who wished to bring the Turks into the European fold, but it also seems to have gained ground within the empire itself. Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek biographer, Kritovoulos (d. ca. 1470), portrays the sultan as a Philhellene who regarded the Trojans as a fellow Asiatic people whose mistreatment by the Greeks he was avenging.[76] Mehmed himself adopted the style "Caesar of Rome" (*Ḳayṣer-i Rūm*) following his conquest of Constantinople, capital of what was still the Eastern Roman Empire, and he had real plans to take Old Rome, too.[77]

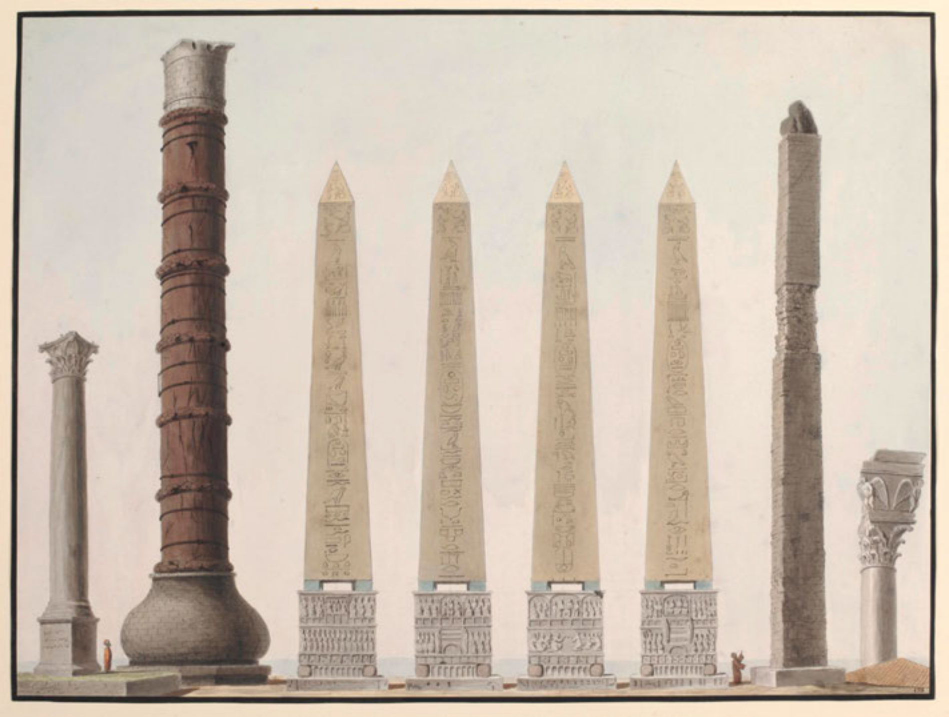


FIG. 179. Views of Istanbul's ancient columns and obelisks, by an anonymous Ottoman-Greek artist, Istanbul, ca. 1809. Water- and bodycolor on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

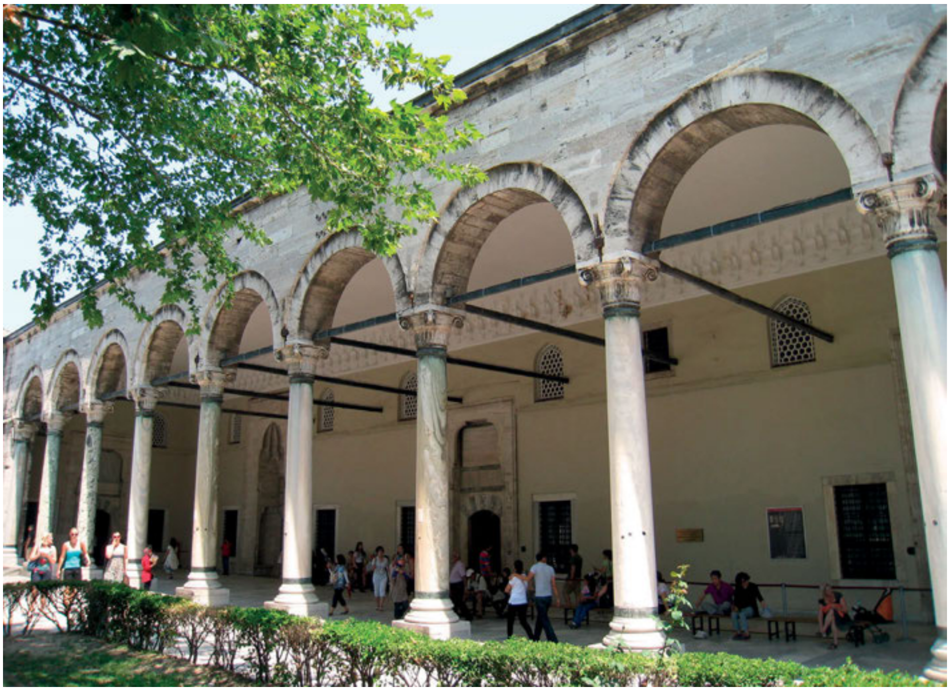


FIG. 180. Topkapı Palace, portico of the Conqueror's Pavilion (treasury-bathhouse of Mehmed II), ca. 1460.

While Constantinople—Ottomanized as Ḳosṭanṭiniyye—continued as the city's official name until the end of the empire, the title of Caesar was not maintained beyond Süleyman the Magnificent, and the identification of the Turks with the Trojans lost currency after the Renaissance.[78] Nevertheless, the idea that the Ottomans had a legitimate place in the civilizational framework of Europe did not disappear, and may in fact have experienced a revival in the more diplomatic climate of the eighteenth century. Providing evidence to this effect is a short treatise written in 1741 by the French renegade the Comte de Bonneval, who, under the name Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha, served Mahmud I as a military adviser. Known from a French copy in Paris, the treatise discusses the political landscape of Europe and was composed, Bonneval tells us, in response to questions posed by the sultan himself, to whom an Ottoman translation was presumably presented.[79] Much of the text is, unsurprisingly, devoted to the age-old alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire, which are together extolled as Europe's preeminent states. Less predictable is Bonneval's assertion that the supremacy of the two polities rests on their being the only true heirs to Rome. Constantinople, he writes, is the same city "where today reign in glory the invincible Emperors of the Ottoman race, legitimate successors of all the grandeur of Rome, of the Caesars and Constantines, by the right of arms, the same right that had established all the majesty and power of the Roman Republic." He goes on to say that the sultan's "august predecessors—successors of the Eastern Emperors and followers of their example—have always recognized the Emperors of France as the Western Emperors," a distinction supposedly earned through their descent from Charlemagne.[80]

Bonneval's vindication of the Ottomans as a people with a valid claim to a Roman—and hence European—heritage probably reflects a broader view held by those who looked favorably on the empire. The English naturalist Edward Daniel Clarke (d. 1822), who traveled to Istanbul in 1800, saw in the city a living relic of antiquity:

> The literary traveller, visiting Constantinople, expects to behold but faint vestiges of the imperial city, and believes that he shall find little to remind him of "the everlasting foundations" of the master of the Roman world. The opinion, however, may be as erroneous as that upon which it was founded. . . . [T]he plain matter of fact may prove, that in the obscure and dirty lanes of Constantinople; in its small and unglazed shops; in the style of architecture observed in the dwellings; in the long covered walks, now serving as bazars; in the loose flowing habits with long sleeves, worn by the natives; even in the practice of concealing the features of the women; and, above all, in the remarkable ceremonies and observances of the public baths; we behold those customs and appearances which characterized the cities of the Greeks.[81]

A subtler equation between the Ottomans and ancients is posited in the work of another naturalist of the time, the German physician Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (d. 1840). In a short book of biological theories published in 1790, Blumenbach divides the nations of the world into five categories, each illustrated with an etching; the title-page image, which pertains to the "more or less white" Caucasian race, shows two lovers in Turkish costume reclining on a sofa and attended by a maidservant (fig. 181). As David Bindman has noted, "it is interesting that . . . such an exotic scene should be taken as representative of Europe, rather than a scene of Western European life or an evocation of the Greek ideal."[82] The European credentials of the Ottomans must have been widely enough accepted for such an image to pass muster.

The Ottomans for their part may also have revisited notions of their "Classical" lineage during the eighteenth century. Bonneval was writing, after all, as a member of the court, and though he frames his work as an answer to Mahmud's queries, he is

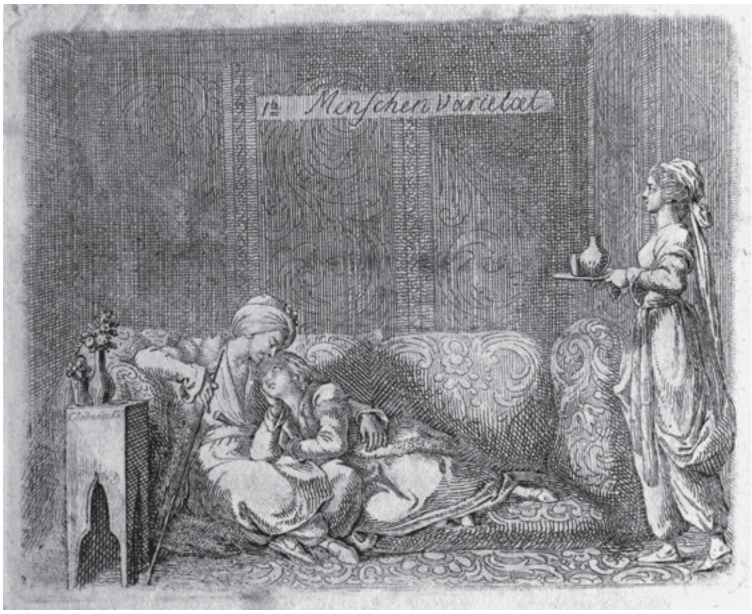


FIG. 181. Scene of figures in Eastern dress representing the "white" race. By Daniel Chodowiecki, title-page illustration from Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte* (Göttingen: J. C. Dieterich, 1806, originally published 1790). Etching on paper.

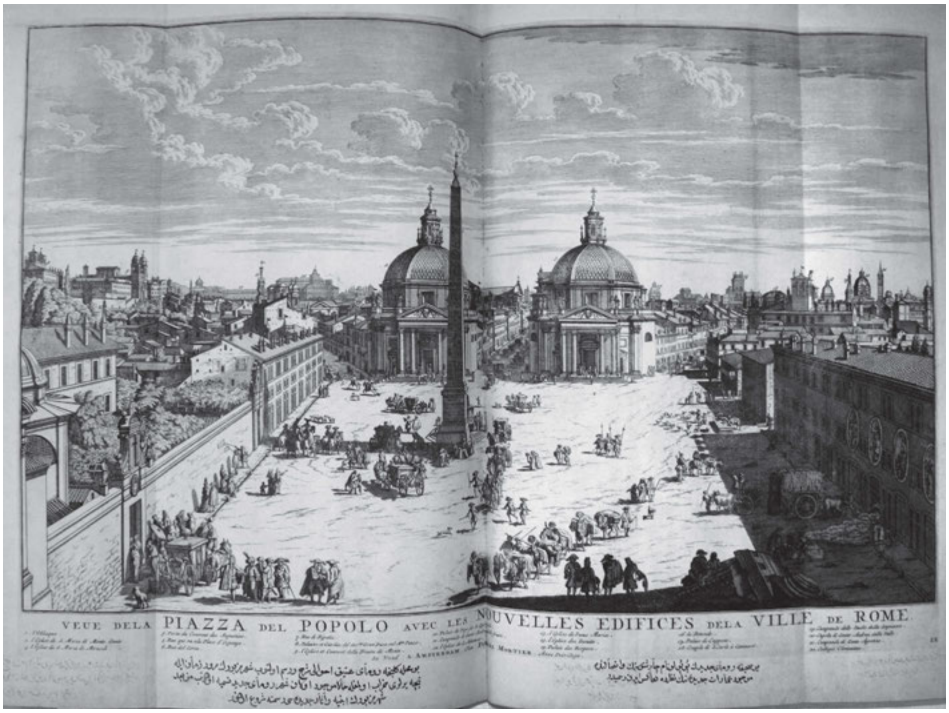

VEUE DELA PIAZZA DEL POPOLO AVEC LES NOUVELLES EDIFICES DELA VILLE DE ROME

FIG. 182. View of the Piazza del Popolo, Rome, with Ottoman inscriptions describing the image. From Joan Blaeu, *Nouveau théâtre d'Italie, ou description exacte de ses villes, palais, églises, &c.* (Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1704). Engraving on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul.

likely to have said what he knew his patron wished to hear. That he penned the treatise just as the Ottoman Baroque was beginning to flourish perhaps indicates that he was amplifying ideas that were already circulating in elite quarters. Further clues to such a climate are offered by another Western-authored work consumed by high-ranking Ottomans: the *Nouveau théâtre d'Italie*, a four-volume survey of the cities and monuments of Italy written by Joan Blaeu (d. 1673) and published in French translation in 1704.[83] A copy of this lavishly illustrated book is housed in the Topkapı Palace Library and, like other European materials there, contains Turkish annotations clarifying its content (fig. 182). Longer commentaries are inscribed on the volumes' opening pages, and these are accompanied by dated signatures that reveal them to have been written in 1732–33 by none other than İbrahim Müteferrika, the famous Hungarian-born founder of the Ottoman printing press.[84] His note at the start of the work's fourth volume, which covers Rome, explains that the city was known in the vernacular as the "Red Apple" (*Ḳızıl Elma*), and though İbrahim does not say so, this is the same name that Mehmed the Conqueror had used as a metaphor for his desire to take the city.[85] The reference to this ancient symbolic sobriquet shows that the notion of Rome as the unconquered counterpart to Constantinople had survived into the eighteenth century. With it would have come an awareness of the two capitals' common heritage.

Later in the same note, İbrahim explains that "the royal palaces, ancient works, eminent pavilions, curious theaters, and other wonderful buildings and esteemed things present in that city have been depicted and described so as to provide the proud eyes of the low and high with a pleasing spectacle and agreeable pastime."[86] Any Ottoman undertaking this visual tour would have been struck by how much seemed familiar: domed places of worship, public squares and hippodromes dotted with commemorative columns, princely cavalcades through the city's streets (see fig. 182)—all of these sights had their equivalents in Ottoman Istanbul, their resemblance often the result of a genuinely shared pedigree. Even before the advent of the Ottoman Baroque, when İbrahim Müteferrika wrote his commentaries, the overlaps between the two cities would have been palpable; once the new style had taken hold, the similarity would have appeared all the more pronounced. The vigorous Ottoman interest in Old Rome that the Topkapı *Nouveau théâtre* spells out finds its complement in the reemergence of Constantinopolitan motifs in the period's architecture. Whether men of letters or master builders, eighteenth-century Ottomans were primed by their Byzantine inheritance to see the Baroque as something assimilable to, and perhaps even anticipated by, the deep-seated traditions that rendered their capital the other side of the West's post-Classical coin.[87]

UNWRITTEN DISCOURSES: THEORIES OF ARCHITECTURE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

The recognition of Istanbul's Classical legacy was, as we have seen, not limited to Ottoman viewers. Western travelers to the city were fully cognizant of the links between ancient and Byzantine architecture, even if they often regarded the latter as a debasement of the true Classical mode. John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich (d. 1792), who traveled East in the late 1730s, voices a typical judgment when he writes that the Hagia Sophia's "fabric is entirely Gothic, yet in that stile of building may be esteemed a master-piece of architecture."[88] What Sandwich means by "Gothic" is the busyness and disorder that many Westerners accused the Byzantines of introducing into the Greek manner. A less positive opinion in the same vein was expressed later in the century by the British military captain David Sutherland, whose travelogue states that "in comparison of other works of the ancients, the design [of the Hagia Sophia] becomes poor and inelegant. The capitals are by no means chaste, and the architecture throughout is very indifferently executed."[89]

When it came to the city's Ottoman monuments, those who prized the Classical standard could be still harsher in their critiques. The French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (d. 1708), who visited Istanbul in 1701, bluntly writes that "the *Turks* have hardly any Notion of Magnificence, and follow no one Rule of good Architecture," a deficiency he blames on their opposition to figural art, whereby they "are never the better for those Antiquities they have up and down among 'em." Like other Westerners, Tournefort was particularly unappreciative of Ottoman palatial architecture, which he regarded as bearing all the marks of Oriental haphazardness: "By the *Turkish* Pavilions . . . a Man may easily perceive he is moving from *Italy*, and approaching towards *Persia*, nay *China* itself."[90] Yet even he cannot help but express admiration for the imperial mosques, and indeed, the European commonplace that these buildings all copied the Hagia Sophia necessarily entailed an admission—sometimes begrudging—that the Ottomans were in their own way perpetuating the art of antiquity. Tournefort thus concedes that "if [the Turks] have made fine Mosques, it is because they had a fine Model before their Eyes, the Church of *St. Sophia*; a Model, which indeed is not to be followed in the Erection of Palaces."[91] Others attributed the continuity to the ethnicity of the architects themselves, as when Pertusier writes that the typically Ottoman "mixture of the Gothic style with the less degraded architecture of the Late [Roman] Empire" was to be imputed to the Greeks, "for they are the ones who gave the Turks this way of altering forms. Moreover, the erection of all the sacred buildings of which the Ottoman capital can boast is due to this nation."[92]

Although, contrary to these appraisals, Istanbul's mosques were no mere clones of the Hagia Sophia, their indebtedness to it and other Byzantine monuments was real enough, and it is not surprising that European travelers—whose own places of worship likewise drew on ancient domed prototypes—often found the mosques to be more to their taste than other categories of Ottoman building.[93] The mosques' legibility predisposed Westerners to admire them and interpret their details in familiar terms, sometimes in preference to actual antique architecture. Even Tournefort grants that the Süleymaniye's "Outside outdoes *St. Sophia:* its Windows are larger and better disposed, its Galleries more regular and stately."[94] And Lady Mary, recounting her visit to the Selimiye in Edirne, deems the mosque "the noblest building [she] ever saw," calling its architecture "very regular" and remarking on the "Marble pillars of the Ionic order" that form the courtyard porticoes.[95] These capitals are in fact of the traditional muqarnas type, but the overall impression was recognizable enough to Lady Mary that she could translate the edifice in her mind's eye.

The ability of the mosques to answer European notions of architectural order only increased with the stylistic changes of the eighteenth century. While Lady Mary reimagined the Selimiye through her own cultural lens, Pertusier is on surer ground when, as quoted earlier, he describes the columns of the Laleli as Ionic (see fig. 161). The revived imperial mosques of this period took what was already a widely intelligible model and made it still broader in appeal, adding Baroque and other Classically inspired details to a structural core that in any case shared much with its Western counterparts. My argument is not that the mosques were designed to pander to European expectations, but that their existing relationship to post-Roman architecture rendered them ideal loci for the convergence of Eastern and Western aesthetic standards, regardless of whether Ottoman patrons and architects acted on this potential deliberately.

The point is exemplified by the reactions to the Nuruosmaniye's single-domed space, which were discussed in the previous chapter. The repeated praise that Ottoman and European observers expressed for the mosque's uninterrupted and unified interior should be seen in the context of eighteenth-century architectural theories commending such arrangements. Montesquieu's (d. 1755) unfinished though well-known essay on taste, published in 1757, contrasts the discordance of a "Gothic" structure, in whose "various parts and ornaments the mind perceives . . . perplexity and confusion," with the harmony of a "Grecian" one, "whose divisions are few, but grand and noble."[96] Such ideas were widespread among European artists and theorists of the time, and Montesquieu's formulations proved particularly influential to the French architect Julien-David Le Roy, who not only toured the Ottoman Empire to see firsthand its ancient remains but also observed with approbation the raising of the Nuruosmaniye's dome.[97] A few years later, the French cleric and philosophe André Morellet (d. 1819) traveled to Rome and recorded his experience of St. Peter's Basilica, noting, "I have heard some artists and metaphysicians argue that it is a defect in this admirable monument that it does not produce its impression all at once, or make its grandeur felt in the first instant."[98] Morellet himself disagreed with this criticism, but the prevailing view into the nineteenth century was that well-designed buildings revealed themselves immediately.[99] It should be remembered that Hobhouse, writing after 1810, considered the Nuruosmaniye's undivided space—"the graces of which the eye at one glance can comprehend"—key to its status "as a decisive proof that the taste of the Turks is at least equal to that of the Greeks in the latter periods of their empire."[100]

There was no equivalent textual discourse on the Ottoman side, where written aesthetic theorization was in any case extremely rare, though Ahmed Efendi's praise of the Nuruosmaniye's unencumbered plan does offer a parallel sentiment. Such similarities of attitude need not, of course, be explained with reference to Western concepts: integrated spaces had been a goal in Ottoman mosque architecture since the fifteenth century,[101] so that the later insistence on the single-dome paradigm might be considered the fulfillment of a long-standing trait. Nevertheless, the affinity between Ottoman practice and European theory in the eighteenth century is striking, and again raises the possibility of the kinds of discursive correlations that I have already proposed with regard to antiquity. For just as the Ottomans could counterpoise the West's much-vaunted Classicism, they very likely possessed their own theories of architecture, even if these did not find their way onto the written page. Such theorization would no doubt have been rooted in local tradition, but it would also have been in dialogue with relevant Western ideas. Gülru Necipoğlu has demonstrated that correspondences already existed between Ottoman and European architecture during the Renaissance, a phenomenon that she attributes to the Mediterranean's shared architectural heritage and the Ottomans' acquaintance with Western artistic discourses. This acquaintance, she argues, fed into the Ottomans' own aesthetic notions, which "were not articulated in treatises because the transmission of professional knowledge remained largely confined to workshop training."[102] In late years also, the absence of written treatises should not be taken to mean an absence of theoretical thinking, whose main means of communication probably remained verbal. There is every reason to suppose that eighteenth-century Ottoman architects and patrons conceptualized their buildings with the same keenness as their Western peers, and that their engagement with foreign models was intellectually undergirded rather than the result of mere exposure. The Ottoman Baroque is itself a testament to how fruitfully their awareness of European canons intersected with their own highly sophisticated approach.

Notwithstanding the dearth of written codification, one artist at least has left us a precious record of the Ottomans' capacity for reflecting on their architectural traditions. The artist in question was an anonymous Greek painter commissioned by the British diplomat Stratford Canning (d. 1880) in about 1809 to produce a series of images showing Istanbul and its inhabitants.[103] Executed in water- and bodycolor on paper, the paintings are in the naturalistic style associated with Greek and Armenian court painters who had begun assimilating European pictorial techniques in the mid-eighteenth century. A number of the sheets deal with architecture, and the most remarkable of these depicts a medley of differently scaled building elements that include a lineup of four Ottoman column types, next to which stands a stonemason whose costume identifies him as a dhimmi (fig. 183). Displayed head-on with their shafts edited out of view, the columns are depicted in a manner familiar from Western treatise illustrations of the Classical orders, but their designs are distinctly local: the first, on the far left, is of the old muqarnas type, while the remaining three are Ottoman Baroque, starting with the ubiquitous scroll capital. The coopting of a European analytical format to explicate Ottoman column varieties was an ingenious move on the part of the Greek artist, who thus catered to Canning's frame of reference even as he subverted it. The resultant classification—which predates by over half a century the more famous taxonomy of Ottoman architectural orders devised for the 1873 Vienna World's Fair[104]—boldly refutes the notion of a European monopoly on aesthetic rationalism. We see from the painting not only that Ottoman artists thought diachronically about their visual culture (the sequence begins with the outmoded muqarnas capital), but also that they considered their architecture just as systematizable as the West's treasured Classical prototypes.

Our best documents in this regard are the buildings themselves, which are both lucid and methodical in their articulation. Much has been done to demonstrate the underlying logic of classical Ottoman architecture,[105] but scholars of all persuasions have tended to regard eighteenth-century monuments as lacking such codification. A closer look, however, tells us otherwise, especially when we consider the Ottoman Baroque's maturation during Mustafa's reign. To take the Laleli as an example, the use of various column types across the complex reveals a meaningful modulation from area to area. One can speak of a "standard" column employed for the mosque's street-facing ancillaries, namely the tomb and sebil: this has a characteristic scroll capital, with foliate corner reliefs that are carved close against the echinus and curl rather than truly scroll (see fig. 166). A monumentalized version occurs in the mosque's courtyard, where the much taller columns have capitals whose corner decorations have become plastic elements in their own right, each resembling a triangular scrolled corbel with leafy frills (see fig. 161); it is not surprising that Pertusier read these as a variant of the Ionic.

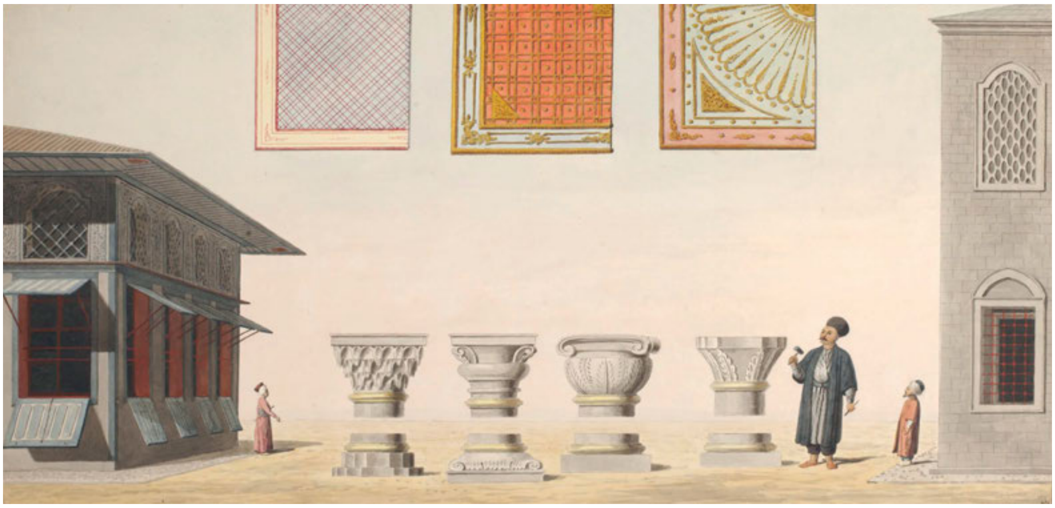


FIG. 183. Views of column capitals and other architectural details, by an anonymous Ottoman-Greek artist, Istanbul, ca. 1809. Water- and bodycolor on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Meanwhile, the interior and exterior galleries of the prayer hall feature a smaller though more elaborate kind of capital, with delicate acanthus corner scrolls growing out of a simplified egg-and-dart echinus that sits on a fluted neck (see figs. 157, 163). An almost identical design is used for the columns flanking the mihrab, except that corner scrolls issue directly from the necking and are each studded with a jewel-like oval, making these the fanciest of all the Laleli's columns (see fig. 164). This decorative gradation, which matches the complex's spatial and functional hierarchy, is evidently the result of careful planning.

We see the same thought-out approach from the plainest columns of the Laleli, which appear in two very different settings. The first is the public kitchen facing the mosque's courtyard; this has simple square columns of limestone with block-like capitals, as befits the most utilitarian part of the complex. The second context is the royal pavilion, which, despite its embellished entrance, employs simple square columns with unornamented Tuscan-like capitals all along its ramp (see fig. 159). In this case, the plain design is a show of modesty, minimizing the visual challenge that the ramp—a secular encroachment on the mosque proper—presents to the adjacent prayer hall. Unlike the rudimentary stone pillars of the imaret, these columns are handsomely crafted pieces of marble, rendering the sultan's private passageway simultaneously deferential and dignified.

Such systematic variation in form and ornament occurs throughout the Ottoman Baroque, once more militating against the idea that the style lacked gravitas or semiotic legibility. To be sure, we do not find the level of standardization that characterized (at least in theory) the use of the Classical orders in Europe, but this is clearly not what the architecture is aiming for. Variety itself emerged as a prized quality in the Ottoman Baroque, for unlike earlier Ottoman buildings that echoed the Classical ideal in their reliance on a set number of forms, those of the eighteenth century revel in a diverse decorative repertoire that could be endlessly manipulated to produce new and sometimes one-off experiments. The later monuments are no less logical for departing from a more strictly defined model, and there are enough correlations among them to indicate that certain governing principles remained at play. Thus while the prestigious qibla wall often features the choicest ornamental touches within a mosque, the most uniformly exuberant part of any given complex is usually the sebil, the Laleli's being a splendid case in point (see fig. 166). The avoidance of similar liveliness in the mosque itself aptly distinguishes the prayer hall as a sober space, and it also allows the far smaller sebil—a busy social hub on the precinct exterior—to shine on its own terms. The contrast between the mosque's stateliness and the fountain's eye-catching ornamentality therefore works to the mutual advantage of both structures. Other manifestations of eighteenth-century architectural decorum include the almost exclusively sultanic use of the dentil molding, and the preference in early Baroque madrasas for fluted or reeded column capitals (see figs. 79, 87).[106] Many more patterns of this kind remain to be deduced, but even these few examples show that the Ottoman Baroque was far from haphazard in plan or execution. Although architects and patrons may not have discussed aesthetic matters in treatises, the buildings for which they were responsible record a developed and conceptually robust visual culture whose discourses could, it seems, flourish without being written down.

THE LOOK OF TRADITION: THE REBUILT FATİH MOSQUE

Of the mosques built by Mustafa, the one that most compellingly betokens the aesthetic consciousness of the Ottoman Baroque is, paradoxically, that which has the least to do with the style: the new Fatih Mosque (figs. 184, 185).[107] Mehmed the Conqueror's original foundation had been built between 1460 and 1463 as Istanbul's first imperial mosque complex, occupying the city's highest hill. Designed by the convert architect Atik Sinan, the mosque and its ancillaries ushered in an unprecedented sense of monumentality and regularity in Ottoman religious architecture. The mosque itself consisted of a courtyard, a pair of minarets, and a prayer hall whose main area was covered by a large dome flanked on its qibla side by a semidome of equal diameter. This distinctive vaulting scheme—a response to the recently acquired Hagia Sophia—is rarely encountered in other Ottoman mosques, which prefer to use the semidome in pairs or fours.[108]

In 1766, a great earthquake struck Istanbul and damaged many of its buildings, most notably the Fatih Mosque, whose dome collapsed.[109] Mustafa had little choice but to rebuild the irreparable prayer hall, and though, as we saw, he supposedly grumbled at having to do his ancestor's bidding, the result reflected equally well on him. Indeed, by the time the mosque was completed in 1771, when the empire was once again at war with Russia, Mustafa must have been glad of such a tangible connection to his victorious forebear. Şemʿdanizade, for one, certainly viewed the project as adding luster to Mustafa's own reputation:

> Truly, there has never before been a body of good works comparable to what this glorious emperor has achieved, for this oeuvre—already comprising exalted and beautiful mosques on both continents, in Ayazma in Üsküdar and Laleli in Istanbul—became still more eminent with the renewal and completion of this mosque, which, as well as being the mosque constructed by his illustrious ancestor, is an unequaled building full of arts and marvels [*ṣanāyiʿ ü bedāyiʿ*].[110]

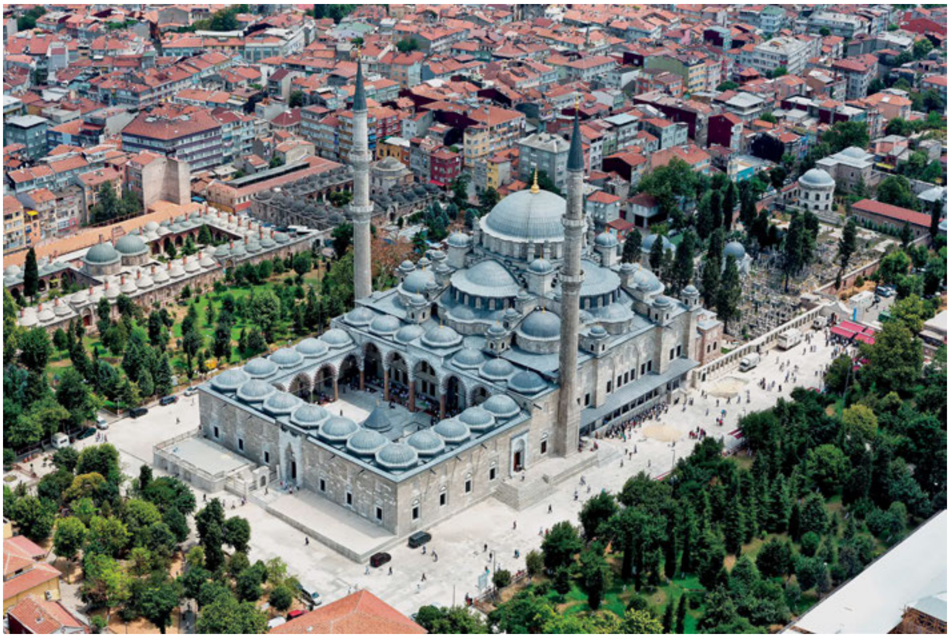


FIG. 184. Fatih Complex, Istanbul, 1463–70, prayer hall rebuilt 1767–71. (© Mehmet Cetin / Shutterstock.com.)

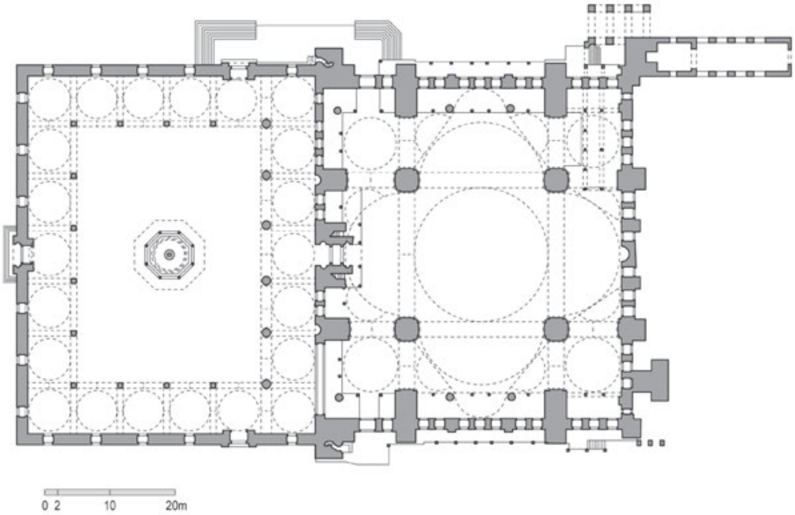


FIG. 185. Fatih Mosque, plan.

Şemʿdanizade does not elaborate on what made the architecture so admirable, but undoubtedly the most striking quality of the rebuilt mosque would have been how far it diverged from the tastes of its own time. Designed in a thoroughly archaizing manner with pointed arches, geometric lines, and little surface plasticity, the building might easily be mistaken for a work of the (Ottoman) classical period (fig. 186). The choice of style was partly determined by the need to harmonize with the mosque's fifteenth-century porticoed courtyard, which, together with the prayer hall's marble entrance, survived the earthquake intact. But the main reason for this historicism was surely that audiences and builders—sensitive to the connotations of the different kinds of architecture around them—understood that a more current style could not evoke the required air of venerability. Despite, and also because of, its position as the prestige mode of the day, the Baroque was plainly unsuited to a monument so mythically embedded in the conquest.

Yet the new mosque does not simply reproduce the design of its predecessor; on the contrary, it follows an entirely different arrangement in which the central dome is surrounded by semidomes on all four sides, with smaller cupolas filling the corners (see figs. 184, 185). This so-called quatrefoil plan was first monumentalized by Sinan's Şehzade Mosque in 1548, after which it was taken up in the seventeenth century by the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and Yeni Cami (see figs. 90, 92).[111] The use of the plan for the new Fatih Mosque entailed an implicit criticism of the original's rather ungainly design, whose asymmetrical use of a single semidome did not accord with subsequent aesthetic standards. If the new mosque needed to look old, it also had to look graceful, and this criterion was unlikely to be met by emulating the still-formative architecture of the early period. The balance of age and elegance was instead sought in Sinan's influential sixteenth-century idiom, whose ties with the empire's heyday made it appropriate—if anachronistically so—to Mehmed's memory. Far from being miscalculated, the version of archaism chosen for the mosque resulted from close and judicious consideration of the available possibilities.

The success of this strategy is borne out by the readiness with which observers accepted the conceit. Inchichean writes that the mosque was rebuilt in a form that was somewhat different from and more beautiful than the original, pointing out its similarity to the Yeni Cami. His contemporary Carbognano, however, tells us that the second version of the mosque was "said not to be much different from the first," which shows that as collective memory of the earlier monument faded, Mustafa's replacement was increasingly taken at face value.[112] Writing of the mosque only a few years later, Hovhannisian did not even mention its reconstruction, and most Western accounts accept the monument as the original.[113] It was, in fact, something of an academic breakthrough when Mehmet Aga-Oglu proved in the 1920s that the present mosque did not resemble the first.[114]

While viewers had good reason to be fooled, the mosque is not without some telltale indications of its modernity. The four domed turrets that externally emerge from the piers of the central dome are square with curved vertical edges, their contours accentuated by a prominent cornice (see fig. 186). This chamfered design is a deliberate departure from the circular or hexagonal turrets of earlier mosques, introducing a subtle Baroque note that acts as the rebuilders' signature: like a painting restoration whose differentiated texture intentionally belies its own authenticity, the monument rewards more astute observers by revealing its true age. The building's date becomes more apparent if we move to the east corner, where a large and handsome royal pavilion joins the sultan's prayer loge (fig. 187).[115] With no equivalent before the 1600s, this pavilion is an obvious post-classical marker, as confirmed by its round arches and curving Baroque cornice. And yet the structure distinguishes itself from more recent pavilions by harking back to seventeenth-century models, its ramp playing second fiddle to an elevated suite of rooms that appears stuck onto the prayer hall as an afterthought. A more remarkable nod to history is to be found on the arcade that forms the pavilion's ramp. The chamfered rectangular piers carrying its arches are carved with triangular darts above their bases and boss-like corbels near their tops. These little geometric ornaments are lifted straight from the classical Ottoman repertoire: they can be seen on the fifteenth-century muqarnas capitals of the mosque's courtyard (figs. 188, 189).

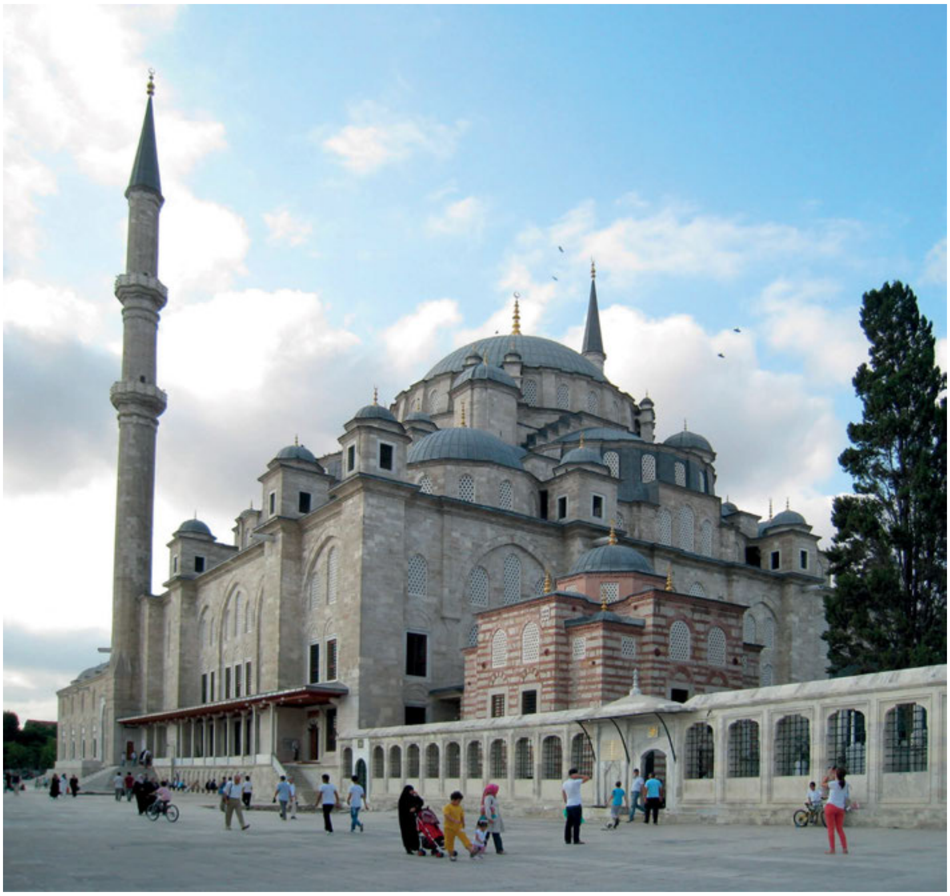


FIG. 186. Fatih Mosque, exterior from the south, with the Library of Mahmud I and the fountain of Nişancı Ahmed Pasha in front.

The inclusion of such old-fashioned touches in the otherwise modern ramp reverses the terms of what we saw around the prayer-hall dome, so that mosque and pavilion are cleverly reconciled through their inverse relationship to each other.

Close to the ramp and facing the mosque's qibla wall is Mehmed's domed octagonal tomb, also rebuilt by Mustafa (fig. 190). Unlike the prayer hall or pavilion, the tomb—which would undergo further changes during subsequent renovations—is thoroughly Baroque in design, though it retains the domed polygonal shape of the structure it replaced. The divergence here from the revivalism characterizing the rest of the architecture is notable, and it establishes a link to Mustafa's own smaller but analogously formed tomb at Laleli (see fig. 152). Somewhat ironically, Mehmed's mausoleum thus serves as the strongest indicator of his foundation's afterlife under Mustafa, associating the two sultans much more effectively than would have been possible through the mosque alone. The message was aimed at the constant flow of worshippers who visited the tomb to say prayers for the Conqueror, and who would surely have noticed how up-to-date the structure looked in relation to the mosque right beside it.

We encounter similar interplays of differing architectural registers within the mosque itself (fig. 191). The first impression is that of an older space, with its pointed baldachin arches and multiple semidomes. Adding to the sense of traditionalism is the muqarnas-hooded marble mihrab, which is probably reused from the original mosque, and the round piers with muqarnas capitals that carry the vaulting of the lateral and rear galleries. Unlike the mihrab, these capitals were freshly carved for the new mosque, representing a highly persuasive resurrection of a form that had fallen from use over two decades earlier. It is not long, however, before the interior reveals itself to be of later date. The classic white mihrab is accompanied by an exuberant Baroque minbar with polychrome inlays, while the muqarnas-topped piers of the galleries have engaged scroll capitals lower down on their shafts (fig. 192). Springing from these capitals are round arches that are part of a continuous arcade that supports the galleries' raised floors and incorporates rows of marble columns with their own scroll capitals. As on the building's exterior, these Baroque elements bring the mosque into the eighteenth-century fold even as they submit to the overall feel of antiquity that the architecture conjures. The stylistic dialogue also encompasses a small domed library accessible through a door at the right end of the qibla wall (fig. 193; see fig. 186).[116] Built by Mahmud I in 1742–43, the library makes a rather humble impression from the outside, where it appears dwarfed by the adjacent prayer hall, but its interior contains among the most imposing Ottoman Baroque columns to be seen, with ostentatious Corinthianizing capitals analogous to those of other royal works from the 1740s. The far simpler scroll capitals of the neighboring prayer hall are almost as different from this earlier Baroque design as they are from the traditional muqarnas type, asserting their recentness even within the new style's own limited chronology.

Besides allowing Mustafa to honor his ancestor while decorously signifying his own patronage, the new Fatih Mosque gave its makers fertile ground for engaging even more intensely in the kinds of aesthetic reflections that characterized their output in this period. Records show that these artists included many of the same figures who had worked on the very different mosques of preceding years, testifying to their knowledgeability and adaptiveness. Mehmed Tahir Agha, who was still chief architect, received a robe of honor at the lavish selamlık that marked the project's completion,

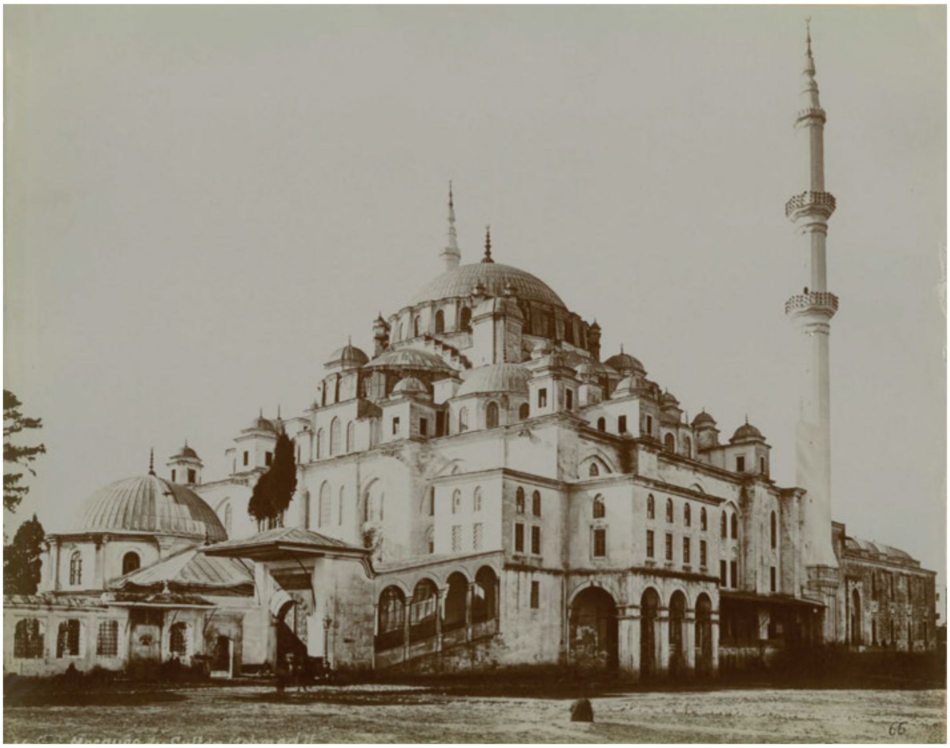
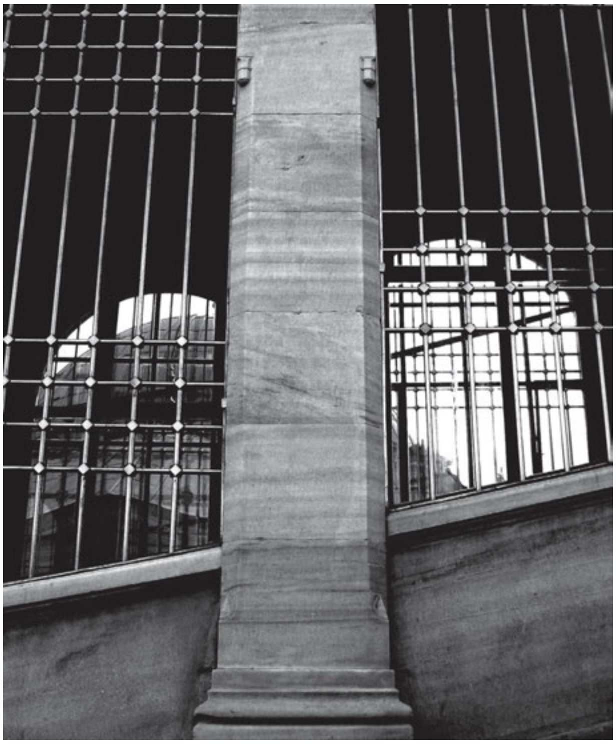
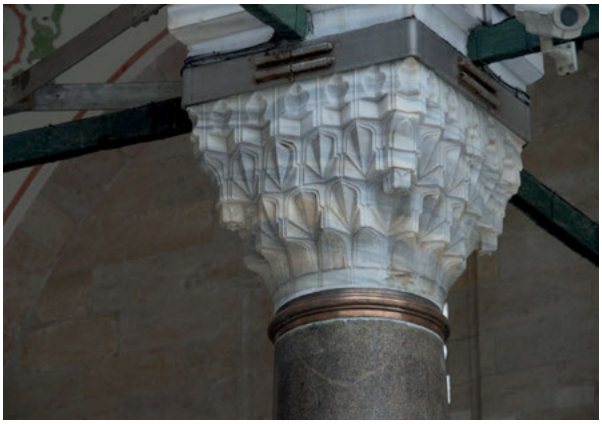


FIG. 187. Fatih Mosque, exterior from the east, with the royal pavilion in front. Photographed by Gulmez Frères, ca. 1880.





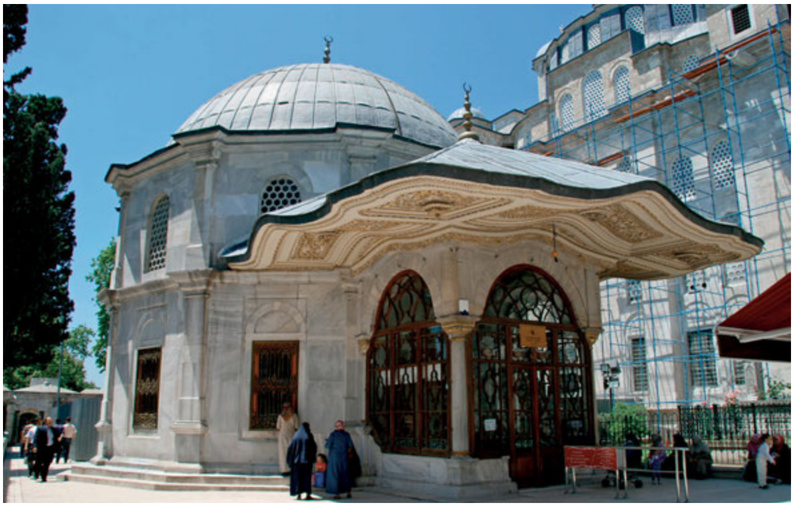


FIG. 188. (top left) Fatih Complex, royal pavilion, detail of one of the columns of the ramp.

FIG. 189. (top right) Fatih Mosque, fifteenth-century column capital in the courtyard.

FIG. 190. (bottom) Fatih Complex, tomb, rebuilt 1767–71, renovated 1784–85.

though he is listed separately from the workforce in the protocol register and may have played a principally nominal role.[117] As for those who were rewarded as members of the workforce, Kozma Kalfa again occupied an important place among the Christian contingent, which numbered fourteen out of the total forty. He was preceded, however, by a certain Yani Kalfa, whom other sources puzzlingly nickname "Blind [*Kör*] Yani." This Greek master was clearly an architect of some importance, and probably the main designer of the rebuilt Fatih Mosque: in 1789, the grand mufti, whose father had been served by Yani, wrote a petition seeking the kalfa's release from exile, referring to him as "a master builder of imperial constructions" who "even built the noble mosque of the deceased Sultan Mehmed Khan the Conqueror."[118] The appeal succeeded, and Yani was allowed to return from Chios, where he had been banished for unknown reasons.

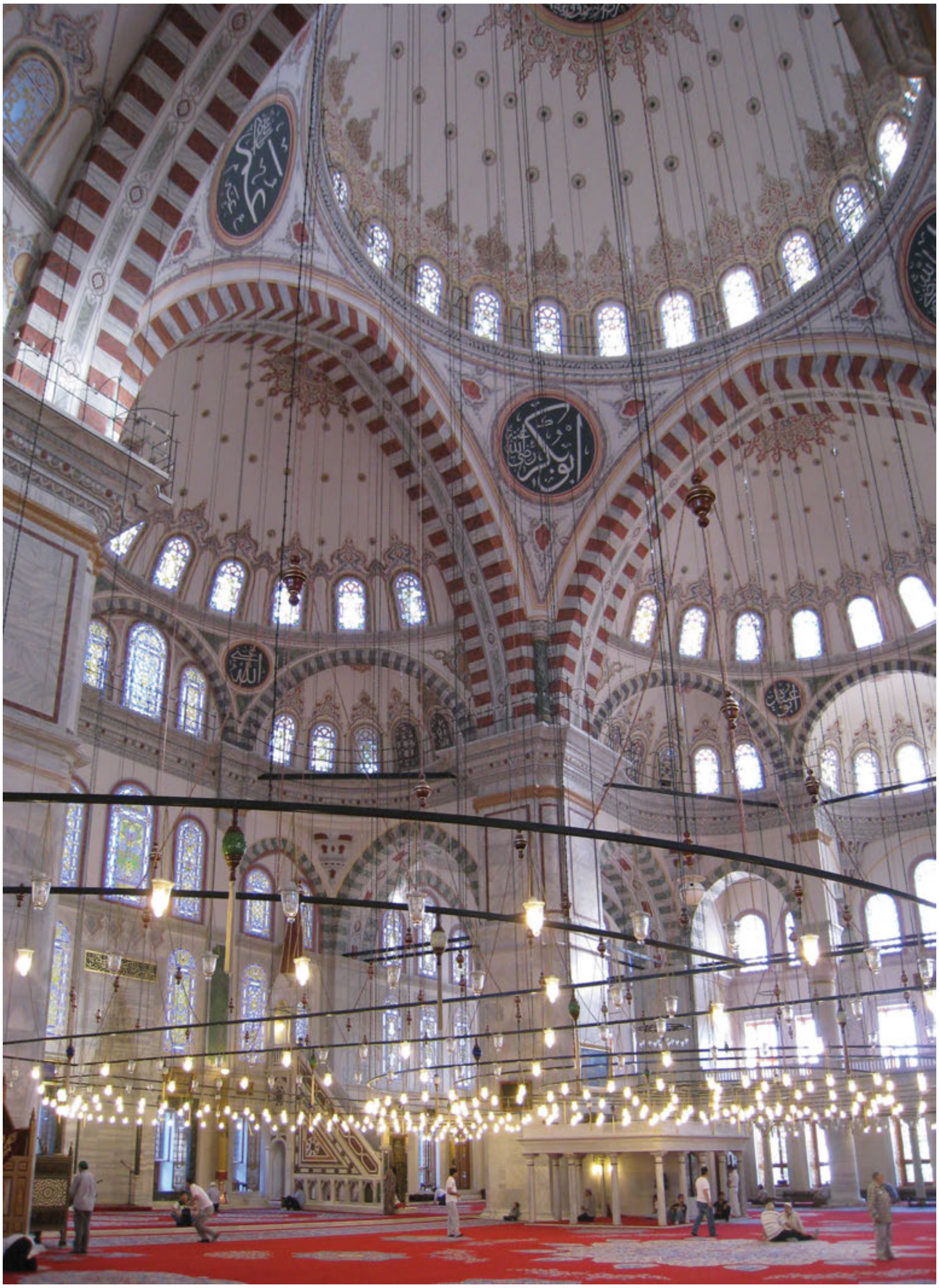
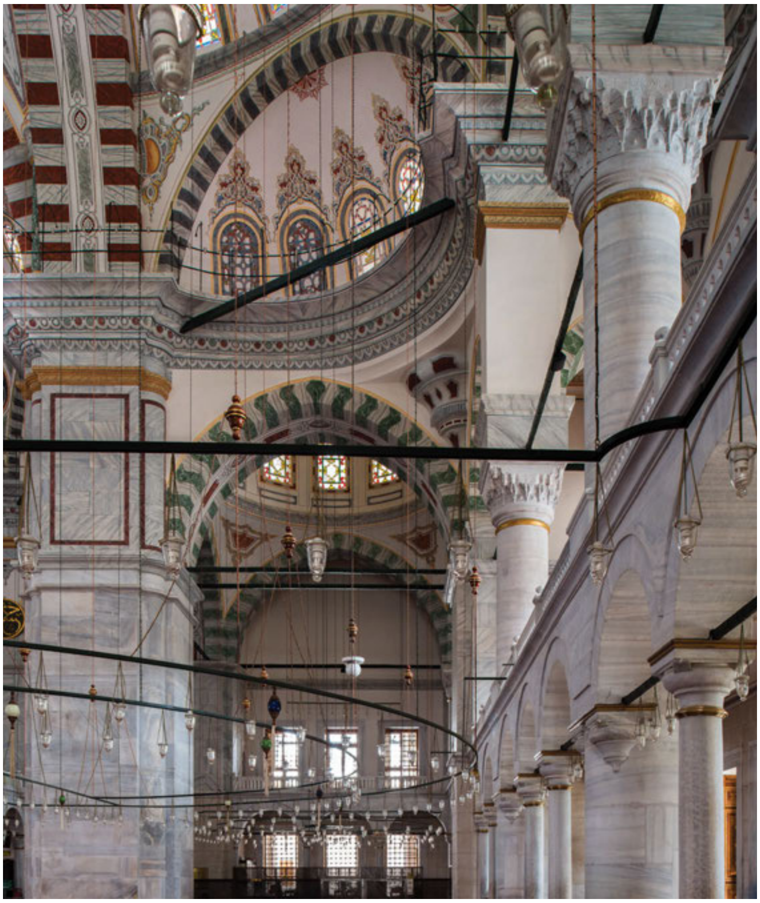


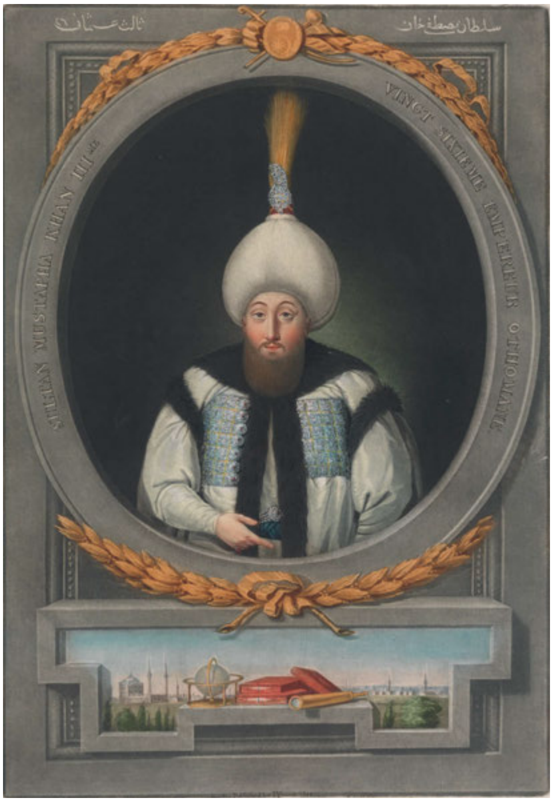
FIG. 191. Fatih Mosque, interior looking toward the south.

FIG. 192. (opposite top left) Fatih Mosque, interior, view of one of the lateral galleries showing the muqarnas capitals of the piers and the scroll capitals of the arcade.

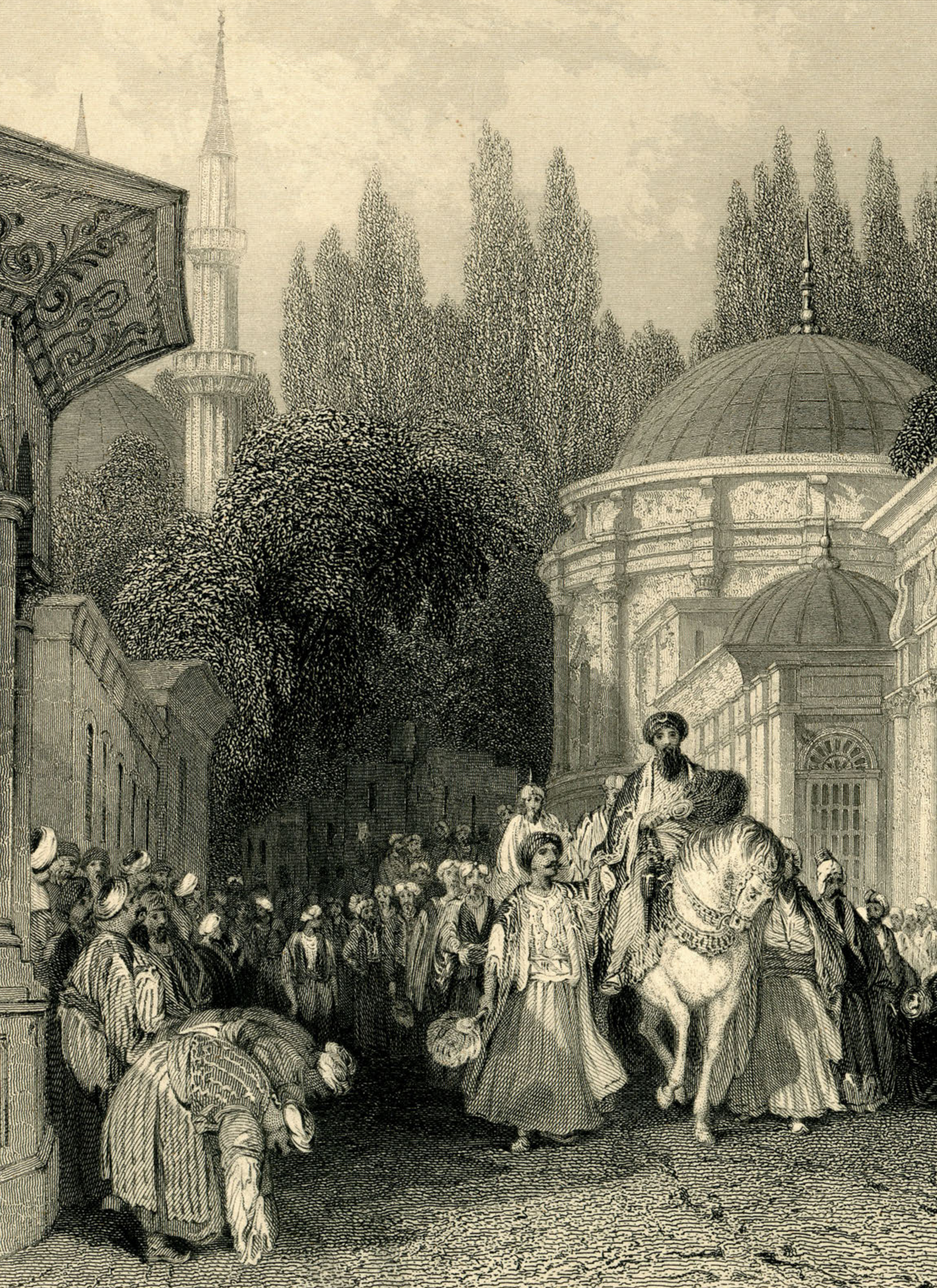
FIG. 193. (opposite top right) Fatih Complex, Library of Mahmud I, 1742–43, interior column.

FIG. 194. (opposite bottom) Portrait of Mustafa III, with a depiction of a mosque resembling the Laleli in the vignette below. By John Young after Konstantin Kapıdağlı, from Young, *A Series of Portraits of the Emperors of Turkey, from the Foundation of the Monarchy to the Year 1815* (London: William Bulmer & Co., 1815). Hand-colored mezzotint on paper.





Yani and the other artists involved in the project created a work that offers some of the best evidence of the intelligent and informed visual culture in which the Ottoman Baroque developed. Through its carefully orchestrated return to tradition, the mosque became the exception that proves the rule, affirming the new style's place relative to the modes it had eclipsed. The artists' acuity in producing such a statement was surely matched by their audience's in comprehending it, and it is likely that the sultan himself had a hand in ensuring that the mosque looked and read as it should. For as well as being the period in which the Baroque found its feet, Mustafa's reign continued to valorize imperial mosque architecture and ensured that its revival would not end with the Nuruosmaniye. His patronage was applauded for the fruits it bore, as Şemʿdanizade's assessment demonstrates, and as posthumous portraits—which show the sultan atop a mosque resembling the Laleli—memorialize (fig. 194).[119] Contrary to the saying popularly attributed to him, then, Mustafa had little reason to complain about his architectural legacy, whatever else he may have regretted about his sultanate.



CHAPTER 5

AT THE SULTAN'S THRESHOLD

THE ARCHITECTURE OF ENGAGEMENT AS NEW IMPERIAL PARADIGM

Mustafa III was succeeded upon his death in early 1774 by his younger half-brother Abdülhamid I, who was almost fifty years of age when he emerged from princely seclusion to ascend the throne. Writing of Abdülhamid's accession in a dispatch, the French ambassador to the Porte, the Comte de Saint-Priest (d. 1821), noted that the new sultan seemed to have chosen Mahmud I as his model.[1] This choice of exemplar should not surprise us. Abdülhamid had inherited an empire again at war with Russia, and he could only hope to emulate Mahmud's success in replacing conflict with a favorable peace. As matters turned out, the sultan was unable to repeat his predecessor's achievements. Peace was declared at Küçük Kaynarca six months after his accession, but on terms that lost the Ottomans control of the Crimea and the northern shore of the Black Sea. Nine years later, in the wake of a series of rebellions within the empire's provinces, Russia annexed the ostensibly independent Crimea, a move that the Ottomans, spurred by Britain and Prussia, sought to oppose by declaring war in 1787. The ensuing conflict saw the Ottomans again defeated, though not before Abdülhamid died in 1789.[2]

Despite his failure to restore Ottoman military strength, Abdülhamid fared better at following Mahmud's example in architecture. He too found distinctive ways to make his mark on the capital, endowing it with new religious monuments that were unprecedented in the degree to which they engaged with the city's environment and denizens. In the process was born a brand-new model of imperial mosque that would shape all future examples. The continued pursuit of architectural originality reminds us that Ottoman ambitions remained vital even in the face of Russian growth. Indeed, Abdülhamid's reign witnessed bold efforts to reinvigorate the state and its army, including the founding of new military and engineering schools and the reopening of the Ottoman printing press, which had fallen into abeyance in the 1740s.[3] While drawing on Western models and expertise, these endeavors—mostly spearheaded by the sultan's ministers and functionaries—represented a concerted effort on the part of the Ottomans themselves to address the shortfalls that had weakened their capacity. The attempt was not without payoff, for Ottoman forces were initially able to stave off the Habsburgs when the latter, with their largest army thus far, joined the war against the empire in 1788.[4] Even the loss of the Crimea prompted renewed assertions of universal authority: in 1779, Abdülhamid was formally invested as caliph, having already been acknowledged at Küçük Kaynarca as the religious leader of the Crimean Muslims. These developments permanently augmented the significance of the caliphate to Ottoman politics and ideology, not only within the empire, but also from the perspective of those around it.[5] The impressive buildings that Abdülhamid erected against this background likewise marked a shift in sultanic expressions of worldly and spiritual power, redefining the architectural interface between the sovereign and his people.

LINING THE STREETS, COURTING THE CITY: THE HAMİDİYE COMPLEX

Abdülhamid's eagerness to build a mosque complex surfaced early in his reign, as explained by the court chronicler Enveri (d. 1796) in an entry for the year 1775:

> Because the princely and imperial person of His Just and Munificent Majesty the Caliph and Khan was desirous from the start to cause the increase and proliferation of pious foundations, his luminous royal heart was at this time inspired to establish and build an exalted mosque and lustrous imaret for the sake of God Almighty in his sublime caliphal seat [*dārü'l-ḫilāfeti'l-ʿaliyyelerinde*], and so he immediately expressed his kingly resolve to realize this good work. But most of the selected places already had mosques and masjids, and it came to his pure mind that the noble mosque of Her Majesty the late Valide Sultan—may she rest in peace—was in need of an imaret [ʿ*imārete muḥtāc*].[6]

The mosque meant here is the Yeni Cami at Eminönü, and once the sultan decided to provide it with an imaret, a plot of land was acquired just inland of the mosque in Bahçekapı. The grand vizier and grand mufti presided over the foundation-laying ceremony, during which sacrificial meat was given to the poor.[7]

Enveri's description of the project's origins is as interesting for what it omits as for what it includes. Written after Abdülhamid had been recognized as caliph in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, the account makes much of the title and its implications for the imaret as a work for God by His earthly representative. Enveri is also adroit in explaining why the project had to be downscaled, blaming a lack of space for what the sultan had originally envisioned. While it is true that a new imperial mosque would have been difficult to fit into the walled city, the decision not to build one must have been determined equally, if not more so, by the dictates of tradition: Abdülhamid was far from enjoying the rights of a ghazi able to erect his own mosque in the capital.[8] Nevertheless, the resultant compromise was highly intelligent. As well as being one of the most important and visible mosques in the city, the Yeni Cami was among the most frequently attended by the sultans during Friday prayers. Abdülhamid, whose parents were buried in its mausoleum, held the mosque in especially high regard, even choosing it over the expected Hagia Sophia for the first selamlık of his reign.[9] By ostensibly

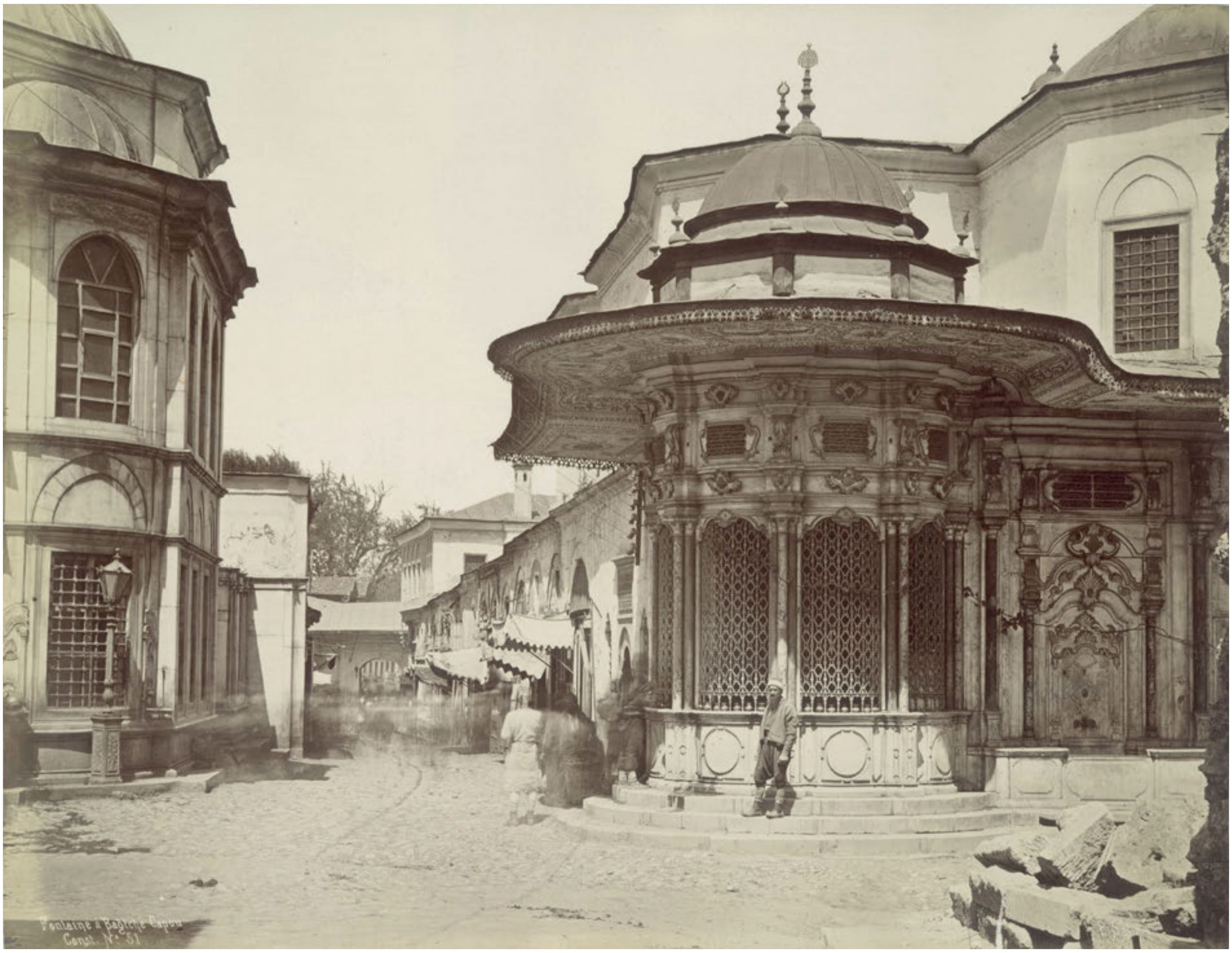


FIG. 195. Hamidiye Complex, Istanbul, 1775–80, exterior from the southeast, with the sebil, primary school, and imaret on the right of the street and the tomb and library on the left. Photographed by Pascal Sébah, ca. 1875. Albumen print.

completing its complex, the sultan was solidifying his association with the monument and assuming some of its overall glory for himself, such that Carbognano treats Abdülhamid's additions as truly belonging to the nearby mosque.[10] This resourceful act of patronage recalls not only the circumstances of the Yeni Cami itself—it had been finished by one queen mother after being begun by another—but also Mahmud I's earlier expansion of the Hagia Sophia's complex.

Making the most of the opportunity, Abdülhamid created something far more extensive than just a public kitchen (figs. 195, 196, 197). The imaret was adjoined by a sebil with a primary school (*mekteb*) on top of it, and accompanied by a madrasa, library, and tomb. A large rectangular building arranged around an open courtyard, the imaret was completed in 1777 together with the sebil-school attached to its east. The structures were much altered during the later nineteenth century before being demolished in 1911; in their place rose the Dördüncü Vakıf Han, an office building (today a hotel) designed by the architect Kemaleddin Bey (d. 1927). The sebil, however, was salvaged and moved to its current site in front of the Zeyneb Sultan Mosque, near the Sublime Porte. Completed three years after the imaret and located across the street from where it once stood, the rest of the complex has survived largely intact and, except for the tomb, is today used by the Istanbul Commodity Exchange. The madrasa, which was built around an open court that is now roofed, forms a single edifice with the library, with a small domed masjid

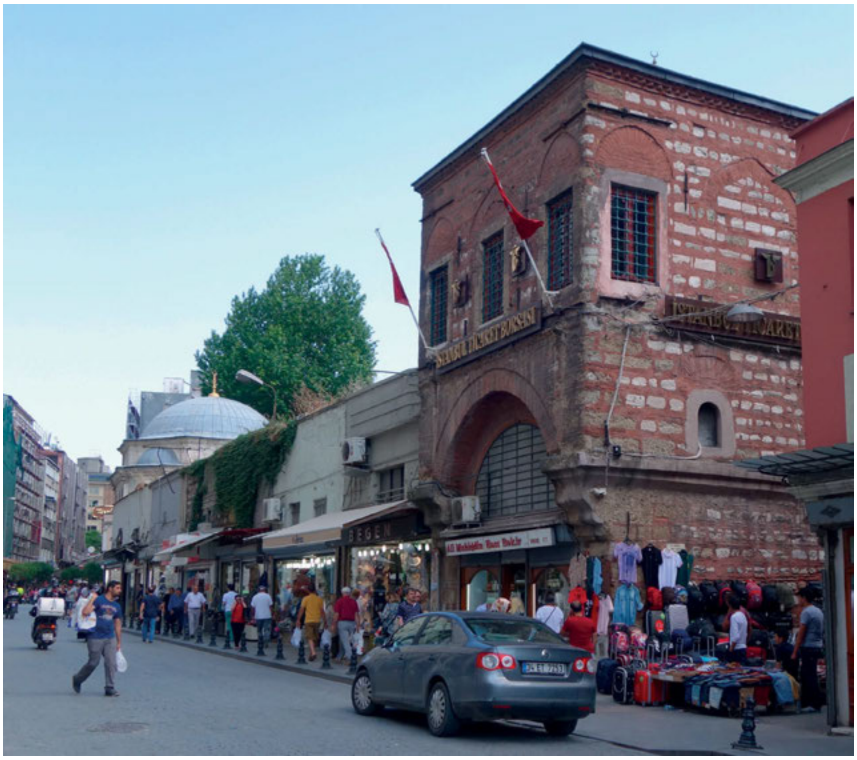


FIG. 196. Hamidiye Complex, exterior from the northwest showing (from foreground to background) the elevated library, the shops lining the madrasa, and the tomb.

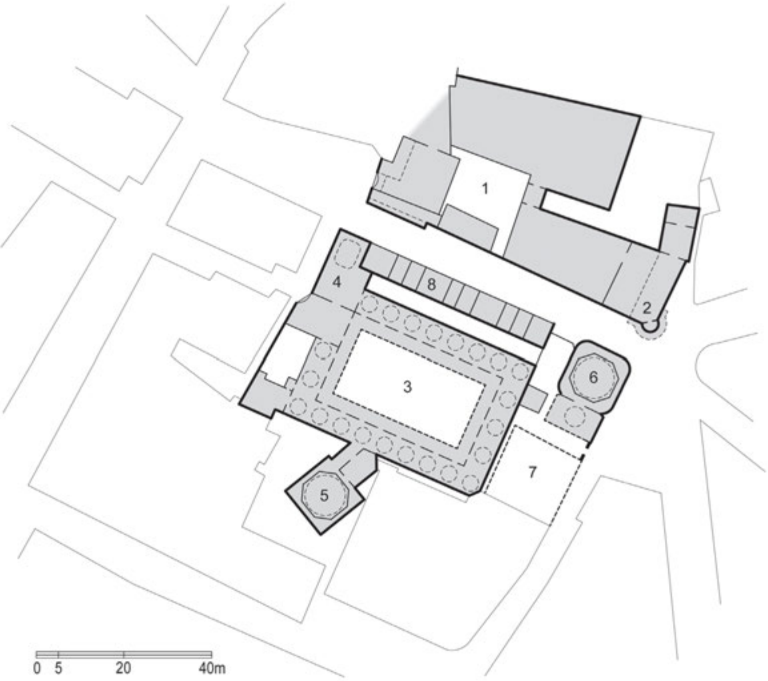


FIG. 197. Hamidiye Complex, schematic plan: (1) imaret; (2) sebil and primary school; (3) madrasa; (4) library; (5) masjid; (6) tomb; (7) graveyard; (8) shops.

completing the ensemble. Just to the left of the madrasa is the domed and porticoed tomb, where Abdülhamid was interred upon his death in 1789. Along the street-side façades of the madrasa and imaret were revenue-generating shops, an arrangement preserved by the modern stores that today front the erstwhile madrasa.[11]

Collectively, these various buildings constituted nothing less than a mosque complex without its own congregational mosque. The use of one or more of these elements to form self-sufficient entities was not in itself new. The first standalone Ottoman library, for example, was established on the Divanyolu in about 1678 by Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa (d. 1691), with other examples soon to follow. And in 1745, further along on the Divanyolu, the grand vizier Seyyid Hasan Pasha built a two-story structure consisting of a Baroque sebil on its lower level and a courtyarded madrasa and masjid upstairs (see fig. 77).[12] Such mosque-less foundations, which appeared in the late seventeenth century and grew increasingly common in the eighteenth, were usually established by nonsultanic patrons, for whom they provided a more affordable means to visualize their piety.[13] Abdülhamid's innovation lay in taking this model and giving it unprecedented monumentality, combining just about every possible element short of an actual mosque. The result, which came to be known as the Hamidiye Külliyesi, is justly considered the last of the walled city's sultanic complexes.[14]

Befitting its royal status, the imaret was opened with a grand ceremony in 1777, while work continued on the structures opposite. Enveri tells us that the sultan prayed for the project's speedy completion so that he might "visit that pious foundation—the cause of many blessings—and admire its design, construction, and manner of arrangement."[15] At a propitious date and time determined by the chief astrologer, the sultan went to the imaret with the grand vizier, grand mufti, and other men of state, and reposed for a time in the administrator's office, which had been specially decked in fruits and flowers. He then moved to a nearby audience hall and watched as prayers were performed in turn by the sheikhs of the Hagia Sophia, of the imaret itself, and of the Nuruosmaniye. The presence of the last of these sheikhs underscored Abdülhamid's identification with Mahmud I, as well as the building's conceptual ties to the revived imperial mosques. After these prayers came the distribution of robes of honor, undertaken on the sultan's behalf by the grand vizier. The recipients included the building supervisor, who was the city prefect (*şehr emīni*) Hafız Mustafa Efendi; the chief imperial architect Mehmed Tahir Agha, whose involvement is again difficult to determine; and another twelve unspecified individuals who had worked on the building. Once all the robes were distributed, the sultan returned to his palace.[16]

The difference between this sultanic complex and its earlier counterparts rested not only on the fact that it was devoid of a new mosque, but also on its novel relationship to the surrounding urban fabric. Unlike traditional complexes that were largely arranged within walled precincts according to their own compositional logic, the Hamidiye is fully integrated into the streets around it, facing onto rather than away from them. The road that runs between its two halves was and remains one of the city's principal commercial thoroughfares, forming part of the route the sultan would have taken when visiting the Yeni Cami. This arrangement ensured maximum visibility for the complex, which—without a mosque as its centerpiece—might have been lost from sight if screened behind a precinct wall.

Such exteriority was in many ways a fulfillment of a trend that had begun in the "Tulip Era," when architects and patrons were confronted with the challenge of building in a city whose defining armature was already in place. While one response was to expand extramurally, another was to alter the walled city from within by enriching the spaces between its classical landmarks with smaller, more outwardly ornamental structures. The same two-pronged approach continued—and intensified—with the

Baroque, for although the Nuruosmaniye and Laleli were works on a grand scale, the style's chief impact was to intersperse the capital's texture with an aesthetic whose transformative power lay more in its ebullient originality than in its proportions.[17] The rich surface effect that is so much a feature of the Ottoman Baroque was, then, a boon rather than a shortcoming, even if modern scholars have treated it as mere applied ornament. With the Hamidiye, this Baroque exhibitionism reached a new level, for the first time carrying a sultan's foundation out onto the streets.

The designers of the complex understood well the possibilities for display offered by its configuration. Photographs of the lost imaret show that its main entrance, which seems to have overlooked the approach from the Yeni Cami, was a large marble gate consisting of a round-arched door flanked by two pairs of columns carrying an entablature (fig. 198). Just to the left of the gate, and adding to its showiness, was a sumptuous Baroque wall fountain. Those who entered the courtyard within would have seen a series of round and basket arches borne on marble columns with scroll capitals (fig. 199). Such columns are still to be found in the madrasa opposite, their simple capitals decorated with fully formed volutes in the Ionic manner. They carry a round-arched wraparound portico that fronts the students' domed cells, which are set on a basement that lifts them above the shops outside (fig. 200). The madrasa shares its entrance with the library, and though this door is an understated affair set back from the street, the library—which stands on a high vaulted basement to the right of the madrasa's shops—prominently juts out (see fig. 196).

Occupying the equivalent position at the other end of the madrasa is the tomb, which is the stateliest element of the whole complex (fig. 201). It is square in plan with rounded corners, a design that is curiously close to that of the turrets surmounting the piers of the recently completed Fatih Mosque (see fig. 186). The affinity between the two foundations would grow in 1784–85 when, following a fire, Abdülhamid further renovated the Conqueror's tomb, which sources show that he visited with particular frequency (see fig. 190).[18] Taller and more imposing than that of his ancestor, Abdülhamid's own tomb is crowned by a dome that rests on an octagonal transitional zone with diminutive squinches. Carbognano describes the structure as being "elegantly constructed of marble,"[19] reflecting the fact that the whole of the outside below the octagonal transition is clad in this stone, quite in contrast to the brick and limestone used for the neighboring madrasa and library. With its deeply molded cornices and minimally pointed arched windows, the tomb presents an eminently Baroque exterior that commands the crossroads on which it stands. A wall pierced by large grilled windows and a marble gate demarcates the tomb's forecourt, which surrounds the two sides of the building that are not street-facing. Dominating the forecourt, which also contains a small cemetery, is the tomb's entrance portico, a deep, arcaded structure whose Ionic-like columns are identical to those of the madrasa. The door into the tomb is a smaller version of the lost imaret gate, with foliate scrolls decorating its entablature and column capitals. The interior is circumscribed by a beautifully composed thulth Qur'anic inscription that curves with the building's rounded corners and swoops up over the doorframe (fig. 202). Abdülhamid's cenotaph is in the center of the space, overlooked by an elaborately carved niche

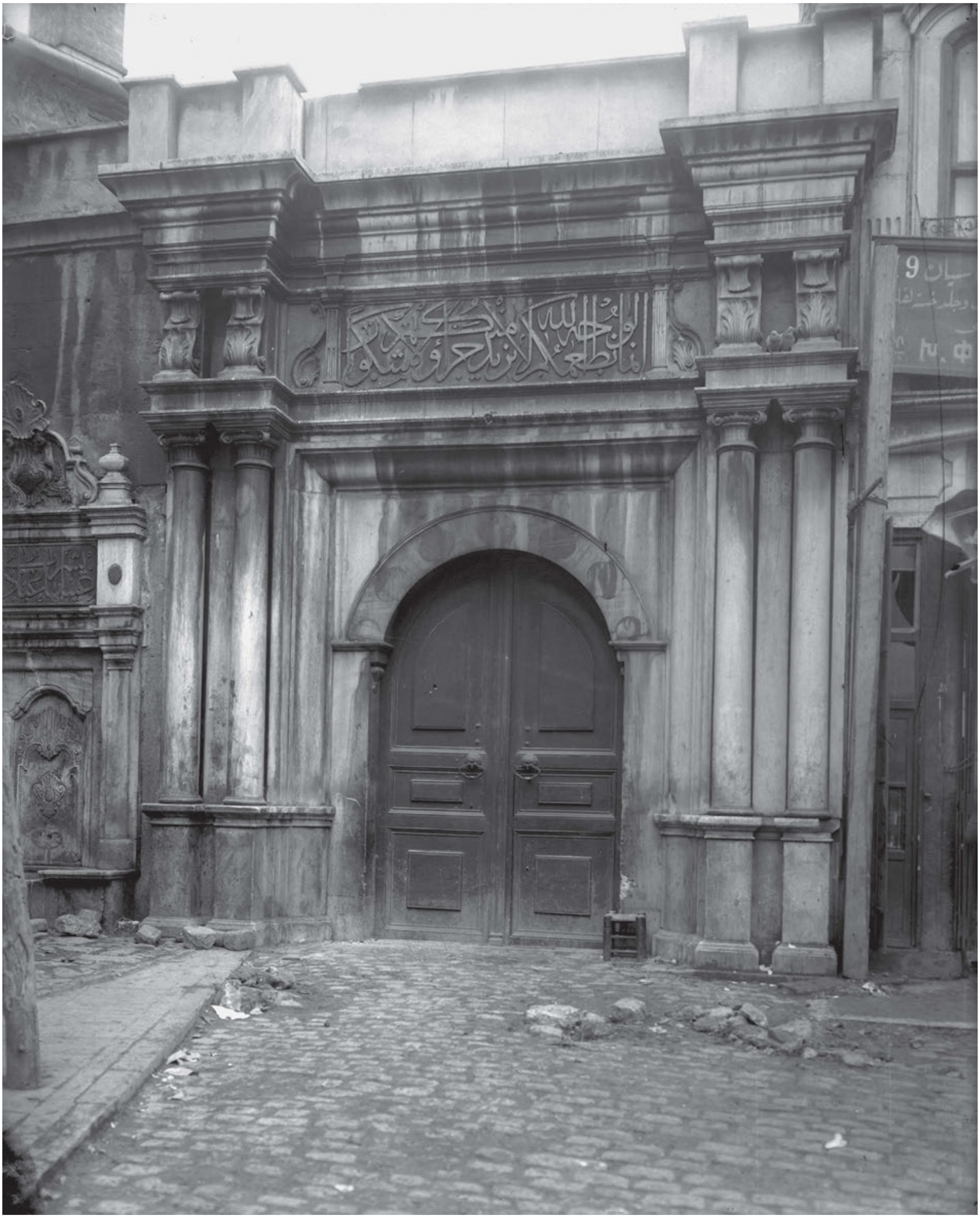
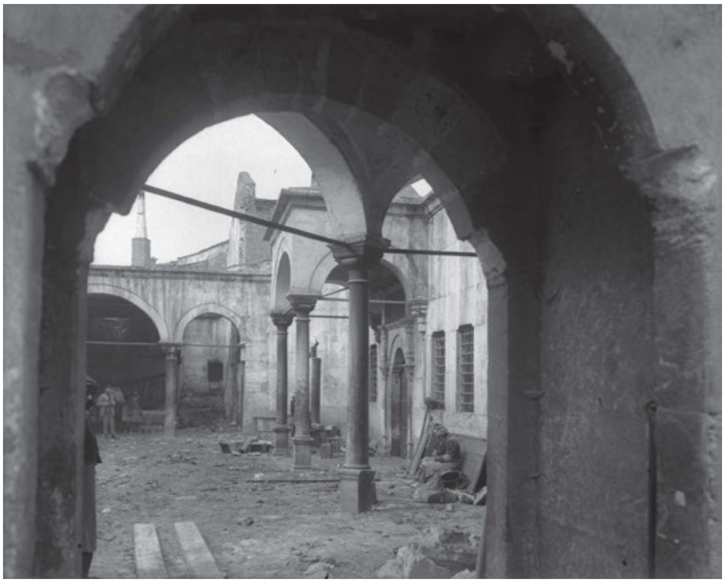


FIG. 198. Hamidiye Complex, main entrance to the imaret, flanked by a fountain on its left, photographed late nineteenth–early twentieth century



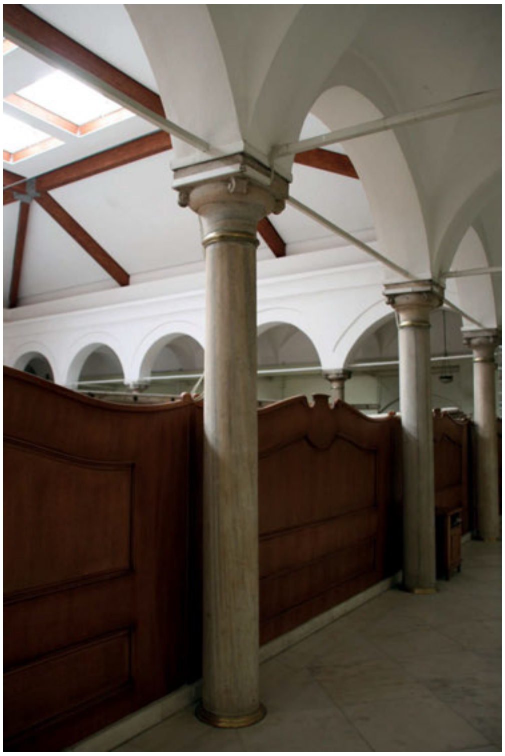
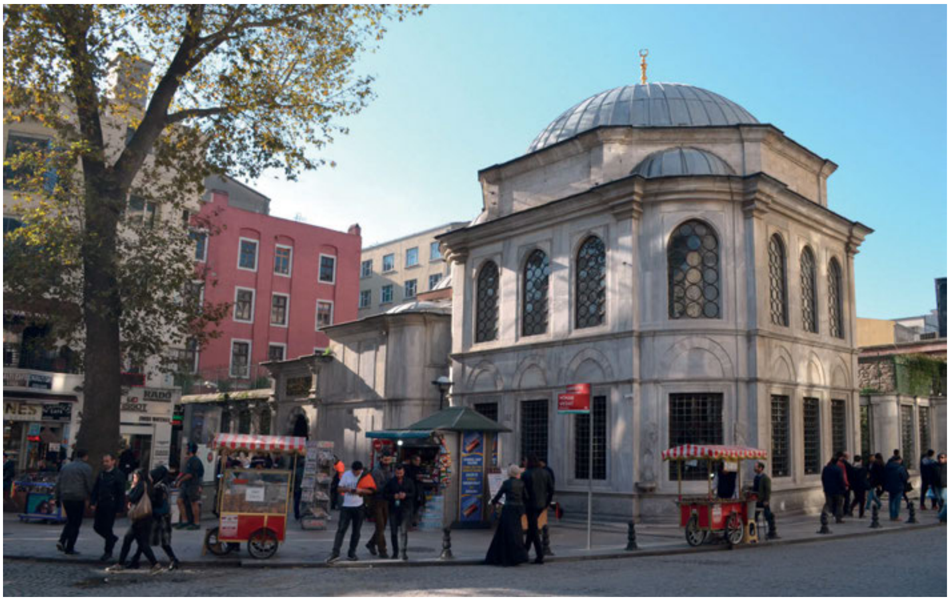


FIG. 199. (top left) Hamidiye Complex, view into the courtyard of the imaret, photographed late nineteenth–early twentieth century.

FIG. 200. (top right) Hamidiye Complex, madrasa, arcades of the now enclosed courtyard.

FIG. 201. (bottom) Hamidiye Complex, tomb.

FIG. 202. (opposite) Hamidiye Complex, tomb, interior looking toward the entrance.



containing the Prophet's footprints. Recent restorations have brought to light the successive layers of paint that covered the interior of the tomb and its portico, including the original Rococo scheme with its green and pink hues.

This princely building fully engages the viewer even before he or she has entered. Recalling the arrangement of street-side shrines, its lowermost windows are large rectangular openings whose grilles allow easy visual access to the interior, encouraging passersby to stop then and there to pray for the sultan. The tomb is all the more inviting for its conspicuous crossroads location, as emphasized by the treatment of its

الله جل جلاله
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
كل من عليها فان ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والإكرام

corner window, which is flanked by two little fountains that provided water to the people while prompting them to remember their benefactor (see fig. 195).

These fountains would once have been in dialogue with the sebil that originally stood on the opposite side of the crossroads. If the tomb is the most elegant part of the complex, the sebil is the liveliest. Making the most of its intended setting, the structure has two identical façades that converge at right angles on the domed and fenestrated kiosk that is the sebil itself. On either side of the curved projection—that is, on each of the two façades—is a wall fountain set in a niche (fig. 203). Faced entirely with carved marble, this small building is among the most exuberant of all Ottoman Baroque sebils, abounding in shells, scrolls, and moldings. As is typical for the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the reliefs have taken on greater plasticity, and the cartouche-like ornaments above the windows and niches push out from the wall. There is also a growing Rococo tendency, reflected in the asymmetrical curves of the foliate corbels that punctuate the entablatures. Though outmoded by Western European standards, these Rococo touches relate to the style's continued use in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe throughout the late eighteenth century, and they demonstrate, moreover, the Ottoman Baroque's own capacity for regeneration. Rococo motifs had been appearing in the architecture of Istanbul from as early as the 1740s, so that their increased prominence in later decades was a purposeful amplification that allowed the Hamidiye sebil and other works of its period to assert their difference from what had come before. The sebil's fresh, energetic scheme surely became a talking point for the many who saw and used the facility.

The effort put into making the Hamidiye an engaging sight is clear from Enveri's account of the inauguration, which concludes with a substantial note on the use of calligraphy at the complex.[20] We are told that the nastaʿlīq inscriptions of the imaret and sebil are the work of Yesari Mehmed Esad Efendi (d. 1798), whose expertise in that script was perhaps unequaled. Though many have been lost, these inscriptions would have added up to a particularly rich epigraphic program that featured the contributions of some of the most notable writers of the day, including the famous woman poet Fıtnat Zübeyde Hanım (d. 1780). The texts resulting from this confluence of talents were designed not only to be recognized for their literary and artistic value, but also to be read and discussed, and those that survive on the sebil remain crisp and legible. In the inscriptions he composed for its fountains, the poet Lutfullah Efendi anticipated the attention that the sebil would generate for his work: "Carving the marble with his name, Lutfi has 'mongst all earned fame."[21]

Above the sebil's windows runs a longer poem by Hayri that explicates the intended message of the structure, and with it the complex as a whole:

> His [Abdülhamid's] dew of justice has moistened the world,
> The rosebud of health opens cheerfully in the weak;
> Those now contented surround that just emperor's court
> And, like rivulets, prostrate at his feet!
>
> May his mighty banner be a cypress in the meadow of victory,
> And his enemies' blood flow like water from his sword![22]

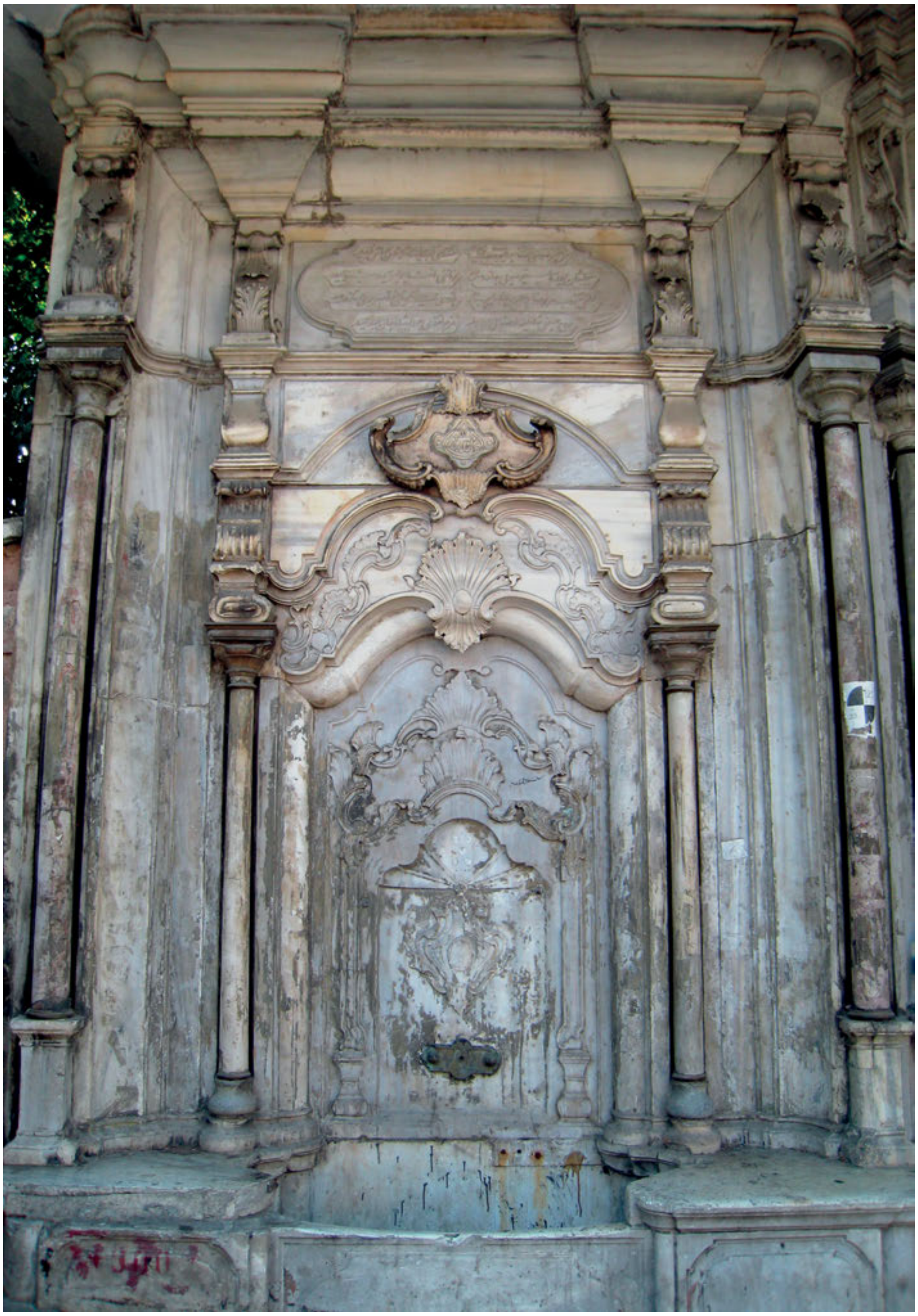


FIG. 203. Hamidiye Complex, fountain niche of the sebil (now relocated to Gülhane).

With its references to lushness and rejuvenation, the verbal imagery complements the luxuriant carvings that cover the structure, and it furthermore associates their ornamental vitality with the joy of a successfully waged war. The work's magnificent dynamism was, in other words, to be understood as a symbol of the state's own claimed prosperity. Carbognano picks up on this idea when he describes the sebil as having "various beautiful domes and marbles of different colors, embellished with carving and gilding, as well as several Turkish inscriptions that celebrate the memory of that monarch."[23] As Hayri's poem indicates, those who witnessed this artistic encomium were in a symbiotic relationship with the sultan, whose nourishment of them fed into their obedience to him. The interdependence of ruler and ruled is a theme at the heart of the Hamidiye, a complex that orients itself toward the people, invites them to partake of its beauty and services, and asks that they, in turn, glorify the man who had made it all possible.

This unabashed appeal to Istanbul's inhabitants was part of the ongoing elaboration of the practices by which the sultan made himself visible and available. The monarch's apotropaic presence at large fires, for example, had become all but compulsory by the time of Abdülhamid, who would even revisit the affected area the next day.[24] His avidity caught the notice of David Sutherland, whose travelogue explains the custom as a duty:

> [I]n case of fire, or any other alarm, the Grand Signior himself, and all the Great Officers are immediately abroad. Were the Sovereign to neglect appearing on occasions of this kind, it would be thought as great a reflection on him, as if, as a General, he remained in his tent when his camp was attacked.[25]

Observing the practice at the start of the nineteenth century, Hobhouse wrote that the people would sometimes start deliberate fires to bring the sultan to their side and "communicate their discontents" to him, whereupon he was "obliged to listen to the revilings of the meanest amongst his people, even of the women themselves."[26]

The use of fire to draw the sultan's attention also became a feature of the selamlık in these years, as Peyssonnel's remarkable description relates:

> There is, perhaps, no Monarch in the world more accessible than the Emperor of Turkey. All his subjects, indiscriminately, Mahometans, Christians, and Jews, may, every Friday, when he goes publicly to Mosque, present him a petition. . . . Those who imagine themselves aggrieved, and resolve to prefer a complaint immediately to the Sovereign, range themselves in a line, in the square, before the great gate of the Seraglio. Each carries on his head a kind of match, or wick, lighted and smoaking, which is considered as the allegorical emblem of the fire that consumes his soul. When the Emperor passes, and perceives the smoak, he stops, and gives orders to some of his attendants to collect the Petitions, which he receives and places in his bosom.[27]

This curious practice, though recorded also in other sources, does not appear to have been common enough to catch many observers' attention. Nevertheless, Peyssonnel's account is typical of others from the later eighteenth century in its emphasis on the sultan's willingness to accept grievances. The collecting of petitions was, to be sure, a long-established feature of the selamlık, but the increasing detail in which later observers describe the custom suggests that the sultan was now more actively involved in overseeing it.[28] Indeed, a Prussian travelogue from the 1830s tells us that Abdülhamid's son Mahmud II would sit in a specially appointed building on his return from the mosque and personally receive anyone wishing to voice a complaint.[29] Such accessibility was still some way off under Abdülhamid, but the account of his selamlık by the Welsh clergyman Thomas Watkins (d. 1829) leaves us in no doubt of the sultan's show of concern for his subjects:

> On this occasion he is attended by four or five hundred horse [*sic*], among which are his principal eunuchs and officers, and also by two or three thousand janizaries &c. &c. As he passes, all people are permitted to present him their petitions; which, when he sees lifted up on the end of a stick, he orders one of his slaves to receive. I have been twice present at this procession, and think it the most magnificent and interesting I ever beheld. . . . [T]he splendour, the novelty, the silence, the solemnity of this spectacle, cannot, I think, but make a most powerful impression upon every foreign spectator.[30]

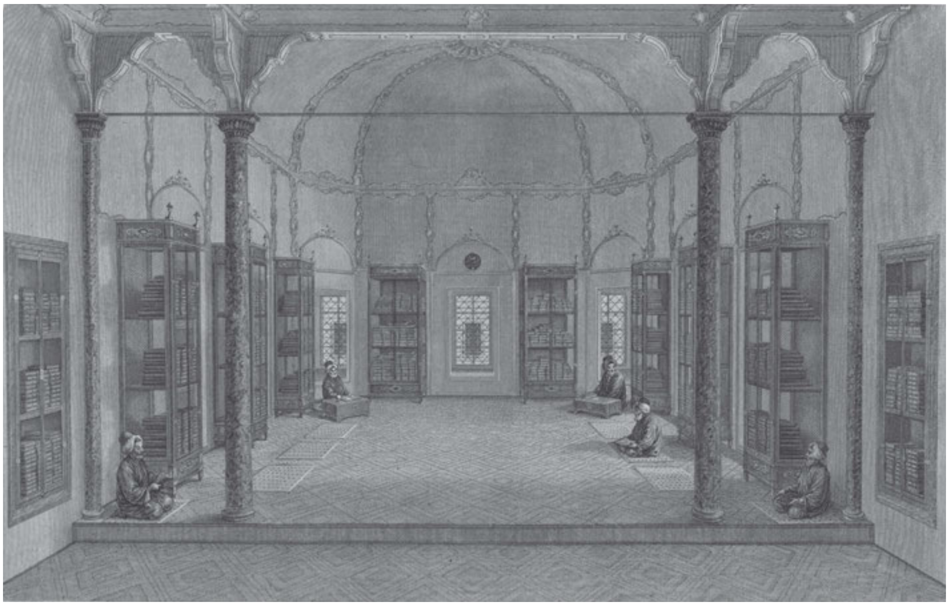
The augmented sense of display and interaction that such descriptions indicate should inform our understanding of the Hamidiye. The forthright way in which the complex presented itself was both a response to and marker of the sultan's increasingly public face, and the symbolism of its street-oriented buildings would have become still greater when Abdülhamid paraded through them on his way to the Yeni Cami. Even without the spectacle of the selamlık, the complex was a constant reminder of sultanic presence, and we should note in this regard that Abdülhamid frequently ventured out incognito into the streets to inspect his capital and hear the people's opinions for himself. The practice—known as *tebdīl* (transformation)—was not new, but Abdülhamid showed unprecedented enthusiasm for it.[31] His ostensible anonymity did not stop these excursions from being carefully staged affairs that at least some members of the public were in on: during one such outing, someone actually went up to the sultan and tried to hand him a petition, a breach of etiquette that nearly cost the man his life.[32] Though this incident did not end well, the fact that the man approached the sultan at all is proof of the shift (at least notionally) toward the more receptive and involved style of kingship that the Hamidiye embodies.

It is interesting in light of Watkins's reference to the "foreign spectator" that even non-Ottomans found the complex more approachable. Described by Carbognano as "famous," Abdülhamid's library became a popular haunt for Western Orientalists, who could enter it, Pertusier tells us, "without much difficulty."[33] One such visitor was Giambattista Toderini, who saw the library within a few years of its opening and wrote of it as being already "among the most renowned and illustrious" in the city. Full of praise for its collection, Toderini was equally impressed by the building itself, noting its many windows, painted vault, and elegantly worked walnut niches, features evocatively captured in a later engraving of the space (fig. 204).[34] Another European Orientalist with warm words for the library was the Austrian diplomat Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856), who resided in Istanbul between 1799 and 1807:

> Of all the libraries of the capital, this is the most accessible and useful for the Europeans living just across the harbor in Galata or Pera, owing both to the proximity of its location and to the helpfulness of its custodians. Those [libraries] belonging to the mosques are mostly inside them, barely possible to visit by means of a firman, while others like the large and beautiful library of *Raghib Pasha* are too remote, and Europeans are not allowed to read in them.[35]

The welcoming façade of Abdülhamid's complex was thus matched by the actual ease with which its facilities might be availed of. This new spirit of openness was by no

FIG. 204. View of the interior of the Hamidiye library. By Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Née, 1787, from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* [. . .] (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1787–1820). Engraving on paper.



means limited to the Hamidiye, as we see when we turn to the building that functioned as its pendant on the other side of the city.

"AS A HEAVENLY PAVILION": THE BEYLERBEYİ MOSQUE

Between 1777 and 1778, as work continued on his complex at Bahçekapı, Abdülhamid built a new mosque on the grounds of the recently demolished İstavroz Palace in Beylerbeyi, a village on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus (figs. 205, 206).[36] The contemporaneity of the two projects is noted by Enveri, drawing an explicit connection between them, and he also informs us that the mosque's construction was managed by the same administrator.[37] Abdülhamid's waqfiyya underscores the projects' relationship by discussing the mosque immediately after the complex, as if one were the complement of the other.[38] Even the mosque's dedication forged a link, for Abdülhamid built it not in his own name, but rather to commemorate his mother, Rabiʿa Sultan, who had died in 1732 (as with the Ayazma's dedication to Mihrişah Kadın, the name did not stick). This new shoreline queen mother's mosque could therefore displace the Yeni Cami as the mosque to which the Hamidiye was conceptually tied, and indeed, Hüseyin Ayvansarayi's (d. 1787) famous compendium of religious monuments describes both works under the heading of "the Noble Mosque of Beylerbeyi."[39] Abdülhamid was thus able to "complete" his complex by erecting a mosque whose affiliation to it was readily understood by contemporary observers, despite the distance between the buildings. Not only was this strategy tactful, but it was also highly effective, tying the shores of the capital together and increasing the two projects' collective impact.

The Beylerbeyi Mosque was itself part of a small complex that included a primary school, timekeeper's office, and bathhouse, all of which have survived, albeit much altered. The mosque was built as a single-domed prayer hall with one minaret—the two we now see are later additions—and no courtyard. Borne on an octagonal baldachin with little semidome squinches, the dome (which is a modern replacement of the

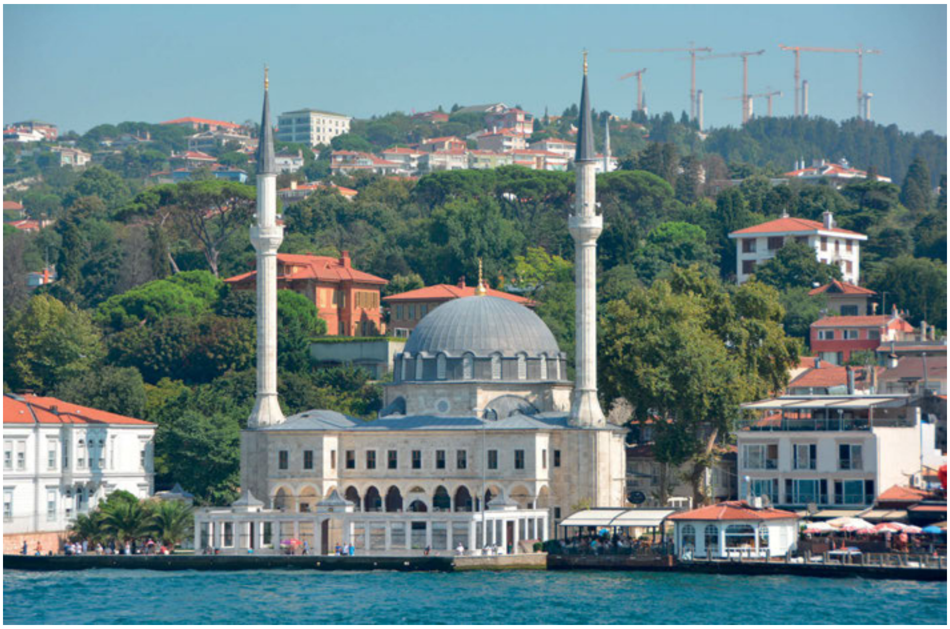


FIG. 205. Beylerbeyi Mosque, Beylerbeyi, Istanbul, 1777–78, renovated 1820–21.

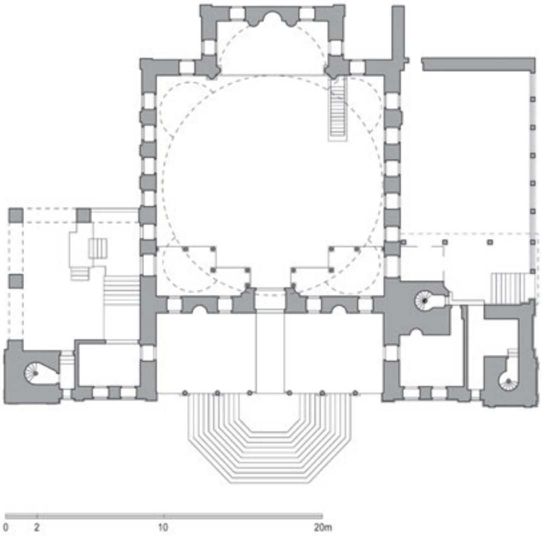


FIG. 206. Beylerbeyi Mosque, plan.

damaged original) stands high in relation to the rather small area it covers, creating a typically Baroque profile.[40] There is, however, an unusually modest quality to the prayer hall's exterior. The stones making up its walls are not regularly dressed, and they are here and there interspersed with seemingly random courses of brickwork. No decoration appears on the walls other than the concave cornices at their upper edges, and the window arches waver indecisively between being curved and slightly pointed. As if to match this rather understated architecture, the sultan's inaugural prayer at the mosque was, according to Enveri, undertaken without ceremony (*bi-lā resm*), though he did distribute a limited number of robes of honor and other gifts.[41] It was left up to the grand vizier on a subsequent Thursday to reward the artistic workforce, about whose members we have no clear information.[42]

Notwithstanding the lack of pomp and circumstance, whoever designed the Beylerbeyi was anxious to announce the building's royal status. The prayer hall may present

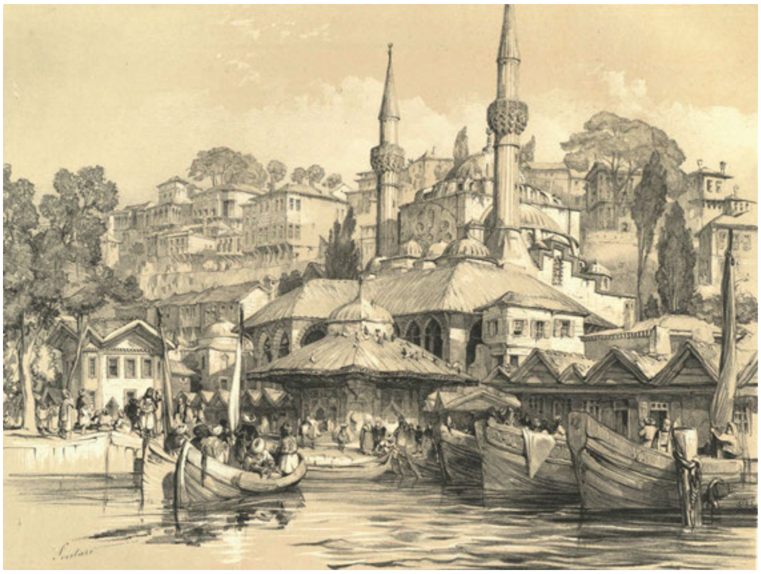


FIG. 207. View of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, Üsküdar, Istanbul, 1547. By John Frederick Lewis after Coke Smyth, from *Lewis's Illustrations of Constantinople: Made during a Residence in that City &c. in the Years 1835–6* (London: T. McLean, D. & P. Colnaghi, and John F. Lewis, [1838]). Lithograph on paper.

an unremarkable exterior, but the mosque's principal façade, which is fronted by a jetty extending into the Bosphorus, is a different matter (see fig. 205). Here, instead of the expected courtyard or entrance portico, the architect has placed a two-story structure that exceeds the width of the prayer hall and reaches the height of its squinches. A round-arched arcade forms the lower level, which carries an enclosed upper story that is pierced by a single row of rectangular windows and covered by hipped roofs. As well as jutting out sideways, each end of the structure projects forward, resulting in two lateral wings that stand entirely proud of the mosque. Attached to and tucked behind the left wing is an additional block-like extension that is carried on piers and accessed by a staircase. What we are seeing here is a radical reinterpretation of the royal pavilion, which has gone from being an elaborated ramp adjoining the prayer hall to constituting the very front of the mosque.[43] This change has brought with it a return of the pavilion's residential character, for the projecting wings, hipped roofs, and rectangular windows make unmistakable reference to the architecture associated with Ottoman palaces and mansions (see fig. 5). In this regard, the Beylerbeyi pavilion recalls its equally residential seventeenth-century counterpart at the Yeni Cami, but with the fundamental difference that it has been fused to the mosque's front rather than treated as an appendage.

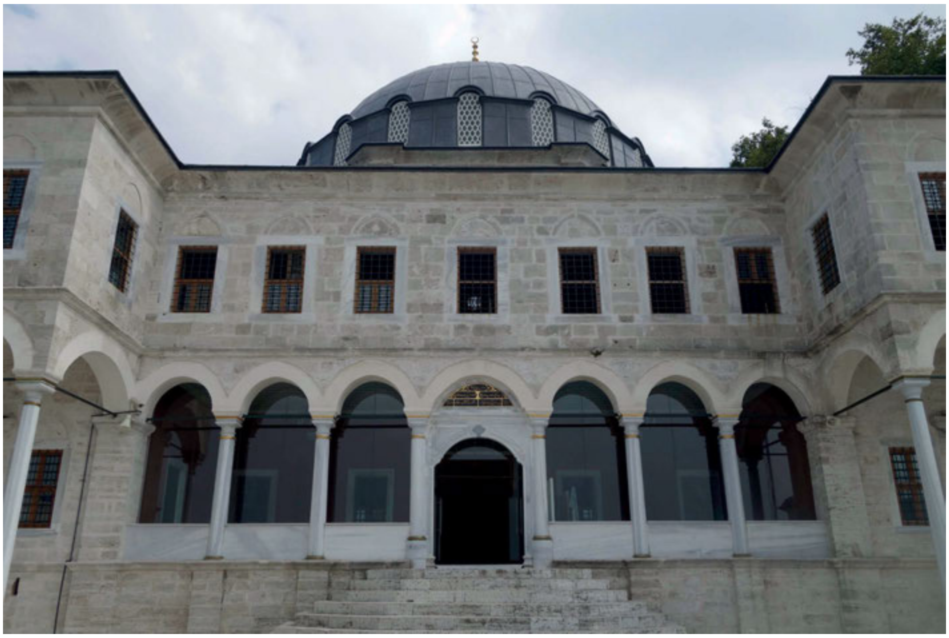
This arrangement takes advantage of, and was probably inspired by, the Beylerbeyi's position on the Bosphorus. Because the mosque is on the Asian side, its entrance necessarily faces the water, and the architect has used this opportunity to create a façade that deliberately resembles a yalı, or elite shoreline mansion. Images of the Palace of Saʿdabad, which too overlooked a body of water, show a similar style of architecture, typified by its protruding wings (see figs. 7, 8). Unlike most structures of this kind, however, the mosque's pavilion is made of stone rather than wood, thus recasting the residential model in costlier, more prestigious terms. The Beylerbeyi was not the first waterside mosque to capitalize on its situation in this way: Sinan's Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in Üskdüdar is fronted by a double portico with a projecting central section that originally opened onto a jetty (fig. 207).[44] But this earlier evocation of a waterside pavilion is not nearly as explicit as the Beylerbeyi's yalı-like frontage, which looks almost like an independent building affixed to the prayer hall behind it. The disjuncture works to both parts' advantage, allowing the pavilion to wear its residential character on its sleeve without infringing stylistically onto the mosque proper, whose superiority is signaled by its height and dome.

Despite the contrast of parts, the pavilion in its new placement has become integral to the mosque's overall composition, lending the whole a decidedly palatial air that conveys the building's royal credentials. This is a highly efficient alternative to the traditional (and far more expensive) arcaded courtyard, and it also makes a virtue of the mosque's humble scale and unfussy architecture, which, as we shall see, are features more in keeping with the Ottoman palatine idiom. At once noble and inviting, this mosque-palace hybrid embraces its waterfront setting with the same extroverted spirit as the Hamidiye does the streets. The pavilion's lower story, doubling as the prayer hall's entrance portico, has a door in its wider central bay, which is approached by a steep stair (fig. 208). The marble columns framing the door are distinguished from the rest by their foliate scroll capitals, and there is also a carved inscription in the arch above. Its text—written not in the intricate thulth typical of mosque entrances, but in a very legible nastaʿlīq—affirms the building's palatial connotations:

> He is the Creator, the Everlasting!
> For the jewel-like soul of the Queen Mother
> Did His Majesty Sultan Hamid build this holy mosque
> As a heavenly pavilion [*Ḳaṣr-ı Firdevs gibi*]; may that emperor's mother,
> Rabiʿa Sultan, receive her reward from the Almighty.[45]

This conceit is carried through into the mosque's interior. Entering the portico-cum-pavilion, we encounter another door with an inscription over it, in this case a longer poem that dubs the mosque "a matchlessly unique pearl" and celebrates its location "on

FIG. 208. Beylerbeyi Mosque, entrance façade incorporating the royal pavilion.



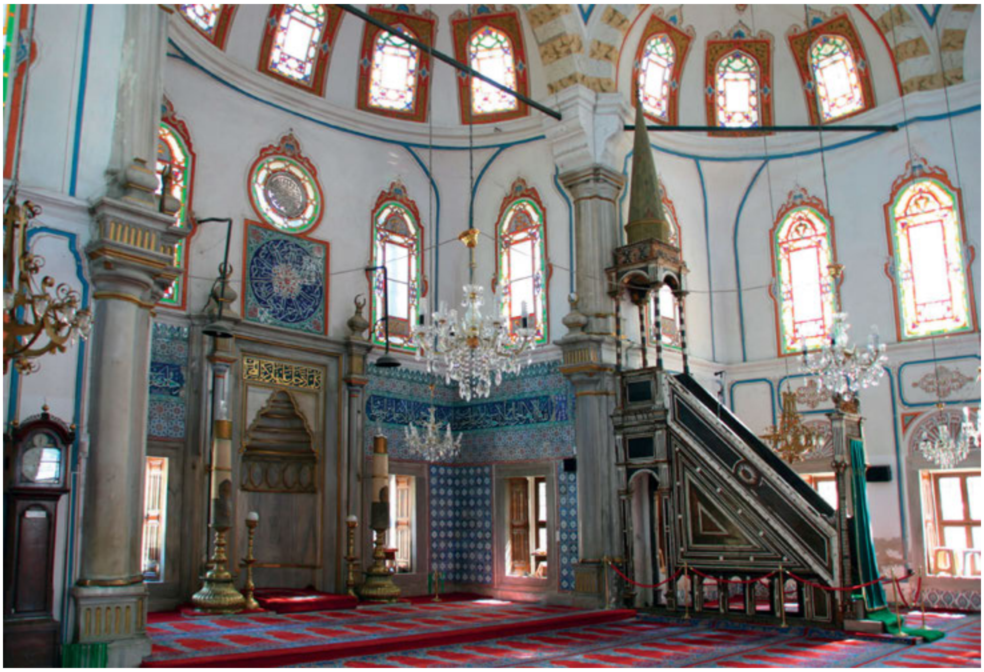
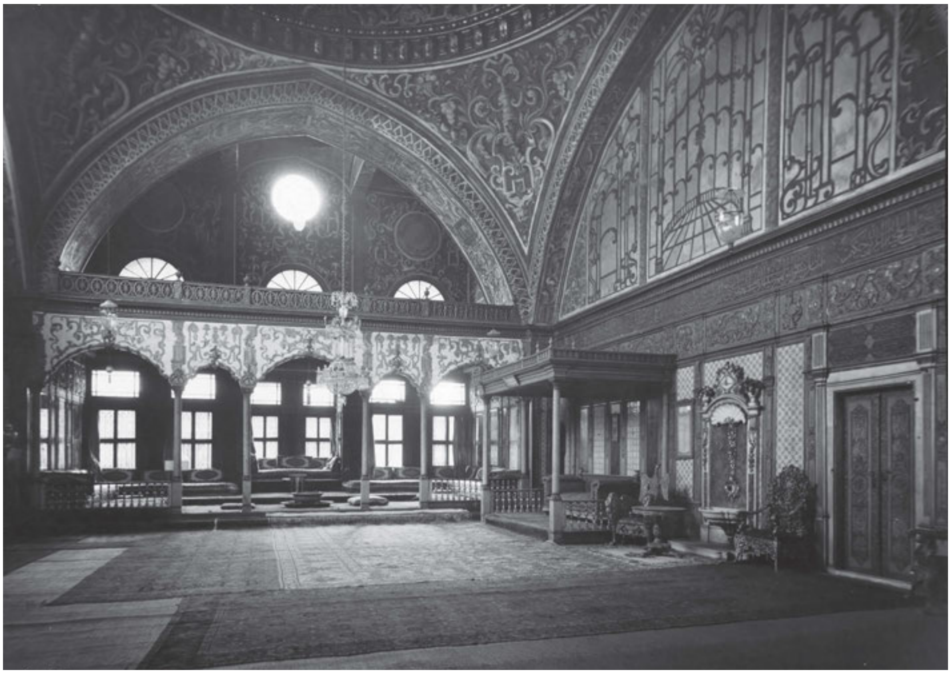


FIG. 209. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior looking south toward the mihrab and minbar.

the shore of the sea."[46] Through the door is the prayer hall, whose qibla wall has an apsidal projection flanked by engaged marble piers with scroll capitals and fluted friezes (fig. 209). The marble mihrab in the apse's center is likewise Baroque in design, but the walls around it are clad in reused Iznik and Kütahya tiles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as some Chinese blue-and-white tiles of the type widely imitated in Europe.[47] Such tilework is extremely unusual for a mosque of this period, and though it may in part refer to the interiors of earlier monuments like the Yeni Cami, it also relates to the continuing use of tilework in palatial settings, which tended to be more ornately embellished than architecture in the public realm. About the same time that he built the Beylerbeyi, Abdülhamid also renovated the sixteenth-century domed Imperial Hall in the harem of the Topkapı Palace, introducing Baroque wall fountains and Dutch blue-and-white tiles to an interior that already contained earlier Ottoman faience (fig. 210).[48] The use of a similar decorative repertoire at the contemporaneous mosque is striking.

Also recalling the Imperial Hall, which includes an eighteenth-century musicians' balcony at one side, is the stately gallery that dominates the back of the Beylerbeyi's prayer hall (fig. 211). This is the interior manifestation of the pavilion's upper level, and the sultan would have reached it by the block-like extension noted earlier, which comprises a large foyer ascended by a staircase from the outside. Mimicking the plan of the structure that contains it, the gallery projects forward at either end. Its round arches are carried on marble columns whose capitals are an adaptation of the Corinthian, with bead-studded fronds at their corners and shells on their main faces (fig. 212). This design is a patent imitation of the capitals employed over thirty years before in the earliest Ottoman Baroque works of Mahmud I (see fig. 193), and its sudden revival under Abdülhamid is meaningful in light of his stated desire to model his sultanate on Mahmud's. Such capitals are also used in the portico of the masjid attached to the Hamidiye madrasa, creating a direct visual link between the complex and the Beylerbeyi (fig. 213). There is,



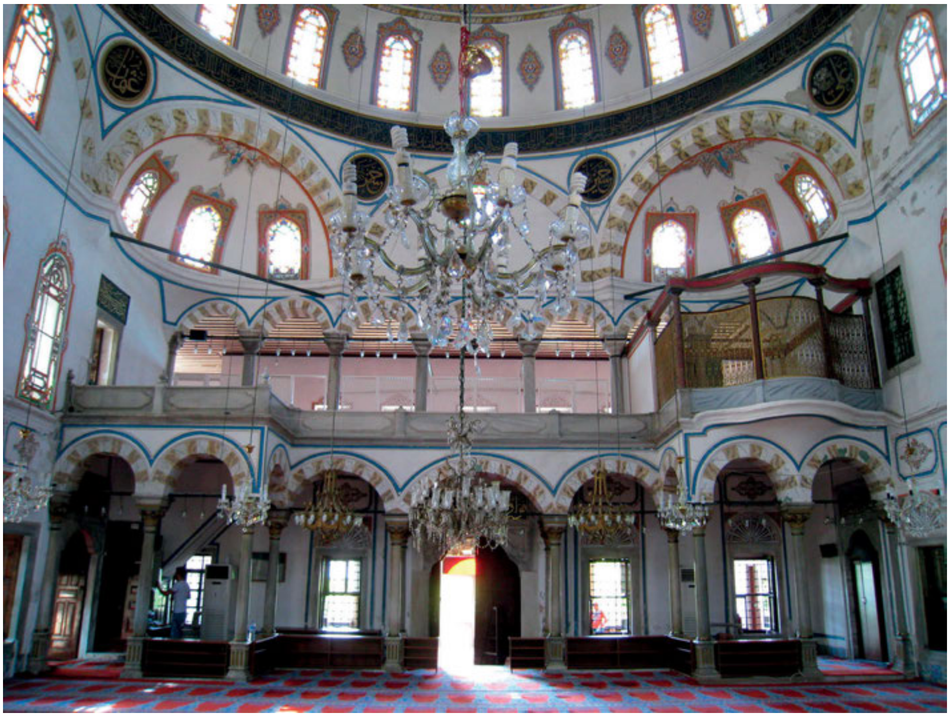
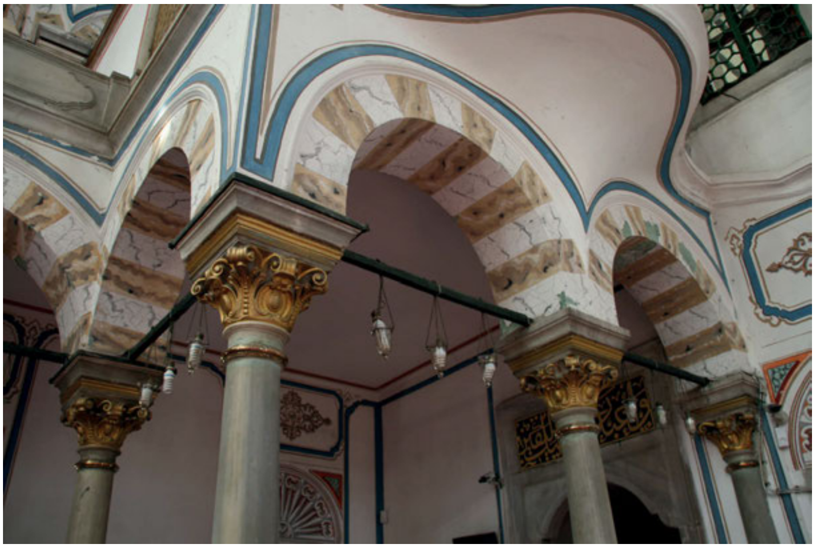


FIG. 210. Topkapı Palace, Harem, Imperial Hall, late sixteenth century with later renovations. Photographed by Sébah and Joaillier in the late nineteenth century. Gelatin silver print.

FIG. 211. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior looking toward the entrance, with the royal prayer loge on the right.

moreover, a palatial connection, for though they had been replaced in the public sphere by a range of less ornate scroll capitals, variants of the Corinthianizing type continued to be employed in palace interiors: they appear, for instance, in the apartments that Abdülhamid constructed in the Topkapı harem (fig. 214).[49]

The palatial overtones of the mosque are picked up also by its royal prayer loge, which occupies the gallery's right-hand projection. Unlike its counterpart on the left, the projection bulges forward in a Baroque sweep, and its parapet supports colonnettes of dark red stone with lattice screens between them. (figs. 211, 215). On the back wall of the



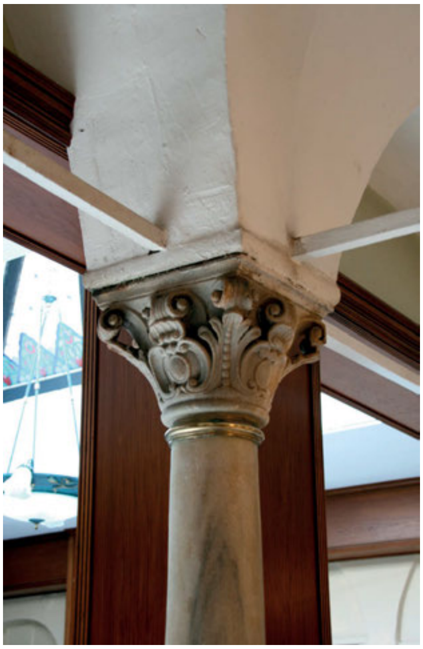
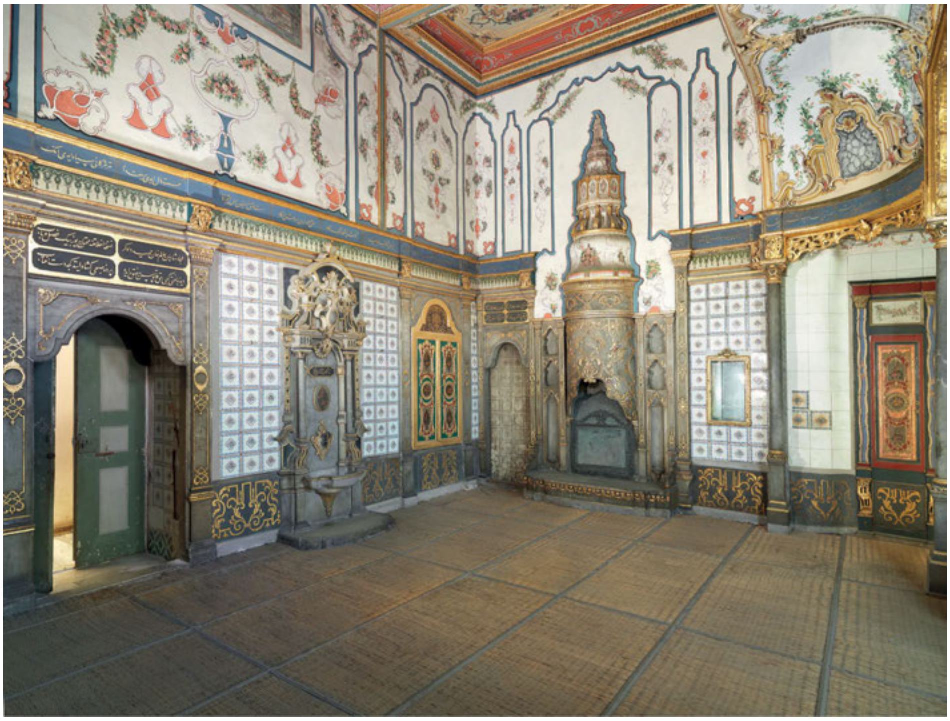


FIG. 212. (top left) Beylerbeyi Mosque, columns supporting the royal prayer loge.

FIG. 213. (top right) Hamidiye Complex, column capital in the vestibule connecting the masjid to the madrasa.

FIG. 214. (bottom) Topkapı Palace, Harem, Privy Chamber of Abdülhamid I, 1774–89.



loge, next to its door, is an unexpected feature: a naturalistic landscape painting that resembles a fictive window. Though probably a nineteenth-century addition, this picture plays on the existing "heavenly pavilion" theme, and again recalls the kind of decoration associated with palace interiors, where landscape murals became common from the late eighteenth century onward.[50] Such palatial allusions were already present in the loge's original scheme, specifically in a poem written in gold nastaʿlīq on the inner face of the curved architrave surmounting the colonnettes. The poem, which has recently been repainted, dubs the mosque a "sublime court" (*dergāh-ı ʿālī*), the same phrase used of the

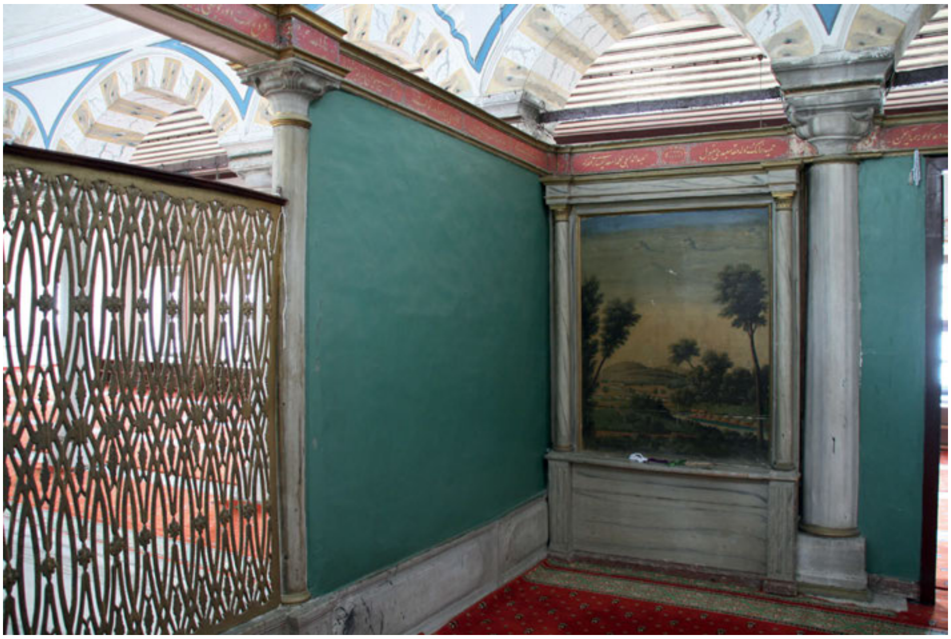


FIG. 215. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior of the royal prayer loge.

sultan's actual court, and its central couplet takes the comparison even further: "The prayer will doubtless be answered / Of whoever enters this court sincerely."[51]

The idea of the mosque as a court where deserving supplicants might have their wishes granted is extremely powerful, and key to understanding the Beylerbeyi's success as a royal foundation. What is remarkable about the mosque's arrangement is the proximity into which it would have brought the sultan and his subjects. The royal prayer loge is, to be sure, as physically aloof as it had always been, but there is a new sense of intimacy as a result of the pavilion's location at the front of the mosque. For the faithful entering by way of this structure, the experience was almost one of passing through the sultan's threshold (*āsitāne*), an age-old metonym for the royal court and hence for Ottoman imperial authority itself.[52] Once inside the prayer hall, moreover, worshippers would have found themselves in a space entirely overlooked by the pavilion's gallery, as if the sultan were hosting them. This situation is curiously reminiscent of (though unlikely to be related to) Bursa's fifteenth-century Yeşil Mosque, whose entrance side also has an elevated palatial apartment with a royal box facing the qibla wall.[53] At the Beylerbeyi, the interplay of parts is more pronounced, and the conceptual integration of ruler and ruled more complete. Indeed, when not in use by the sultan and his retinue, the pavilion's gallery appears to have functioned as a primary school, reached by its own staircase at the opposite end from the sultan's.[54] Although the staircase was later blocked and a separate primary school built behind the mosque, the impression of being a space in which the sultan and populace might intermingle remained a defining characteristic of the Beylerbeyi.

The effect is aided rather than compromised by the building's lack of monumentality. With a smallish prayer hall and no grand entrance ramp, the mosque is not as imposing as the Nuruosmaniye or Laleli, but its modest proportions bring it closer to Ottoman palatial architecture. The Topkapı Palace consists of a series of related pavilions and kiosks instead of a single great edifice, and these impress the viewer less by their size than by their sumptuously decorated interiors, which seem all the richer for their intimate scale. Among those moved by this mode of display was Edward Daniel Clarke, who in 1800 gained rare access to the queen mother's audience chamber in the harem when the women were away. Responding as intended to its ambience, Clark considered the space an ideal vehicle for the courtly activities it accommodated:

> Nothing can be imagined better suited to theatrical representation than this chamber. It is exactly such an apartment as the best painters of scenic decoration would have selected, to afford a striking idea of the pomp, the seclusion, and the magnificence, of the Ottoman court. . . . At the upper end is the throne, a sort of cage, in which the Sultana sits, surrounded by latticed blinds; for even here her person is held too sacred to be exposed to the common observation of slaves and females of the Charem. A lofty flight of broad steps, covered with crimson cloth, leads to this cage, as to a throne.[55]

It is notable that Clarke's description of the sultan's audience chamber, the Imperial Hall, which is close to and much larger than the queen mother's apartment, is not nearly as long.[56] For him and no doubt many others, smaller princely settings could evoke a peculiarly concentrated feeling of magnificence.

The Beylerbeyi—whose royal loge is recalled by Clarke's portrayal of the sultana's latticed balcony—was just such a setting, and recognition of its relationship to palatial interiors would not have been limited to the sultan and his retinue. Though few outsiders saw the private areas of the palace as Clarke did, many inhabitants of and visitors to Istanbul could experience the architecture of the Topkapı's second court, where the Council Hall (Divan) was open to any Ottoman subject seeking justice.[57] Erected in the 1520s, this moderately sized building of three domed chambers might have felt almost claustrophobic when filled with council members and petitioners, but the denseness of the space would only have enhanced the impact of its sumptuous decoration, which would be refurbished in the Baroque mode under Abdülhamid's successor (figs. 216, 217, 218). The same principle is at work in the Gate of Felicity (Bābü's-saʿāde), located at the far end of the second court and marking the entrance into the more private areas beyond (fig. 219). Abdülhamid rebuilt the gate in its current form soon after his accession, preserving its earlier proportions while updating its look. It consists of a domed canopy that is supported by Baroque columns and shelters the doorway proper, whose flanking walls are painted in imitation of polychrome stone revetment.[58] Once again, the effect is of small-scale princely luxury, and those familiar with this palatial aesthetic would have recognized something of it in the interior of the Beylerbeyi. The mosque presents itself as an extension of the sultan's court, a choice space in which one is intensely aware of being under the sovereign's generous auspices. Here, the earthly justice promised by the imperial council merges with the heavenly favor of God, reminding the congregation both of the sultan's benevolence and of his divine right to rule.

As Clarke's account of the queen mother's chamber vividly captures, Ottoman palatial architecture owed much of its success to the ceremonial animating it. The Gate of Felicity, for example, became an important ritual backdrop during religious holidays, when the sultan would sit beneath its canopy on a bejeweled throne as his dignitaries and

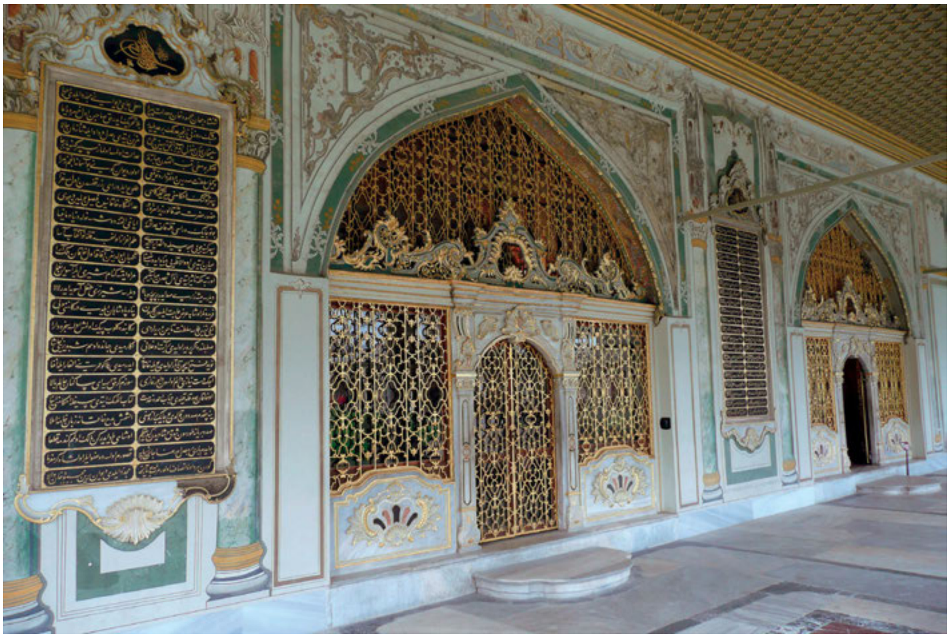


FIG. 216. Topkapı Palace, Imperial Council Hall (Divan), ca. 1526–29, renovated 1792 and 1819.

servants stood before him, as famously depicted by the Greek painter Konstantin Kapıdağlı (fl. 1789–1806).[59] Clarke, whose visit to the harem naturally took place when the women were away, shows that the aura of these courtly performances lingered even when the players were offstage. Absence could in fact be turned to symbolic advantage, as with the famous grilled window looking into the principal chamber of the Council Hall (figs. 217, 218). This screened opening allowed the sultan to watch proceedings unseen from an adjacent loge, but it also became a permanent emblem of the royal gaze, for one never knew for certain if he was there or not. The Beylerbeyi's royal pavilion likewise served as a perpetual reminder of the sultan's presence, giving lasting physical shape to the experience—real or imagined—of being at his court.

The power of this imagery was not lost on those who saw the mosque. Hovhannisian describes the building as large and remarks on its lead roof, a seemingly redundant observation given that this metal was the usual covering for royal mosques.[60] He was presumably responding to the pavilion, whose lead-sheathed hipped roofs—typical of palatial architecture—deserved mention when compared to the tiled roofs of most waterside mansions. The mosque is also referred to by another Istanbul-born Ottoman Armenian, the famous Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, who served as dragoman to the Swedish ambassador before being ennobled by Gustav III of Sweden (r. 1771–92) and moving to Paris.[61] It was there in the 1780s that d'Ohsson prepared his monumental *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, in which he lists the Beylerbeyi (under the alternative name İstavroz) as the latest of the capital's fourteen sultanic mosques, noting that it was "called also *Zeïl* [*ẕeyl*, appendix], a name applied to that imperial mosque which happens to be lowest in rank."[62] Despite this latter comment, it is significant that the Beylerbeyi was already being classed among the principal foundations of the capital, outranking larger royal mosques like those of Mihrimah Sultan. Also telling is the fact that d'Ohsson omits any reference to the Beylerbeyi's dedication to Rabiʿa Sultan, instead associating the monument exclusively with Abdülhamid himself.

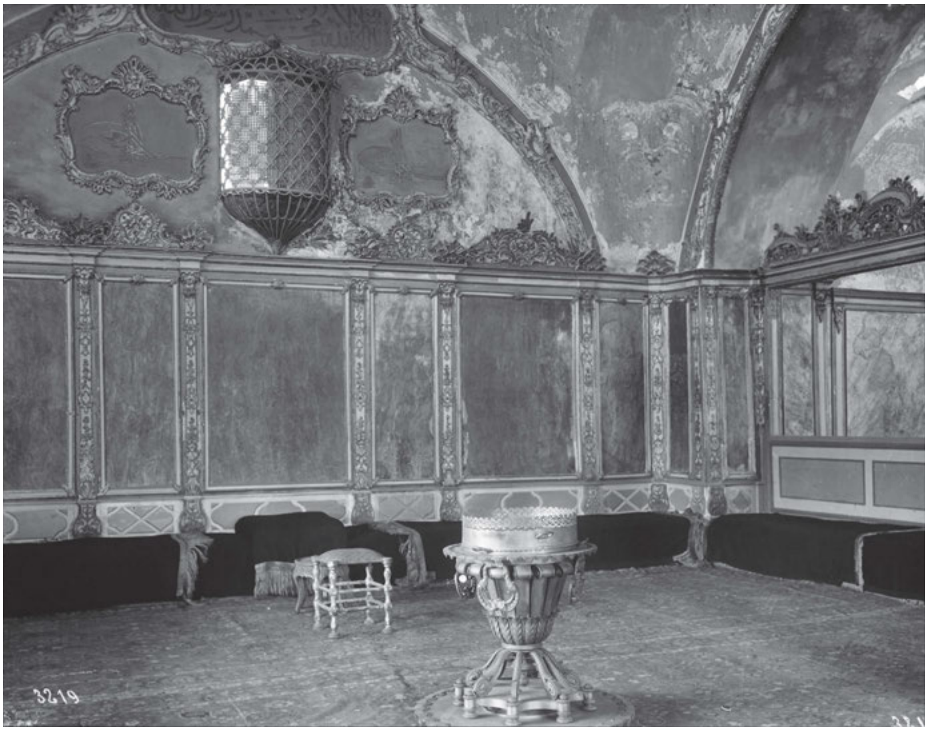


FIG. 217. Topkapı Palace, Imperial Council Hall, interior view of the main chamber showing the sultan's grilled window and the now lost Baroque decorative scheme. Photographed by Sébah and Joaillier in the late nineteenth century. Gelatin silver print.

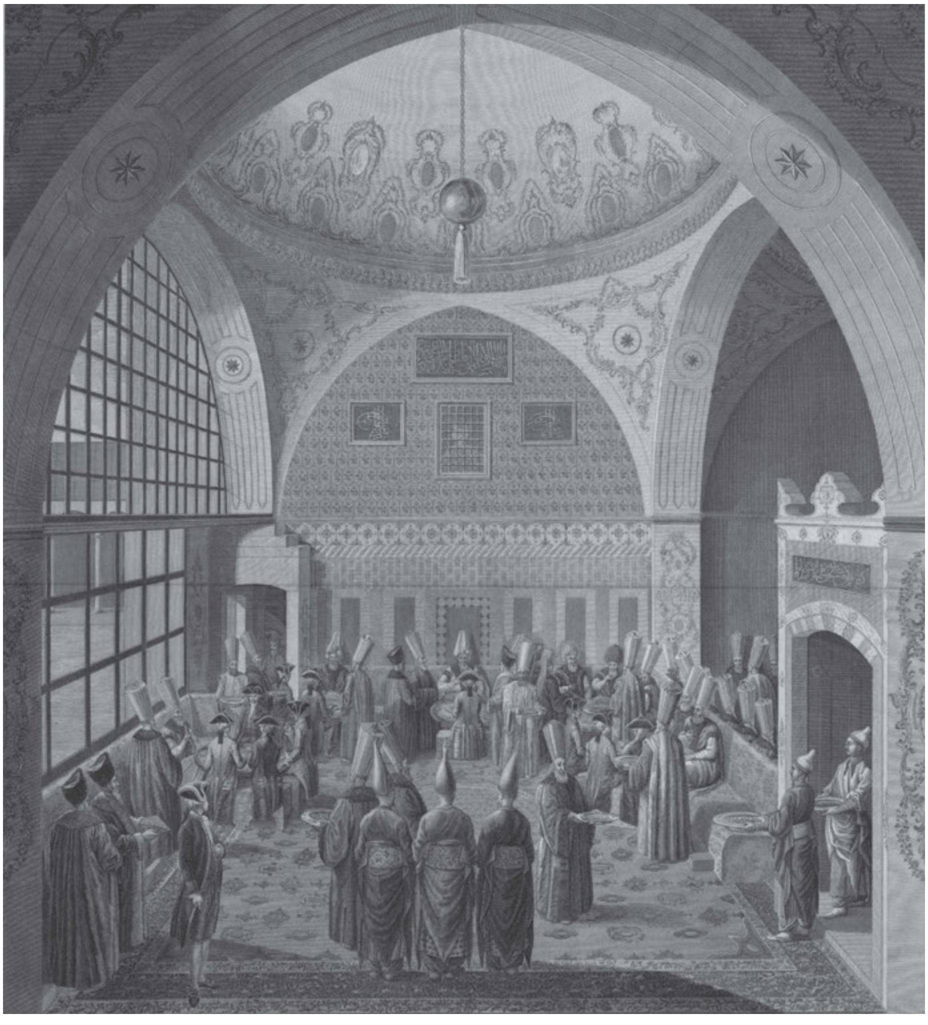


FIG. 218. View of a European ambassador dining with the grand vizier in the Imperial Council Hall as the sultan watches from his grilled window. By De Clugny, Benoist, and Delvaux, from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* [. . .] (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1787–1820). Etching on paper.

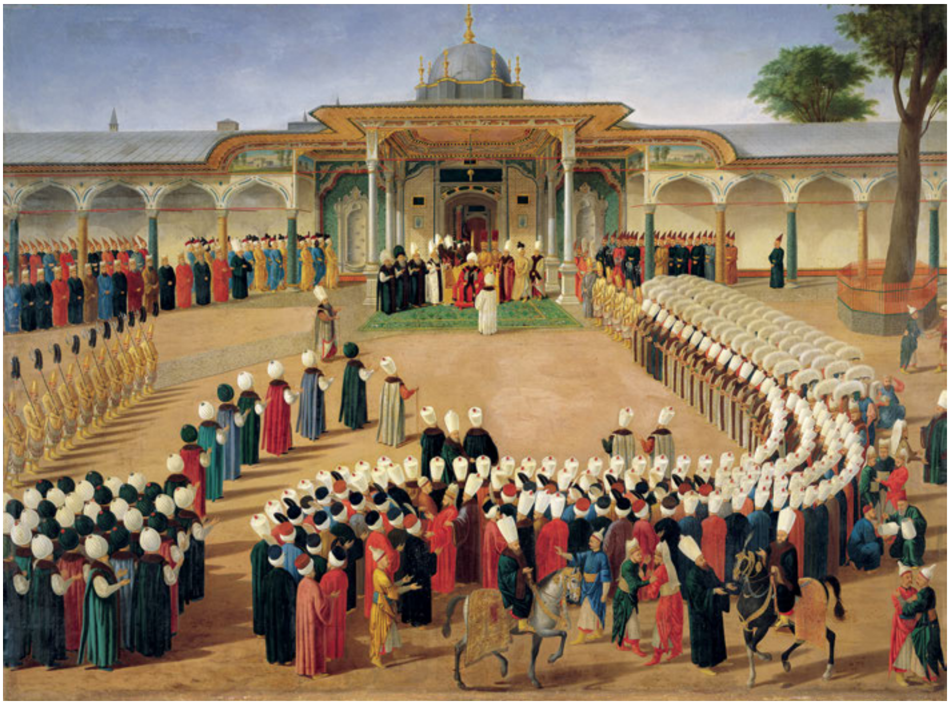


FIG. 219. View of Selim III enthroned before the Gate of Felicity (rebuilt 1775) during a ceremony held in the second court of the Topkapı Palace. By Konstantin Kapıdağlı, Istanbul, 1789–90. Oil on canvas. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.

Among Western observers, Pertusier calls the mosque "elegant," and Hobhouse dubs it "magnificent."[63] Such praise was due in part to the building's flatteringly picturesque situation, as Hammer-Purgstall acknowledges when he describes the Beylerbeyi as "a not large but charming mosque, which, by the splendor [*Glanz*] of its forms, distinguishes itself from all the buildings surrounding it."[64] A nearly contemporaneous source—and one of the most important we have on the mosque—is the travelogue of the Polish politician Count Edward Raczyński (d. 1845), who visited Istanbul in 1814. Raczyński saw the Beylerbeyi during the selamlık of Mahmud II (r. 1808–39), Abdülhamid's son, and his detailed description of the procession, which took place by water, conveys how the ceremony and its setting mutually reinforced each other's part in the spectacle:

> As soon as I arrived, I saw a squadron of richly decorated gondolas that had sailed here to Belirbey from Constantinople. These all belonged to the retinue of the Grand Signior, which had accompanied him to the mosque. Each dignitary of the state and seraglio had his own caique of a certain prescribed form, and with a particular number of rowers, which he cannot exceed. This richly equipped flotilla took up the whole width of the Bosphorus, and vividly laid before my eyes the Asiatic splendor of the mighty ruler. I marveled at the strong and beautiful physique of the rowers, who reminded me of the gladiators of antiquity; at the precious and sparkling jewels of the chief state officials; at the copious retinue, most of them dressed in gleaming silk garments; at the number of black and white eunuchs, pages, mutes, dwarfs, and other servants; at the emperor's two gondolas, decorated with gold arabesques, mostly gilt at the front, and provided with golden rows; at the arrow-like speed with which the squadron glided there; at the deep silence of this numerous crowd—everything about this parade was new to me, all recalling the magnificence of a Harun al-Rashid.

> Once the gondolas had approached the shore, some of the retinue jumped onto the jetty and positioned themselves in the prescribed order. Upon the giving of a signal, the Grand Signior moved toward the mosque. At the head of the gleaming train went a group of hasseki [*ḫaṣeki*] or bodyguards, with silk garments and curved sabers at their sides; they were followed by the peiks [*peyk*s] and solaks [*ṣolaḳ*s], with heavily plumed Roman helmets, and from between them emerged the emperor. He wore a green pelt with black fox trim, his turban adorned with an aigrette of gemstones—estimated to be worth half a million thalers—and a plume of bird-of-paradise feathers. His dagger, which he wore on his belt, was provided with a very precious handle of diamonds.[65]

After only half an hour inside the mosque, the sultan left as he had arrived, returning to his palace.

Such selamlıks by water were not new, but they grew in frequency and splendor from the late eighteenth century onward.[66] With its palatial frontage, the Beylerbeyi would have provided Mahmud's grand entrance with a highly appropriate stage. If Raczyński's verbal description only implicitly refers to the building's role, a clearer idea of it is given by two engravings that illustrate his account (figs. 220, 221). These were made after drawings by the artist Ludwig Fuhrmann (d. 1829), who accompanied the count on his journey, and whose images are thus valuable primary documents.[67] The second illustration shows the mosque and its village from the Bosphorus, the ideal vantage point. The mosque's pavilion is in clear architectural dialogue with the yalıs in its vicinity, which too have projecting wings, and floating before it on the water is a lively assortment of boats. Only some of these are the processional caiques; the rest are smaller sail- and rowboats filled with ordinary spectators, who, though left out of Raczyński's account, were essential as the intended audience of the event. Such onlookers appear also in the first illustration, where the sultan and his attendants walk out of the mosque on lengths of cloth as members of the public, including women and children, watch from the side and over the walls. Both images indicate a remarkable degree of proximity between the sultan and his subjects, and indeed, their respective portrayals of the event show that Raczyński and Fuhrmann too must have observed the proceedings from close quarters, though neither would have been allowed inside the mosque.

The second engraving is important also for depicting the mosque in its original state, when it had only a single minaret rising behind the right-hand wing of the pavilion. Mahmud II clearly esteemed his father's mosque, and his magnificent selamlık there—which far outshone Abdülhamid's inaugural visit—shows that the building was rising in status. In keeping with this development, Mahmud had the single minaret demolished and replaced by a new pair between 1820 and 1821, their bases built next to the pavilion's wings slightly forward of where the old tower had stood. It is clear from the architectural evidence—and corroborated by Fuhrmann's illustration—that the project did not, as some scholars have maintained, entail the (re)construction of the pavilion itself, though Mahmud did enlarge and rebuild the jetty in front of it.[68] These changes brought the mosque more in line with other sultanic foundations, and an inscription over one of the jetty's new gates praises Mahmud for having "perfected his [father'] pious foundation."[69]

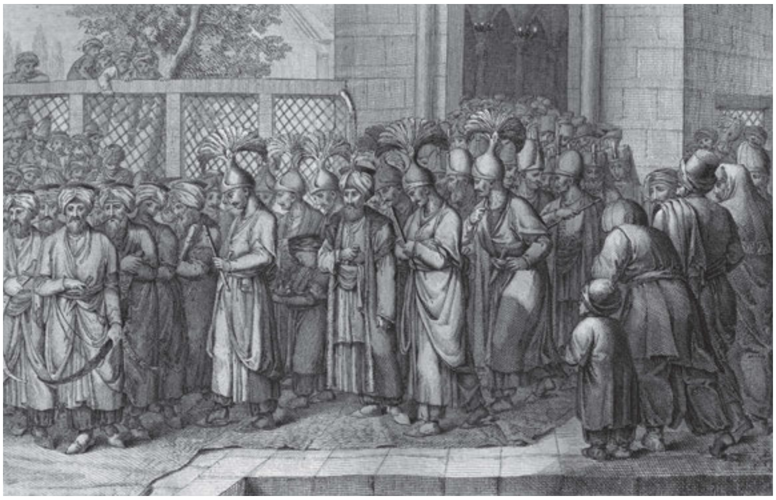


FIG. 220. View of Mahmud II attending the Beylerbeyi Mosque for Friday prayer. By Kretlow after Ludwig Fuhrmann, from Edward Raczyński, *Dziennik podróży do Turcyi odbytey w roku MDCCCXIV* (Wrocław: Drukiem Grassa, Bartha i Kompanii, 1821). Engraving on paper.

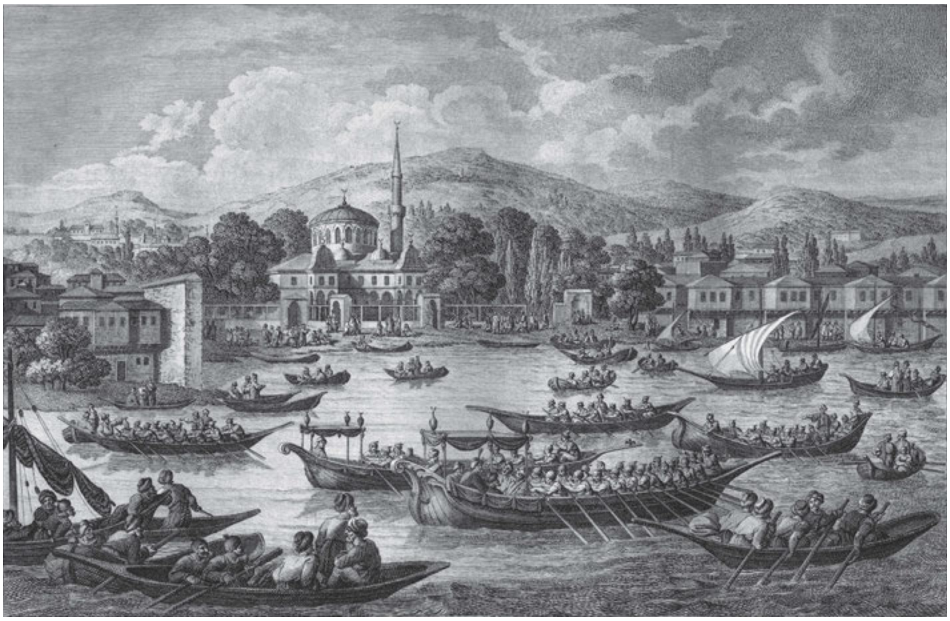


FIG. 221. View of the Beylerbeyi Mosque from the Bosphorus during a visit by Mahmud II, showing the original single minaret. By Wolf after Ludwig Fuhrmann, from Edward Raczyński, *Dziennik podróży do Turcyi odbytey w roku MDCCCXIV* (Wrocław: Drukiem Grassa, Bartha i Kompanii, 1821). Engraving on paper.

As Mahmud's renovations tell us, the Beylerbeyi's potential was not fully understood until after it had been built. Although its design was probably conceived as a one-off experiment based on its location, the mosque became something of a surprise hit, inspiring several smaller imitations in its immediate wake. None of these faced the water, but all took advantage of the grandeur imparted by the mansion-like façade. The grand admiral Cezayirli Hasan Pasha built his version in 1784–85 as the centerpiece of the newly constructed marine barracks in the Imperial Shipyard (Tersāne-i ʿĀmire), in modern-day Kasımpaşa.[70] Its military purpose entitled the mosque to a pavilion for sultanic visits, yet care was taken to signal the building's lesser patronage: while the domed prayer hall is of stone, the pavilion stuck to its front is of wood.[71] In 1787–88, on the other side of the Golden Horn near Unkapanı, a consort of Abdülhamid's named Fatma Şebsefa Hatun (d. 1805) erected another mosque of this type in honor of their deceased son (fig. 222).[72] The structure in this case is of alternating courses of brick and stone, its pavilion resembling a wingless version of the Beylerbeyi's. Another royal consort—Mihrişah

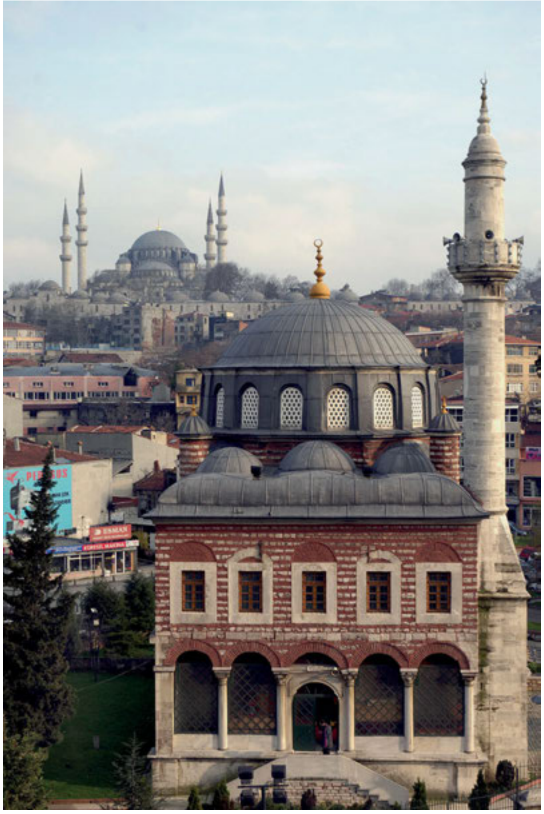


FIG. 222. Şebsefa Hatun Mosque, Istanbul, 1787–88, with the Süleymaniye Mosque in the background.

Sultan (d. 1805), mother of Selim III—founded an analogous mosque in Halıcıoğlu, on the northern shore of the Golden Horn, in 1793–94 (fig. 223).[73] Known as the Humbarahane Mosque and originally surrounded by barracks, this building recalls the Beylerbeyi not only because of its frontal pavilion, but also in being tied to a complex located on the opposite shore in Eyüp, as discussed later. These back-to-back successors to the Beylerbeyi show how persuasive its architectural conceit had proved.

Something else about Abdülhamid's mosque that anticipated future developments was its suburban shoreline location. Although the building of mosques, including royal ones, along Istanbul's waterways was already an established practice, the Beylerbeyi marks the moment when such settings became preferred: no sultan would ever construct his own mosque in the walled city again, and imperial patronage shifted instead to the shores of the Bosphorus.[74] This was a sensible move in several regards. It sidestepped the controversy of erecting new mosques in the capital at a time of continuing military losses, and it also avoided the difficulty of finding suitable plots of land in the city's crowded topography. Mosques built in suburban contexts were also more cost-effective, since they did not need to be large to stand out. Moreover, the sultans could make a virtue of their dispersed patronage, using it to enhance the image of an ever more present, ever more visible ruler. While the mosques of Istanbul proper remained the most esteemed and frequented, the new shoreline structures afforded valuable opportunities to cast a wider public relations net, and Abdülhamid visited over 45 different sites in the course of his Friday parades.[75] The English author Albert Richard Smith (d. 1860), who saw Abdülhamid's grandson Abdülmecid I (r. 1839–61) process by land to the Beylerbeyi in 1849, reveals in his travelogue that these suburban appearances were just as important for the sultan's interaction with his subjects as were his selamlıks in the heart of the city:

> A crowd of people, consisting principally of females, had collected before the mosque, and a square space was kept by the soldiers. Some little courtesy was shown to visitors, as the Franks were permitted to cross this enclosure to a corner close to the door, by which the Sultan was to enter. . . . The mob kept increasing. People brought petitions to give to the Sultan when he arrived, and were marshalled in a heap near the door by a *cavass* [*çavuş?*] or policeman, who had a whip in his hand to enforce obedience and order; men with cakes and sweetmeats loitered about. . . . When [the sultan] got to the door of the mosque, the people held their petitions, which were like briefs, up in the air. An attendant collected them, and then the Sultan entered, whilst the household gave two loud cries, meant as cheers in his honour.[76]

Smith opines that the Beylerbeyi "stands in the same relation and bearing to St. Sophia . . . as Rotherhithe Church does to St. Paul's,"[77] an astute observation that points to how such

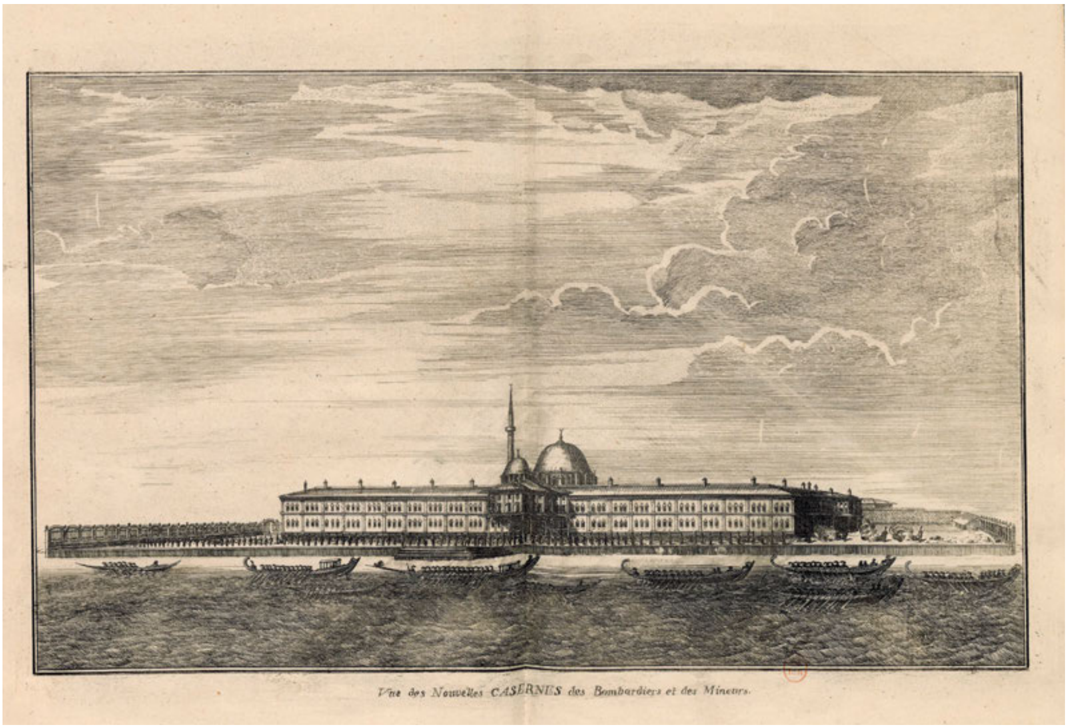

Vue des Nouvelles CASERNES des Bombardiers et des Mineurs.

FIG. 223. View of the Humbarahane Mosque with its original single minaret and the now lost surrounding barracks, Halıcıoğlu, Istanbul, 1793–94. From Mahmud Raʾif Efendi, *Tableau des nouveaux reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, composé par Mahmoud Rayf Èfèndi* [. . .] (Istanbul: Imprimé dans la nouvelle Imprimerie du Génie, sous la direction d'Abdurrahman Èfèndi, 1798). Engraving on paper.

mosques reverberated with the message of Istanbul's larger, more central monuments. These buildings together formed a network that extended over the wider city and served both to accommodate and to commemorate the sultan's show of benevolent dominion over his people, boosting the culture of royal self-display that I discussed earlier. Such expansion of the ruler's patronage grew especially important in the wartime setting of the later eighteenth century, for unlike their predecessors up to the 1690s, the sultans no longer personally led their troops on campaign. Istanbul itself now became the principal site for affirming the stamina and influence of the sovereign, who, as if perpetually reconquering the city, loomed ever larger in his subjects' lives and field of vision.

The proliferation of shoreline mosques that accompanied this evolving model of kingship was to some extent related to the spread of waterside palaces that had begun earlier, but the two processes differed in their connotations and outcomes. While both kinds of building contributed to the sultan's visibility, the mosques were more cogent signs of his selfless munificence, especially when erected, like the Beylerbeyi, on land formerly reserved for royal or otherwise private use. The theme of reviving old neighborhoods or creating new ones was, as we have seen, already critical to the discourse surrounding the imperial foundations of the eighteenth century. In the case of waterside mosques, which really did bring new facilities and public spaces to the comparatively undeveloped areas in which they were built, the topos of regeneration was that much more convincing.[78] It is significant that Abdülhamid's only other major mosque, completed in 1781–82, replaced a disused shoreline mansion of the Mirgünoğlu family, some way up the European side of the Bosphorus.[79] As Ayvansarayi's compendium explains, the sultan

> commanded that the place become a village with its land a tax farm. An unpretentious village with a blessed congregational mosque, a hamam and shops was newly created, and

> subsequently, in the period of Selim Khan the Third, it gained more distinction and became larger in extent.[80]

The mosque at the heart of this new village (today the suburb of Emirgan) was entirely rebuilt by Mahmud II in 1838, and though we do not know its design, the edifice that replaced it—a domeless stone prayer hall with a wooden pavilion at its front—may reflect the original arrangement. That the mosque would have had some sort of pavilion attached to it is certain, and whether or not it resembled the Beylerbeyi's, the symbolism would have been difficult to miss: the defunct Mirgünoğlu residence had—for the honor of God and the good of the people—been eclipsed by an altogether different kind of mansion, along with the flourishing village it came with.

The Beylerbeyi, which survives largely as it had been conceived, was no less emblematic of these ideas. It too replaced a real palace with a heavenly pavilion and its ancillaries, delivering practical benefits to the people even while serving the sultan's own reputation. The point is aptly verbalized by an inscription over the large rear gate into the mosque's precinct, prominently overlooking the main road of the village: "This abode was brought to life with imperial zeal. / [Beylerbeyi] became a new and flourishing city, when [before] it has been a valley of sighs."[81] Such interventions confirmed that, even in troubled times of war, the sultan maintained the wherewithal to provide for the improvement of his expanding capital and, with it, the well-being of his subjects.

ARCHITECTURE OF A NEW ORDER: SELİM III AND HIS GRAND PROJECT

Abdülhamid's nephew and successor, Selim III, was no less cognizant of the importance of building in the face of conflict. Born in 1761 to Mustafa III and his consort Mihrişah, Selim was the first male addition to the House of Osman since 1725, and much hope was invested in his eventual sultanate. He received a thorough education and enjoyed rare freedom under his uncle, even maintaining his own correspondence with Louis XVI of France (r. 1774–92, d. 1793). When Abdülhamid died in 1789, Selim was a young man of 28 years, the first sultan for nearly a century not to ascend the throne in or close to middle age. His reign promised much, and he was intensely aware of the high expectations held of him.[82]

Selim's first task was to conclude the ongoing wars with Russia and Austria. Despite some initial Ottoman successes, the Habsburgs took Belgrade in late 1789, six months into the new reign, while attempts to reverse the Russian annexation of the Crimea proved futile. Hostilities with Austria ended in 1791 with the Treaty of Sistova, whose terms could have been much worse for the empire: ruffled by the French Revolution and under pressure from the Ottomans' Prussian allies, the Habsburgs were compelled to return Belgrade and settle instead for a few meager border gains. The conflict with Russia, however, cost the empire dearly, and the Ottomans were forced to recognize Romanov control of the Crimea with the signing of the Treaty of Jassy in 1792.[83]

Although peace had come at a high price, Selim was now able to embark on a series of reforms aimed at bolstering his empire and avoiding future losses. At the center of this initiative was the establishment in 1794 of a new army whose training, equipment, and dress were all patterned on Western models. The army's name—Niẓām-ı Cedīd, "New Order"—has come to be used as the label for Selim's reforms more generally, covering a range of measures that included the founding of the Imperial School of Engineering (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun) in Hasköy in 1795 and the appointment of the first permanent Ottoman ambassadors to various European capitals.[84] Like the earlier reforms on which it built, Selim's New Order made considerable use of Western experts, their input complemented by that of such intermediary figures as d'Ohsson, who provided advice on how to apply imported models of military education.[85]

The Ottoman government was keen to advertise these developments and show that the empire was not lagging, and to this end, the polyglot Mahmud Raʾif Efendi (d. 1807)—formerly chief secretary to the Porte's ambassador to Britain—authored a printed French treatise on the reforms. Titled *Tableau des nouveaux reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman* and published in 1798, this short book promoted knowledge of the New Order to a wider European audience, and reviews and notices about it in Western journals are proof of the interest it garnered.[86] Even its publication reflected well on the empire, for the book, complete with naturalistic engravings (see fig. 223), was produced by the Imperial School of Engineering's own printing press, whose output consisted mainly of Ottoman translations of Western atlases and manuals.[87] Among those who read the treatise was Hobhouse, who considered the reforms to be unprecedented in scope and ambition:

> It would be impossible to find an instance in the annals of any country, of an attempt equal to the new constitution of Selim, either in the magnitude of its design, or the decisive originality of its bold innovations. The re-establishment of an immense empire upon its former basis was the proposed result, and this was to be accomplished by a total change of national character. The efforts of Peter the Great, stupendous as they were, had been directed to an amelioration of his subjects, which, compared to the reform intended by Selim, was slow and partial.[88]

Despite their consciously European framework, these reforms were not foreign in orientation, nor did they entail the "total change of national character" that Hobhouse claims. Selim's progressivism embraced rather than eclipsed Ottoman Sunni ideology, even if modern historians have tended to pit the religious establishment against the sultan. Indeed, his most ardent supporters included members of the Nakşibendi (Naqshbandi) and Mevlevi orders, Sufi groups that were closely tied to the state and saw reform as the surest means of preserving the empire, and thereby Islam itself.[89] But there was also a great deal of opposition to the New Order from those who stood to lose power, particularly the janissaries, who rightly suspected that the sultan would replace them with the new army if he could. The risk of revolt posed by the janissaries was a constant check on Selim's reformist agenda and prevented the new army from reaching its full potential.[90]

Selim's program was further frustrated when the empire once again became embroiled in international conflict in the aftermath of the French Revolution, which

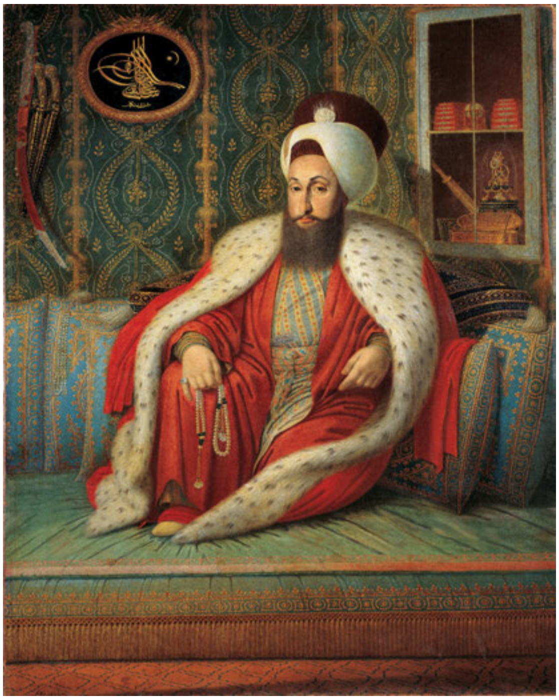


FIG. 224. Konstantin Kapıdağlı, portrait of Selim III, Istanbul, 1803. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul. Oil painting.

began in 1789. Having already lost their oldest Western ally with the fall of the Ancien Régime, the Ottomans were reluctant to invite additional misfortune by joining European efforts to contain the revolution. But when Napoleon (r. 1804–14, 1815; d. 1821) invaded the Ottoman province of Egypt in 1798, the empire was forced to declare war, now finding itself in alliance with its former enemy Russia. Selim's new army fought alongside the British to keep Napoleon from taking Acre, and in 1801, again with British help, the Ottomans were able to expel the French from Egypt. Mindful of French ascendancy and happy to leave well enough alone, Selim took a diplomatic tack and refused to partake in any further campaigns against Napoleon, instead recognizing him as emperor of France in 1806.[91] In a letter sent to his grand vizier that year, the sultan discusses a portrait that Napoleon had gifted him, and patronizingly seeks to demonstrate his own expertise in the niceties of European diplomacy:

> He has shown great friendship and sincerity by sending me his portrait. In Europe, it is an important custom for friends to present each other their portraits. You would not know about this, but I am happy with this action of his. I too have a specially made portrait of myself; it is a large panel. I am going to send it to my friend the emperor.[92]

The portrait in question has not been identified, though it may have resembled Kapıdağlı's well-known painting of the sultan seated on a sofa (fig. 224).[93]

Selim's concern for promoting himself visually extended also to his use of architecture.[94] If his predecessors had built in spite of difficult circumstances, Selim did so in defiance of them, and the renovation of the Ottoman capital continued unabated during his reign. One of his most important contributions was the rebuilding of the Eyüp Sultan Mosque, which stood a little outside the walled city opposite the supposed tomb of the eponymous Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad who had died in 674 during an Arab raid on Constantinople. Founded by Mehmed II in 1458, the mosque was the first to be constructed after Istanbul's conquest, and, together with its tomb, quickly became the holiest Muslim shrine complex in Europe.[95] The sultans eagerly capitalized on having so eminent a saint as their patron, frequently visiting the shrine during their processional appearances. Moreover, the courtyard between the mosque and tomb served as the usual venue for the sword-girding ceremony by which a new sultan was invested with power.[96] Selim's decision to rebuild the mosque between 1798 and 1800 was motivated partly by practical considerations—the structure had fallen into disrepair—and partly by a desire to tie his patronage to the venerable site, whose minarets he retained from an earlier renovation by Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha.

Recalling his father's restoration of the almost equally old and esteemed Fatih Mosque, Selim erected a building that combines a revivalist sixteenth-century style with certain telltale Baroque features (figs. 225, 226, 227): the pointed arches of the

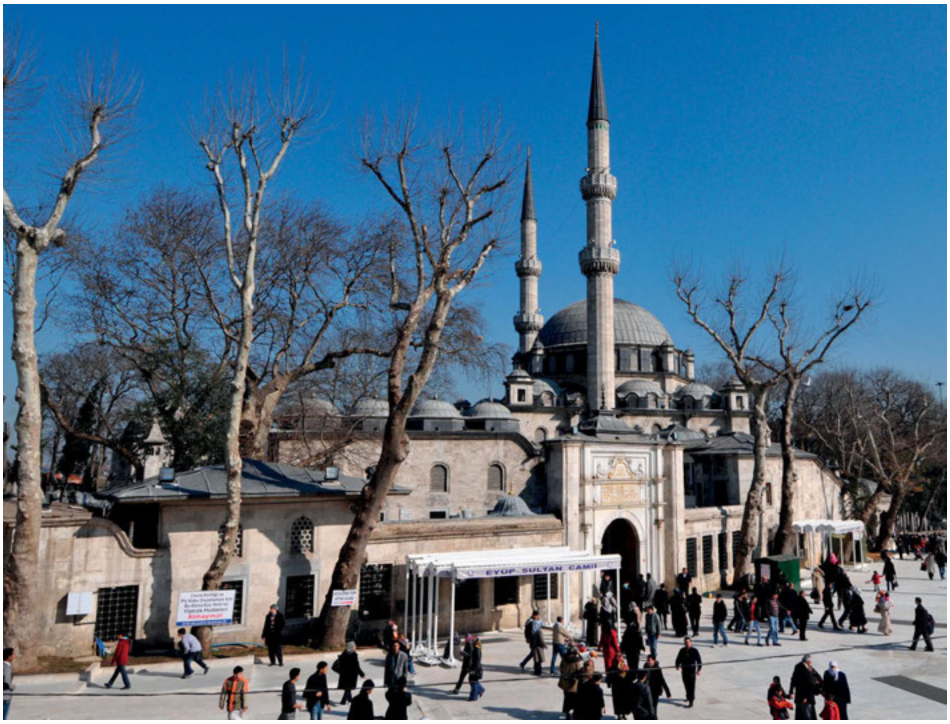


FIG. 225. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, Eyüp, Istanbul, originally built 1458, rebuilt 1798–1800.

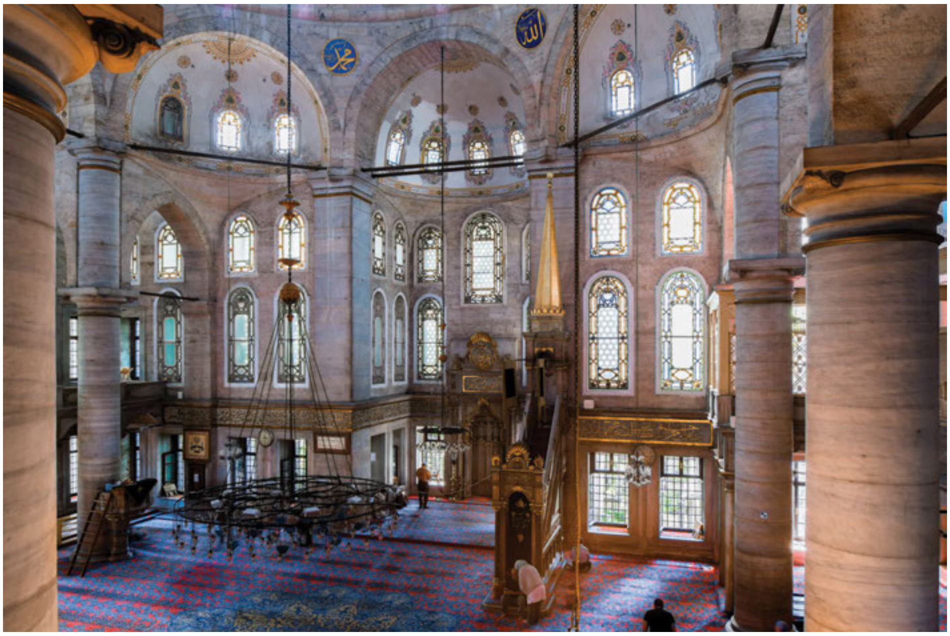


FIG. 226. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, interior looking toward the qibla wall.

courtyard are carried on Ionic-like scroll capitals, and a splendidly carved mihrab and minbar stand out in the otherwise old-fashioned prayer hall, which adjoins a large ramped pavilion. These modern elements relate the mosque to the nearby complex that, as mentioned earlier, had recently been established by Selim's mother. Lining one of the streets that lead to the mosque through Eyüp's elite cemeteries, Mihrişah's complex is a vibrant Baroque ancillary to the shrine and includes a tomb, imaret, school, and sebil (fig. 228).[97] The components echo the Hamidiye at Bahçekapı, as too does their roadside arrangement, which would have provided the sultan's processions with an opulent and up-to-date backdrop (fig. 229). The timing of Selim and Mihrişah's

FIG. 227. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, detail of the minbar.

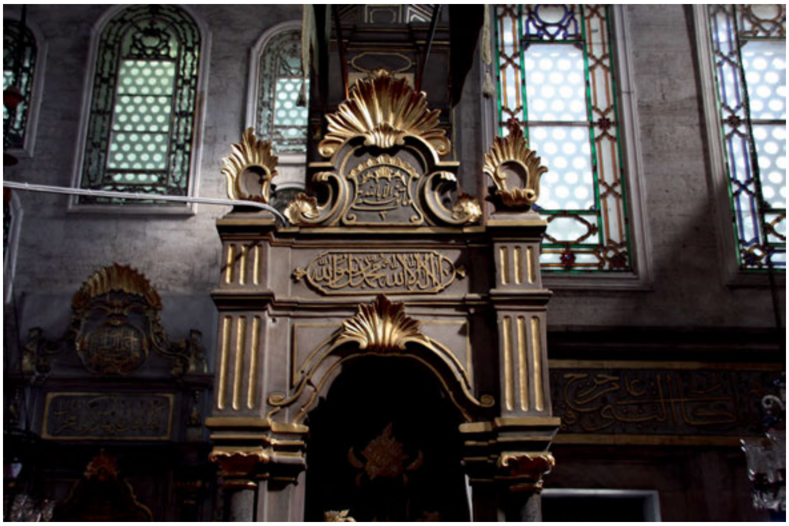
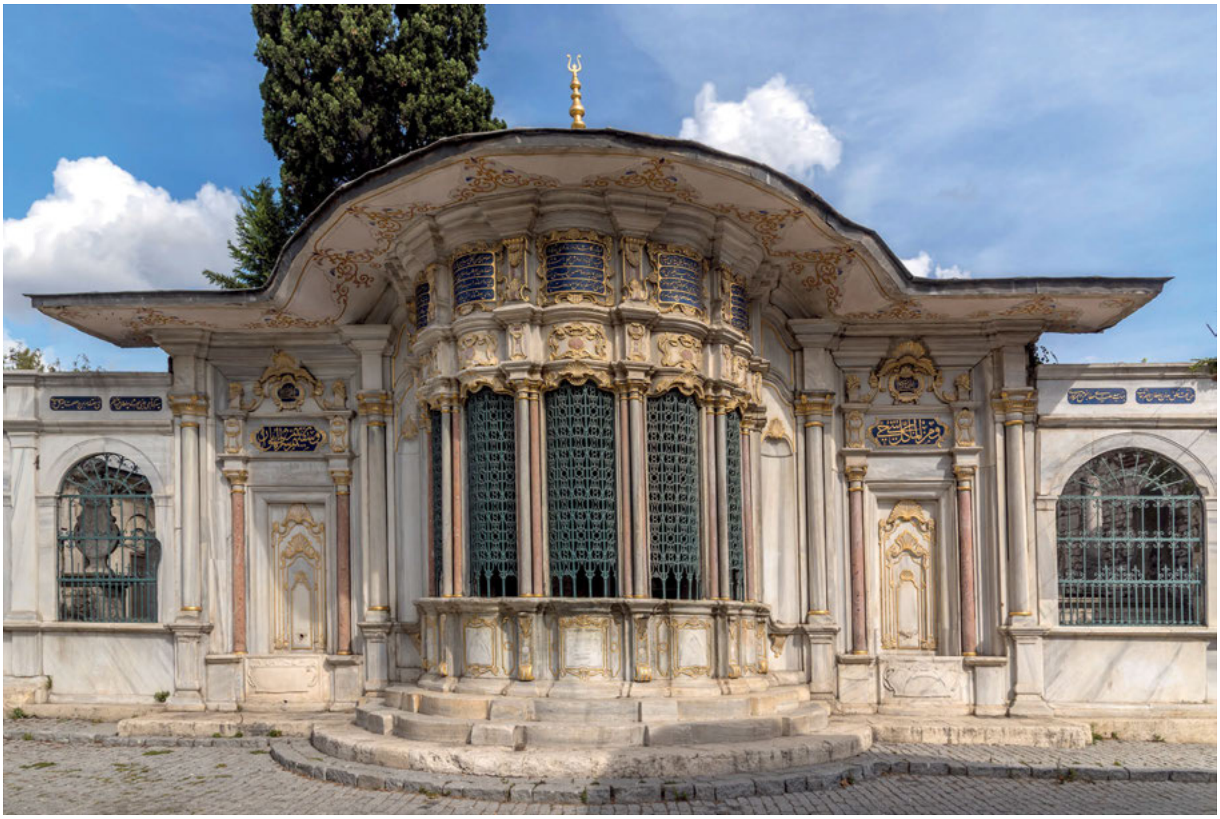


FIG. 228. Mihrişah Sultan Complex, Eyüp, Istanbul, 1792–96, sebil. (© Aydın Sertbaş / Fotolia.)



Eyüp projects made clear the Islamic dimension of his reformist drive, and it is notable that the Mevlevi Sufis—staunch backers of the New Order—would become increasingly prominent in the girding ceremonies held in the rebuilt mosque's courtyard.[98]

More explicitly demonstrative of Selim's reforms were the numerous barracks he constructed for the training and accommodation of his new troops. Designed as large multistory quadrangles, these barracks were of Western inspiration and represented a new architectural type in the Ottoman context. The earliest example appears to have been the aforementioned Kasımpaşa marine barracks, built during Abdülhamid's reign, but it was under Selim that these monumental structures began to proliferate

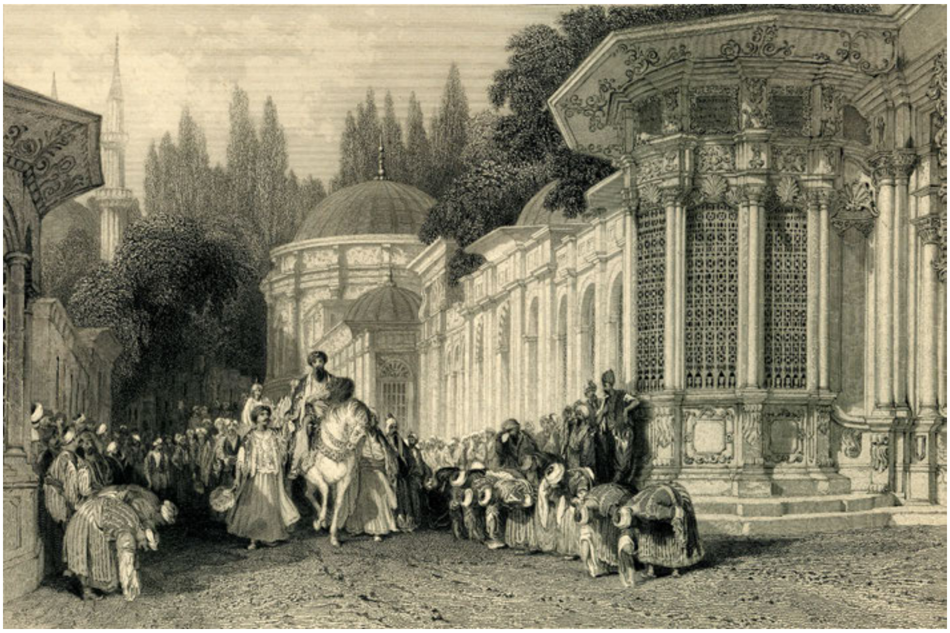


FIG. 229. View of a newly girded sultan processing through the Mihrişah Sultan Complex. By G. Presbury after Thomas Allom, from Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated* [. . .] (London and Paris: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1838). Engraving on paper.

along the city's shorelines.[99] Although they were largely of wooden construction and would all go on to be rebuilt in the nineteenth century, Selim's barracks succeeded in transforming Istanbul's extended cityscape, providing highly visible signs of the empire's hoped-for military turnaround. Once again, Selim was supported in his endeavors by his mother, whose Humbarahane Mosque stood in the middle of a now lost barracks complex, close to the Hasköy engineering school (see fig. 223).

It was also in these years that the German-born painter and architect Antoine Ignace Melling (d. 1831) entered into Ottoman service, one of the first documented cases of a nonrenegade Christian Westerner working in the sphere of Ottoman civil architecture.[100] Melling had come to Istanbul as a member of the Russian ambassador's suite and eventually attracted the interest of Selim's sister and confidante Hadice Sultan (d. 1821), who commissioned him to design dresses and jewelry in addition to works of architecture. Hadice corresponded with the artist in simplified Turkish written in the Latin alphabet, addressing him in accordance with his Christian status as "Melling Calfa."[101] The most notable product of their collaboration was a European-style Neoclassical pavilion that Melling added in the 1790s to Hadice Sultan's grand shoreline palace at Defterdarburnu (fig. 230).[102] As with the rest of Melling's Ottoman output, this building no longer survives.

Through Hadice's backing, Melling also came to work for the sultan, though the vast majority of royal projects continued to be entrusted to native artists. Important among them was Foti Kalfa, a Greek architect who is said by the nineteenth-century minister and historian Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Pasha to have been Simeon Kalfa's apprentice.[103] While the claim is unsubstantiated, Foti, like Simeon, had trained as a master carpenter, as Ottoman sources refer to him as such.[104] He was held in high regard by the sultan, who in 1805 rewarded his "fine services and devotion" to imperial architecture by decreeing him exempt from the usual taxes and sumptuary laws imposed on non-Muslim subjects.[105] These privileges were extended also to Foti's sons, who assisted him in his work. One of the projects that Foti participated in was the new

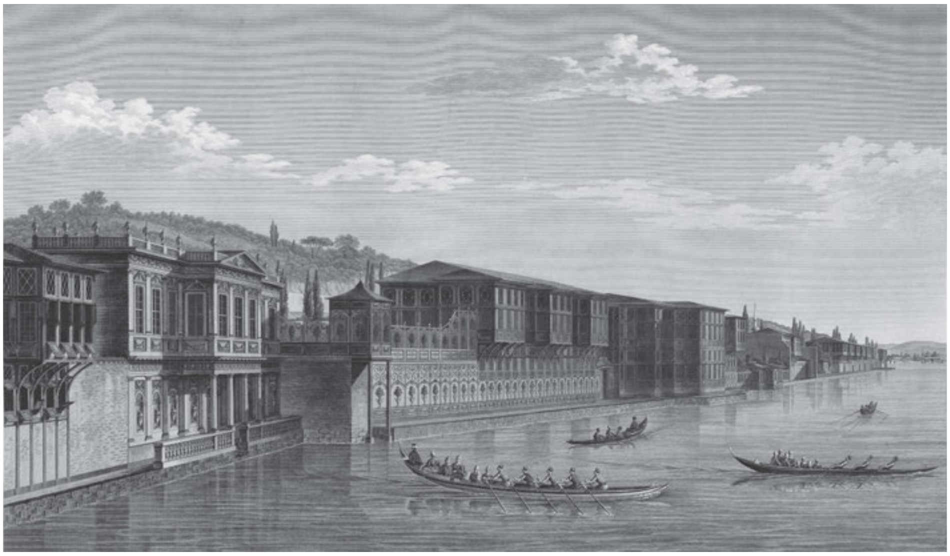


FIG. 230. View of the Palace of Hadice Sultan, Defterdarburnu, Istanbul, renovated 1790s. By Reville, Le Rouge, and Née after Antoine Ignace Melling, from Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris, Strasbourg, and London: Treuttel et Würtz, 1819). Etching on paper.

Eyüp Sultan Mosque, construction of which took place during the tenure of the chief architect Mehmed Arif Agha. The roles of these two men relative to each other is unclear, though Foti clearly played a major part in designing the mosque: he is listed first among the Christians in a register of officials, artists, and workmen who received robes of honor at the building's inauguration.[106] Remarkably, this document does not follow the conventional practice of relegating all the Christians to the end, for Foti and his associates precede some of the Muslims on the list. Whether the same order was followed in the actual ceremony cannot be known, but either way, the open favor that Foti enjoyed demonstrates an increasing willingness on the part of the Ottoman state to acknowledge the services of non-Muslim architects.

Foti was a leading figure also in Selim's greatest project, a new mosque complex in Üsküdar (figs. 231, 232). Called the Selimiye, the complex was built between 1801 and 1805 in Üsküdar's less developed southern part.[107] The choice of name was a frank declaration of the mosque's founder, who felt confident enough not to dedicate the monument to a deceased relative. Indeed, an official ruzname entry recording a visit by Selim to the mosque almost a year before its completion shows that the name had already been decided.[108] Three chief architects served during the construction, but the main builder was almost certainly Foti Kalfa, since the decrees awarding him privileges stress his involvement in the mosque and date from immediately after its completion. Foti and his team created no ordinary complex: in addition to such expected dependencies as a primary school, a timekeeper's office, a bathhouse, and fountains, the mosque was accompanied by ninety-seven shops, a printing house, a bakery, shoreline facilities for rowers and porters, and various factories and workshops for the production of goods ranging from candles to textiles. In short, the Selimiye was conceived as a fully equipped new urban center, distinguished by its cutting-edge facilities and wide streets arranged on a grid system, which extended from the shore to the hill of the Karacaahmet Cemetery about half a kilometer inland. Hovhannisian, whose description of Istanbul contains one of the few references to the Selimiye that date from its founder's lifetime, tells us that the project resulted in a "well-populated neighborhood" with "important and necessary" buildings.[109]

The establishment of this model district coincided with that of the neighboring Selimiye Barracks, a vast waterside structure erected between 1800 and 1803 for the new army (fig. 233).[110] Easily seen from across the Bosphorus, these barracks announced Selim's reforms to the rest of the city, and the adjacent mosque complex was surely meant to be regarded in conjunction with them. Both works occupied the erstwhile grounds of the Kavak Palace, which was destroyed to make way for the barracks, a further statement of Selim's public-mindedness. Completing this comprehensive monument to the New Order was a Nakşibendi lodge that stood at the upper end of the complex, as if a spiritual complement to the barracks downhill.[111] Its location opposite the tomb of Karaca Ahmed—whom the rival janissary-affiliated Bektashi order revered as a saint—underscored its meaning as a bulwark of reformist Sunnism.[112]

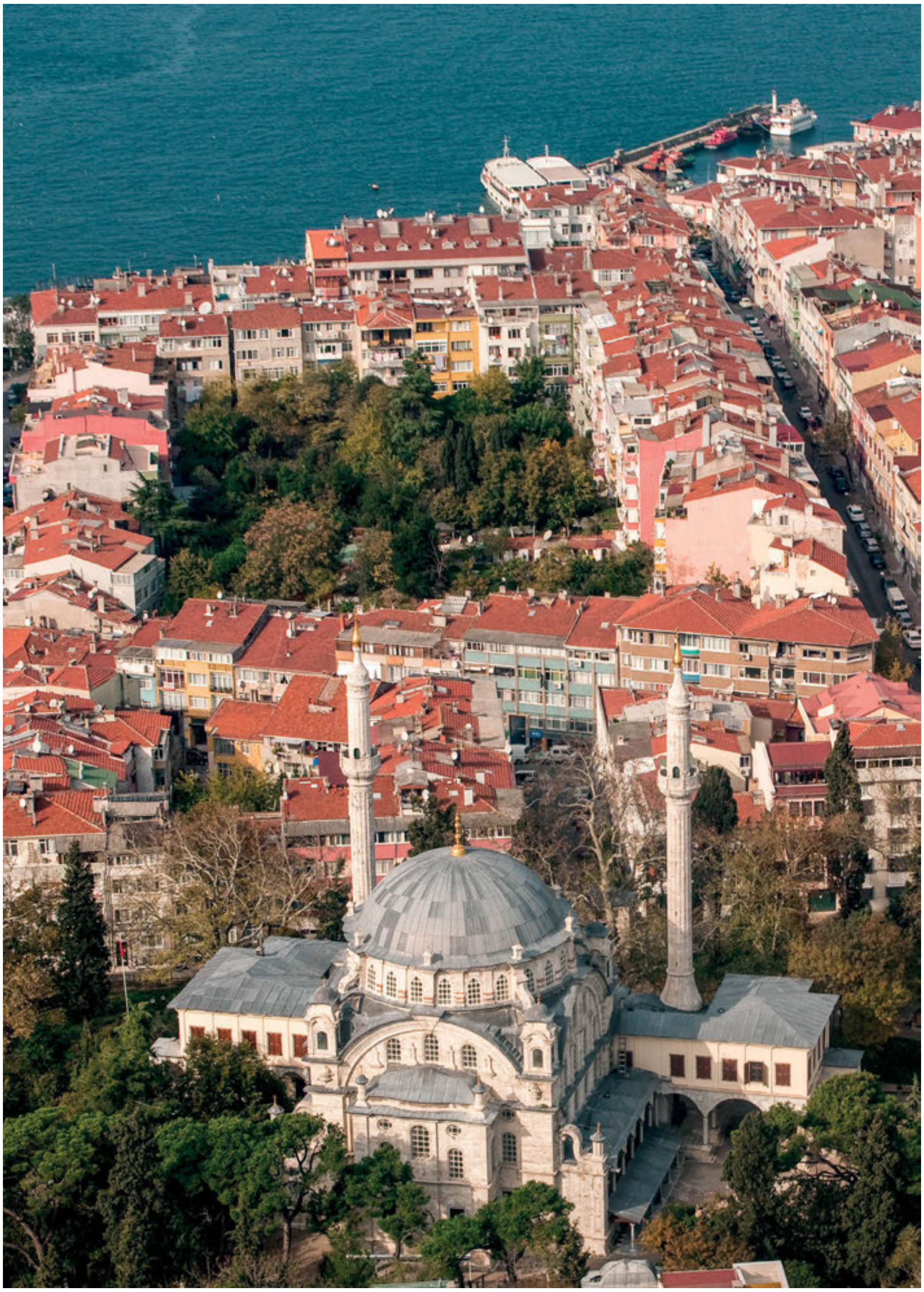


FIG. 231. Selimiye Mosque, Üsküdar, Istanbul, 1801–5.

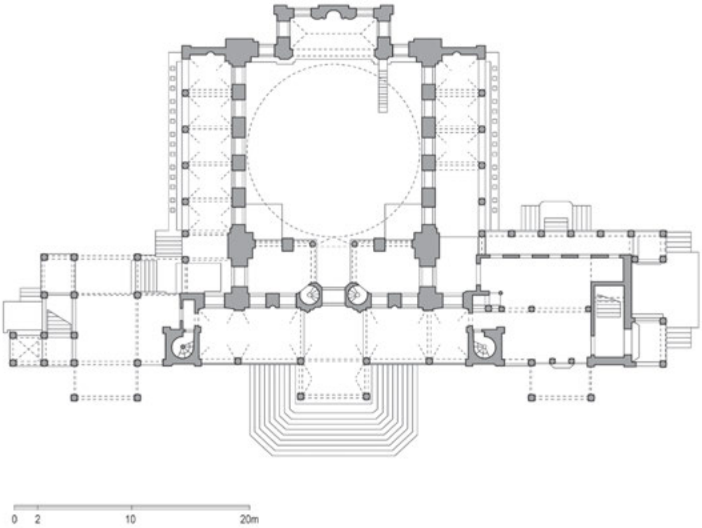


FIG. 232. Selimiye Mosque, plan.

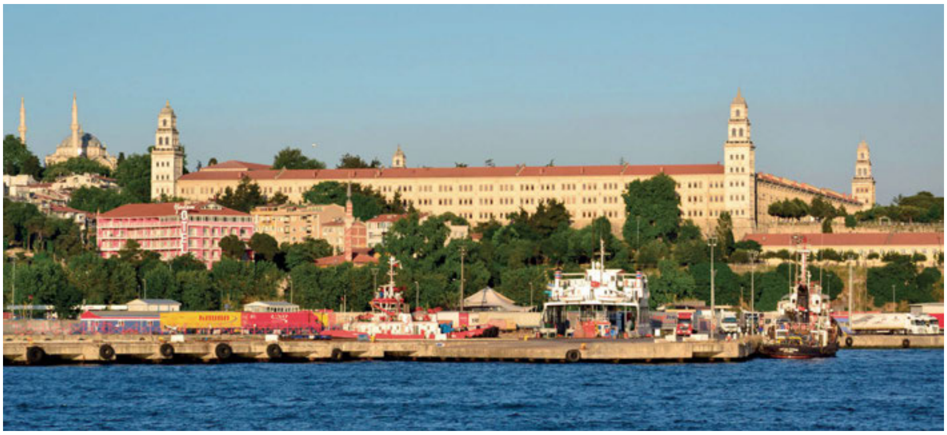


FIG. 233. Selimiye Barracks, Üsküdar, Istanbul, originally built 1800–1803, rebuilt 1826 and later, with the Selimiye Mosque in the left background.

The mosque itself—the only major part of the complex to have survived largely unchanged—is a summation of the key shifts of preceding decades, combining what Selim and his builders must have considered the best of earlier models (figs. 231, 234, 235). Its single-domed prayer hall returns to the plan established by the Nuruosmaniye and followed by the Ayazma, with a square rather than octagonal baldachin. Built within a walled enclosure on the hillside overlooking the barracks, the Selimiye further resembles the two earlier mosques in its elevated location, though its visibility from and proximity to the water—qualities shared by the Ayazma—mean that it also partakes of the trend toward shoreline sites. Stylistically, the mosque fully embraces the innovations of the Ottoman Baroque, whose regenerative look lent itself perfectly to Selim's mission. The deeply molded arches of the baldachin are, for the first time, entirely round, their form accentuated by their enlarged decorative keystones. The windows have round or bell-shaped arches, and those piercing the baldachin tympana are framed by pilasters like those of the Ayazma, except now without crescent-moon pinnacles. Curvilinear flying buttresses brace the dome and lateral walls, recalling in more exaggerated form their counterparts at the Laleli, whose architecture is also evoked by the thin courses of red brick that enliven the base of the Selimiye's dome. The rest of the structure is of well-dressed stone elegantly carved with moldings and cornices, with marble galleries of basket-handle arches along the flanks of the building.

The fineness of its construction distinguishes the Selimiye from the less polished Beylerbeyi, and so too does its relative monumentality, which sees a return to the more imposing proportions of the mosques predating Abdülhamid's. Nevertheless, the Beylerbeyi's impact is very much evident on the Selimiye's entrance side, where we again find a wide royal pavilion in lieu of a courtyard (see figs. 234, 235). The pavilion follows

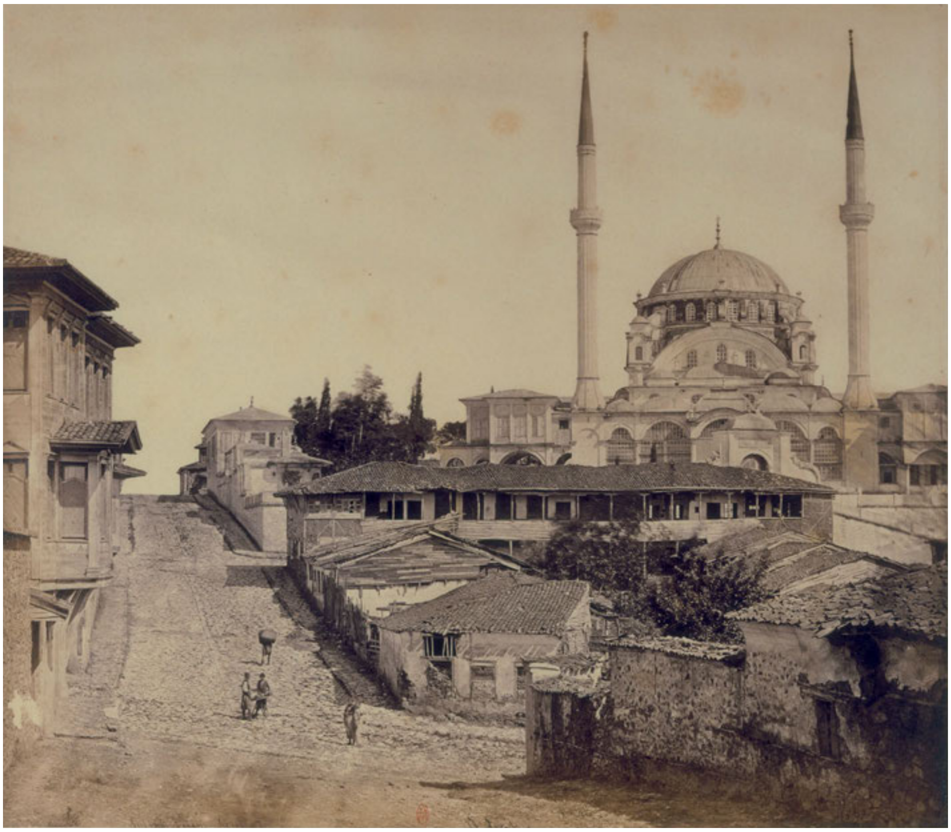


FIG. 234. Selimiye Mosque, exterior view from the northwest showing the main façade and the original form of the minarets. Photographed by James Robertson, 1854. Albumen print.

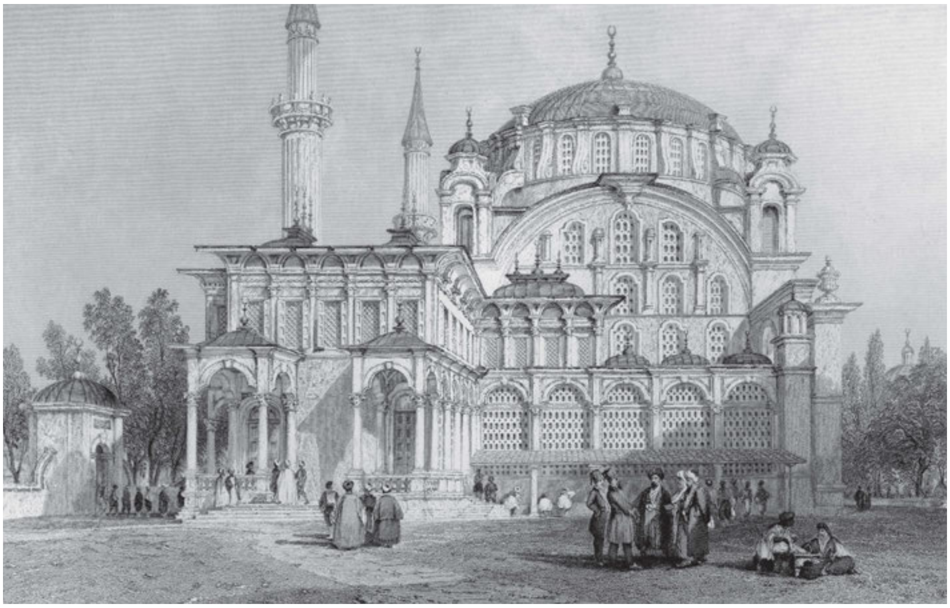


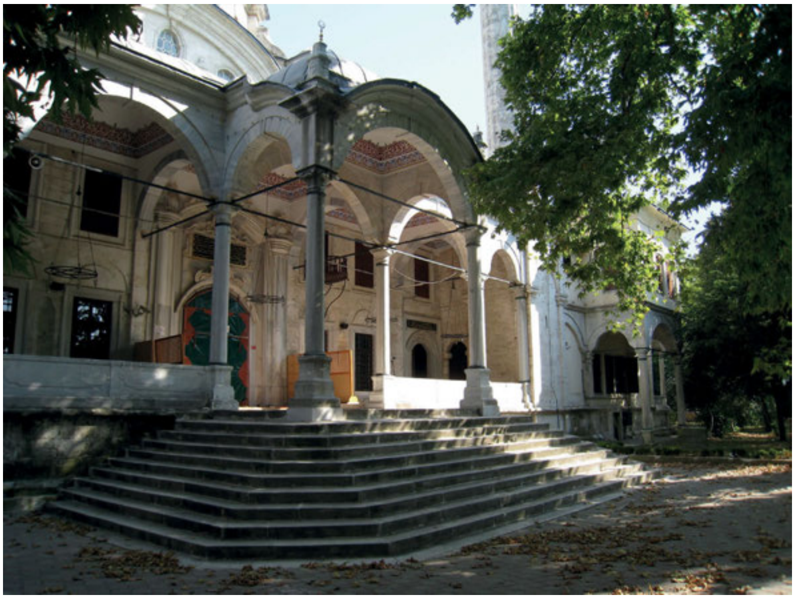
FIG. 235. View of the Selimiye Mosque from the southwest, looking toward the main wing of the royal pavilion. By J. Tingle after Thomas Allom, from Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated* [. . .] (London and Paris: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1838). Engraving on paper.

its prototype in having two lateral wings that extend beyond the width of the prayer hall. Greater in scale than their counterparts at the Beylerbeyi, these blocks are borne on marble arcades that resemble and join those along the mosque's sides, and they are proportionally aligned with the lower tiers of the much taller prayer hall. Their rectangular windows, low roofs, and plastered walls, however, distinguish them as residential in style. Each of the blocks has its own entrances and staircase, and that on the right—that is, to the southwest—is larger and contiguous with the sultan's prayer loge, thus reversing the arrangement of the Beylerbeyi.

The gallery connecting the two wings is here set back, allowing for the placement of a vaulted portico between them in front of the main entrance to the prayer hall (fig. 236). Ascended by a cascading stairway, this marble-built portico comprises five bays and an additional central projection, with round and basket-handle arches resting on columns that feature subtly foliated scroll capitals. Flanking the portico and bordered by the pavilion's wings are two lofty minarets whose shafts were "shaved" soon after their construction in order make them more slender.[113] The stone finials that today surmount these towers are the result of a later restoration that replaced the original lead cones (see figs. 234, 235). The prayer-hall entrance at the back of the portico is a magnificent marble doorway carved in high relief with undulating scrolls, aigrette-like crests, and Rococo cartouches (fig. 237). Near the top of the door, immediately below a cartouche containing Selim's tughra, is a versified nastaʿlīq inscription that calls the sultan "the ornament of the caliphal crown and most high emperor."[114] The text goes on to describe the mosque complex in terms familiar from the Beylerbeyi: "He made this temple prosper like a pavilion in the Paradise of Delight, / And through his fine endeavors brought Üsküdar back to life."[115]

Entering the mosque, we find ourselves in a space that bears out the palatial conceit of the building's façade (fig. 238). The main area is entirely covered by the dome, with no lateral galleries to complicate the configuration. Though not particularly large, the hall is rendered light and airy by its tall, copiously fenestrated walls. The paintwork that today covers the walls is in an anachronistic classical Ottoman style, no doubt producing a very different effect from that of the original scheme, of which no record survives. A marble frieze carved with the Victory Sura wraps around the majority of the hall below the first row of arched windows, harking back to the inscription of the same text at the Nuruosmaniye. The mihrab, located at the back of an apsidal projection, and the nearby minbar are beautifully carved works of marble, decorated in the same Baroque-Rococo mode as the prayer hall's entrance.

Opposite these furnishings, and likewise made of marble, is an arcaded rear gallery (fig. 239). Doors at either end of its upper level lead to the pavilion's two wings, each of which contains a series of rooms and halls for the sultan and his suite, thus developing Beylerbeyi's model into a truly functional little palace. To return to the gallery, the central arch is wider and flatter than those to its side, and its face bulges forward together with the parapet above it. Hanging from the arch is a carved and gilded fictive curtain that is gathered into swags. This extraordinary feature, which frames one's passage in and out of the prayer hall, adds another residential note to the building, as if having been drawn up to permit access to a choice sultanic space.



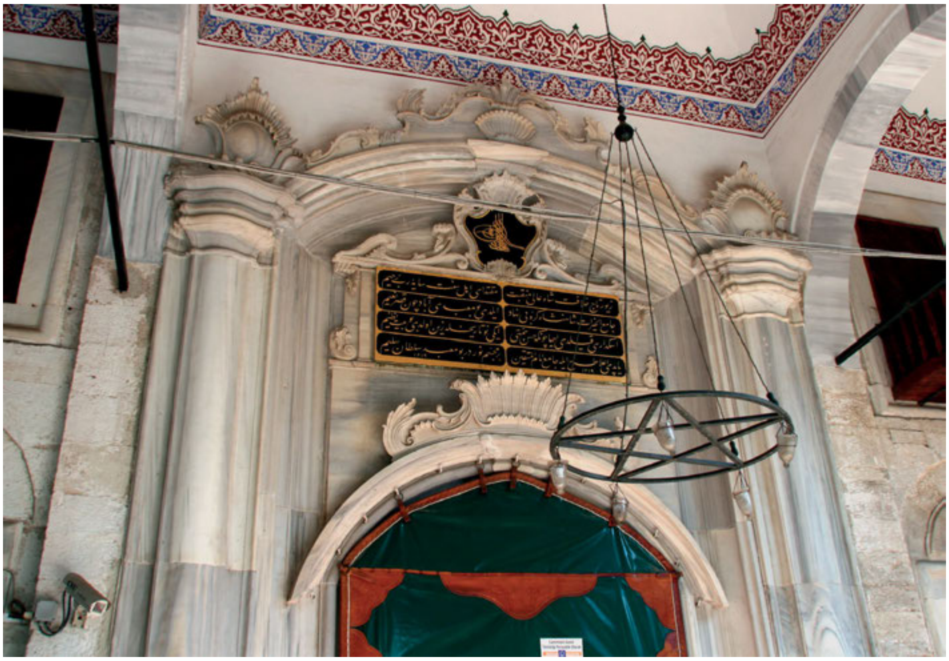


FIG. 236. Selimiye Mosque, entrance portico and part of the royal pavilion.

FIG. 237. Selimiye Mosque, upper part of the main entrance.

A palatial setting is suggested also by the royal prayer loge. Unlike that of the Beylerbeyi, the loge here is not integrated into the rear gallery; it instead fills an extension of the pavilion's southwestern block that is externally attached to the right-hand wall of the prayer hall, and it communicates with the mosque's interior by means of an arched opening (fig. 240; see fig. 235). This novel setup leaves the loge outside the space of the prayer hall and turns its grilled screen into a window overlooking the congregation below. The conceptual and visual relationship to the Topkapı's Council Hall is now even more striking than at the Beylerbeyi, and it should be noted that Selim had renovated the hall a decade earlier in 1792, overlaying its sixteenth-century architecture with a lavish Baroque-Rococo skin (see figs. 216, 217).[116] This thorough updating of the empire's highest judicial institution came just as Selim was launching his reforms, and

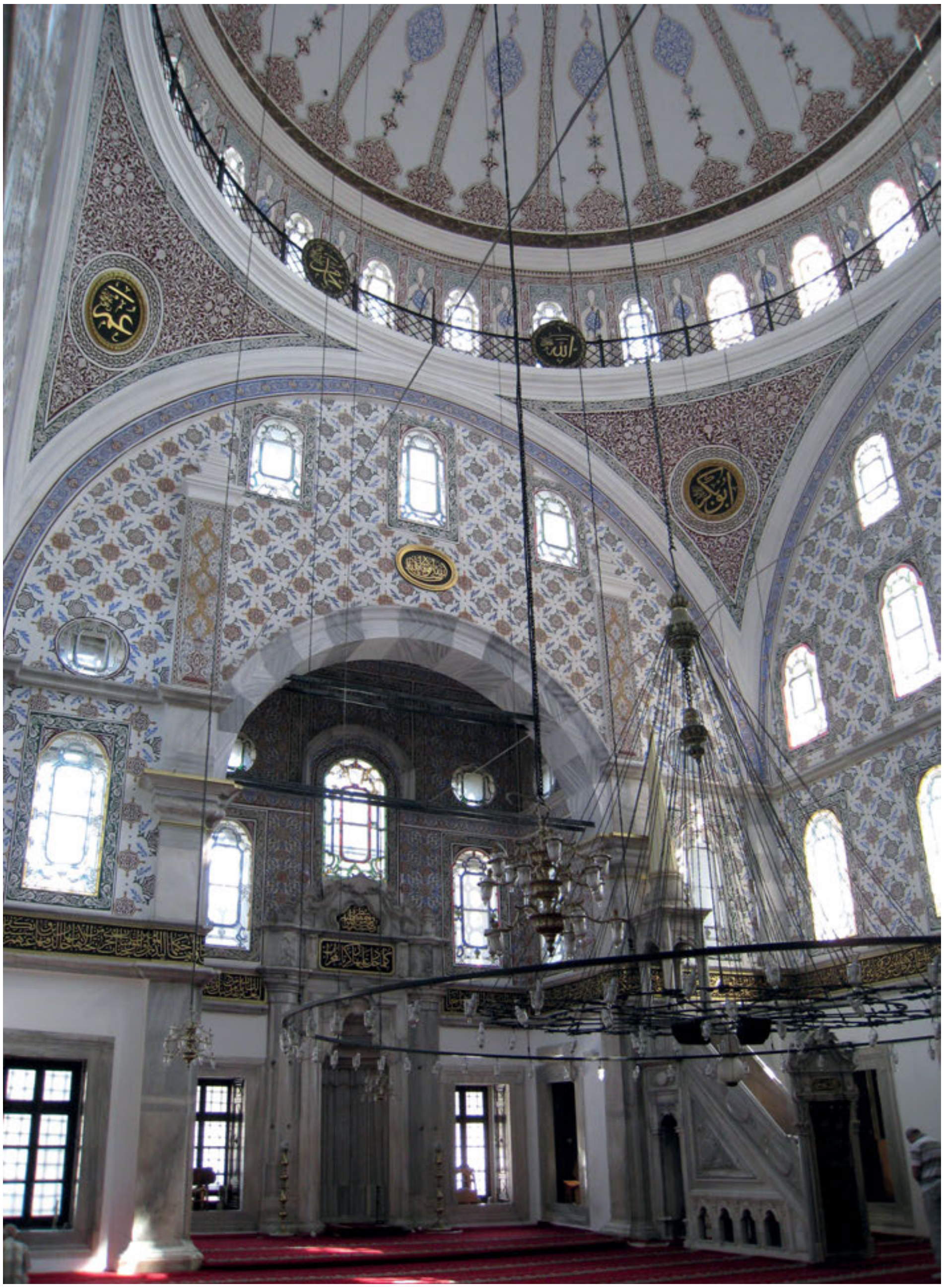


FIG. 238. Selimiye Mosque, interior looking south toward the mihrab and minbar.

the timing cannot have been accidental. With its revitalized scheme, the Council Hall became a building fit for the New Order, and thus an even more appropriate referent for Selim's politically charged and eminently modern mosque.

Unfortunately for the sultan, the symbolic promise of the Selimiye Mosque did not translate into reality. Tensions with the New Order's opponents mounted as work on the complex came to an end, such that even the opening of the mosque could not proceed without trouble. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (d. 1895), who chronicled this period in the mid-nineteenth century, recounts that Selim and his entourage were about to set out by water to the inauguration when "the janissaries—responding to rumors that the soldiers of the New Order would replace them in lining up for the ceremonial salutation—all took up arms with the intention of destroying the dignitaries of the

Sublime Porte and targeting the members of the New Order with their bullets." The ceremony was abandoned, and only upon being reassured that they would not be deprived of their traditional duties did the janissaries desist and allow the mosque to be opened with less fanfare several weeks later.[117]

But this was not the end of Selim's problems. His decision to support Napoleon led to yet another unsuccessful war with Russia between 1806 and 1812. Meanwhile, his attempts to introduce the new army into the Balkans fueled the anger of internal opponents, who in 1806 prevented the troops from entering Edirne. Turkish historiography has dubbed this event the Second Edirne Incident, for like its namesake a century before, it marked the beginning of a revolt that would eventually topple the sultan. Encouraged by members of the court and ulema who were hostile to the reforms, mutinous Ottoman troops marched on the capital in 1807 under the leadership of the janissary Kabakçı Mustafa (d. 1808). The sultan tried to assuage the rebels by dissolving the new army and executing the key members of his reformist circle, but he was nonetheless forced to abdicate in favor of his cousin Mustafa IV (r. 1807–8), a son of Abdülhamid's. Selim was killed on the orders of his successor in 1808, and his body interred in the tomb of his father, Mustafa III, at Laleli.[118]

Although his life and reforms were cut short, Selim acquired a high reputation in death, with his Üsküdar project surviving as a tangible reminder of his thwarted goals. Mustafa IV was himself deposed by partisans of Selim in late 1808, and the throne now passed to Mustafa's younger brother, Mahmud II. A young and energetic ruler, Mahmud took up his cousin's baton and set about a series of radical measures, including the introduction of dress reforms beginning in 1826 and, most notable of all, the destruction of the janissaries that same year.[119] This latter act—the so-called Auspicious Incident (*Vaḳʿa-ı Ḫayriyye*)—was immediately followed by the reconstruction of

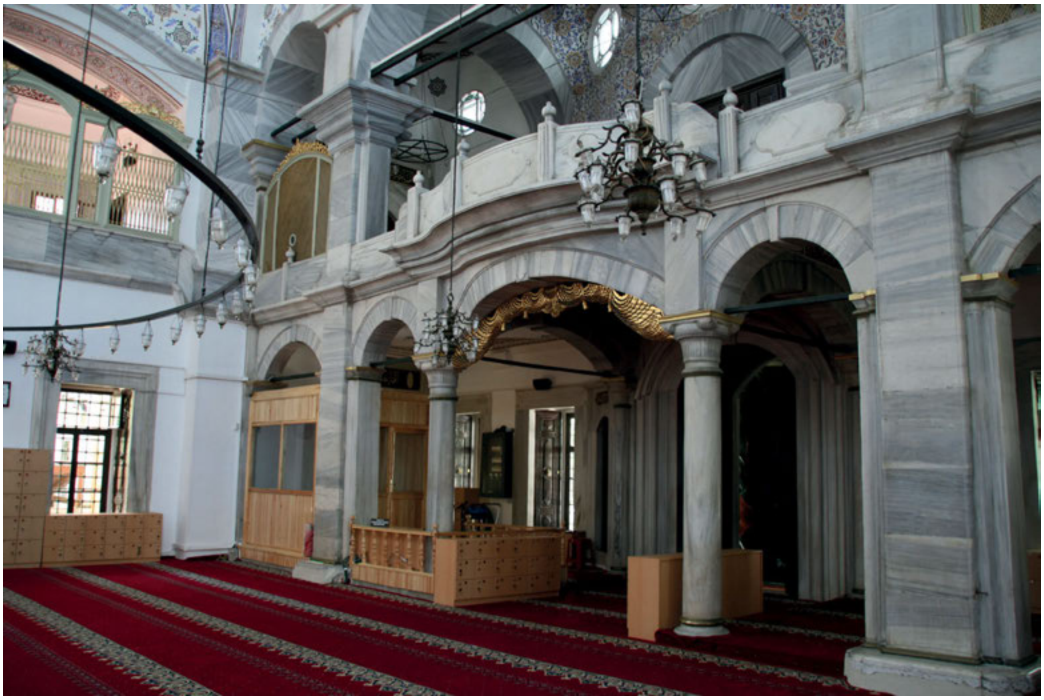


FIG. 239. Selimiye Mosque, interior looking west toward the entrance and rear gallery, with the royal prayer loge on the far left.

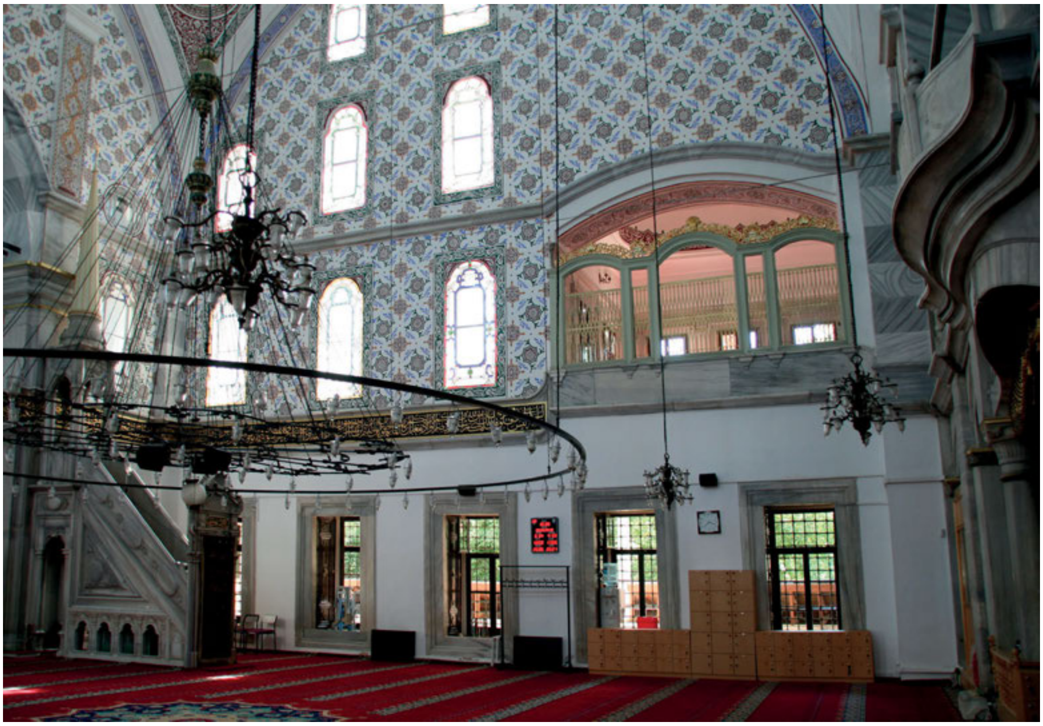


FIG. 240. Selimiye Mosque, interior looking toward the southwest, with the royal prayer loge on the right.

the Selimiye Barracks, which the janissaries had burned down by 1812. The new building, a renovated version of which still stands today, restored both the physical and emblematic integrity of Selim's Üsküdar project.[120]

Even when the barracks lay desolate, those who viewed the Selimiye and its associated buildings were duly impressed by what their founder had created. Hobhouse, whose admiring assessment of the New Order was quoted earlier, visited Üsküdar shortly after Selim's fall and recognized the far-reaching, if unfulfilled, aims that underlay the complex:

> [O]n a hill above, stand the ruins of the barracks erected by the late Selim, the exercising-ground, the mosck, and several wide regular streets, intended by that enterprising Sultan to have been allotted to manufacturers of silk and cotton, which, as it is, are sent from Smyrna to England, spun there, and again imported to Constantinople, to be worked into garments and household furniture.[121]

Writing almost contemporaneously, Pertusier too praised the Selimiye's "fine neighborhood," with its "large, perfectly straight streets that cross at right angles," and he gives an enthusiastic description of the "superb mosque" itself:

> Situated in the middle of a spacious court, regular and surrounded by a breast-high wall, thus allowing the eye to enjoy all the advantages of its position, this mosque presents a square crowned by an elegant cupola, its faces ending in circular sections that serve to support the dome. Attached to the facade is a grand colonnaded gallery, flanked by two minarets and terminating in two pavilions, whose ground stories are porticoes, and whose upper floors are lodgings for the imams.[122]

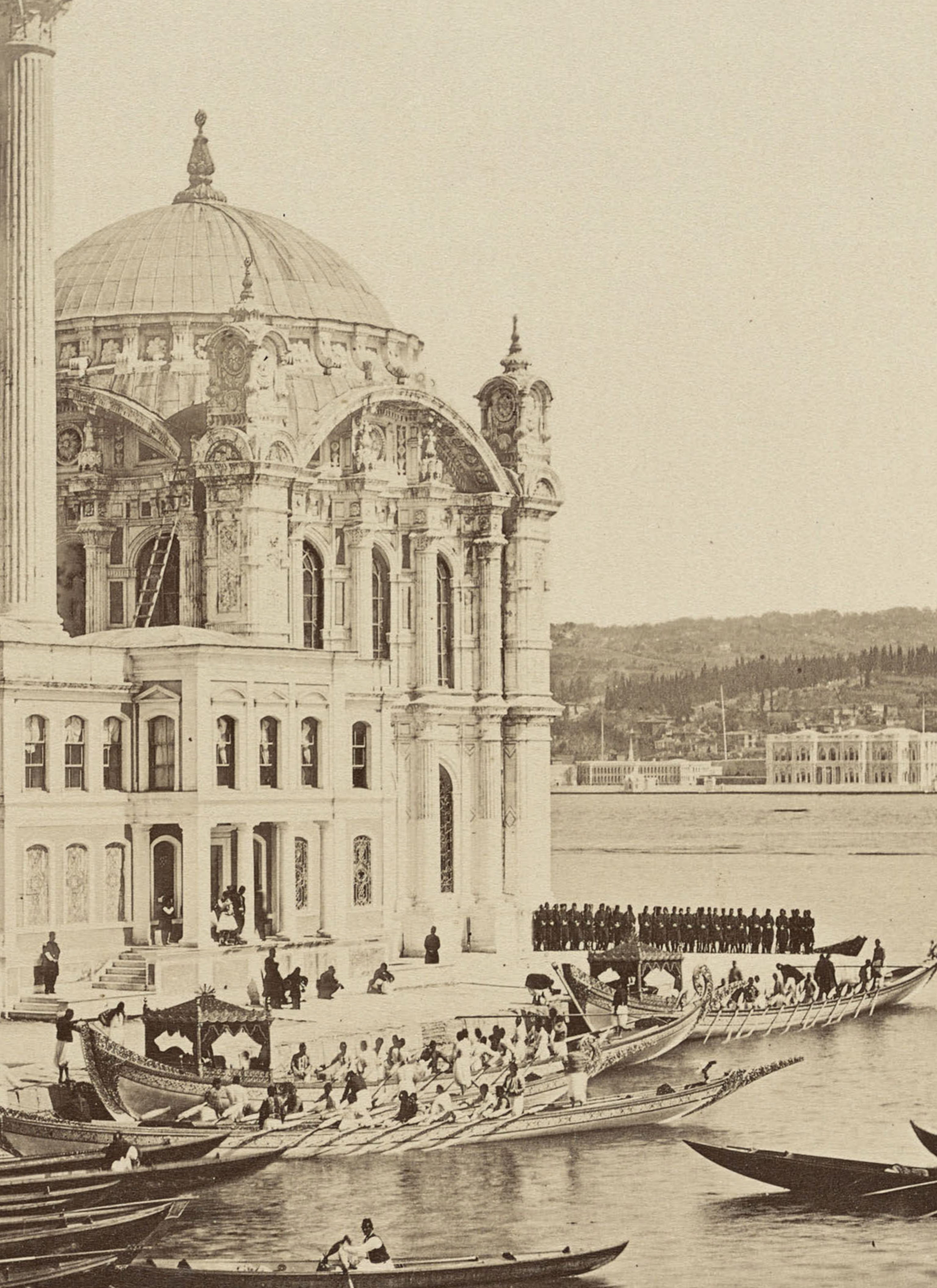
It is curious that Pertusier should have misinterpreted the royal pavilion in this way, though telling that he did so on the basis of its residential pretensions.[123]

A more accurate, though no less favorable, reading of the Selimiye is provided by the British traveler Charles MacFarlane (d. 1858), who was invited to look inside the mosque by its imams in 1828:

> The interior was exquisitely simple: it was lined from dome to floor with pure white marble! The sculptured ornaments were few and in good taste; they were chiefly scrolls. Egyptian mats covered the floor, and they, save a beautiful marble pulpit, a kiblè [that is, mihrab], and a sort of chandelier, hung with ostriches' eggs, were the only furniture in the body of the Mosque. The tribune or gallery devoted to the Sultan, and which had often been occupied by the unfortunate Selim, who built and endowed the Mosque, was high above the door, and faced with trellice work (like the nuns' recesses I have before had occasion to allude to), very prettily gilt. I staid within about half an hour.[124]

MacFarlane's reference to extensive marble cladding is not borne out by the actual architecture, and it is likely that what he saw was exposed dressed limestone as on the outside of the building. Today's heavy-handed paintwork makes a much busier impression than what he describes.

For MacFarlane, the Selimiye was "conspicuous, imperial, and well deserving attention," a judgment visually seconded the following decade by Thomas Allom's (d. 1872) beautifully detailed depiction of the mosque (see fig. 235).[125] These tributes to the building recall the praise lavished by other commentators on the Nuruosmaniye, and indeed, among the Baroque mosques, the Selimiye is perhaps second to that monument in generating such engaged responses by Western observers. This is not surprising. The Selimiye had borrowed and updated the Nuruosmaniye's winning design, taking a model already redolent of Ottoman prosperity and combining it with the recently developed and equally meaningful pavilion façade, with all its overtures of outward sultanic compassion. Half a century after the Ottoman Baroque had first appeared, Selim and his architects were able to learn from what the new style had bequeathed them and produce a highly successful amalgam of earlier experiments. The result would in turn set an enduring paradigm for the future.



Conclusion

By the early 1800s, Istanbul was a city reshaped by the new sultanic foundations that had been introduced into its fabric. Mouradgea d'Ohsson's late eighteenth-century list of imperial mosques, to which I referred in the last chapter, ranks the buildings "by their respective pre-eminence" as follows:

> 1. *Saint-Sophia*, which the Mahometans call by its Greek name *Aïa Sophia* . . . [and consider] as their cathedral mosque.
> 2. *Sultan-Ahmed*, from the name of its founder, *Ahmed I*. It is called also *Alty-Minarély*, or the mosque with six minarets.
> 3. *Sultan-Suleyman*, or *Suleymaniye*, whose founder was *Suleyman I*.
> 4. *Sultan-Bayezid*, built [1501–6] by *Bayezid II*.
> 5. *Sultan-Mohammad* [Fatih], founded by *Mohammed* [Mehmed] *II*.
> 6. *Nour-Osmany*, which means, the Othoman light: it was begun by *Mahmoud I*, and finished by *Osman III*.
> 7. *Sultan-Selim*: it was founded by *Selim I*, though not finished till the reign of *Suleyman I*. his son and successor.
> 8. *Eyub*, erected by *Mohammed II*.
> 9. *Lalély*, which is also the name of the suburb where *Moustapha III* ordered it to be built.
> 10. *Validé-Sultana*, called also *Yéni-Djeamy*, the new mosque: it was founded by *Validé Terkann-Sultana*, mother of *Mohammed IV*.
> 11. *Schahzadé-Djeamissy*, or the prince royal's mosques. *Suleyman I* built it in honour of his son, prince *Mohammed*.
> 12. *Validé-Djeamissy*, founded by *Rabiâ-Gulnousch-Sultana*, mother of *Moustapha II*, and *Ahmed III*.
> 13. *Aïazma-Djeamissy*, which was founded by *Moustapha III*.
> 14. *Istavroz-Djeamissy* [Beylerbeyi], from the name of the suburb in which it has been erected by the reigning Sultan *Abdul-Hamid I*.[1]

No fewer than four of these fourteen monuments were established in the second half of the eighteenth century. The factors determining the buildings' order include age, size, founder, location, and ceremonial importance, and it is striking that the Nuruosmaniye and Laleli come as high in the list as these criteria allow, outranking even such forerunners as Eyüp Sultan and the Yeni Cami. Collectively, the four later mosques mark the return of the sultan's own patronal preeminence, following as they do a century and a half's hiatus during which only the queen mothers had built large foundations. So compelling was this act of reclamation that d'Ohsson, like other observers of the period, fails to mention that the Ayazma and Beylerbeyi were, in fact, dedicated to their founders' mothers. That he passes no remark on the siting of these two mosques outside the walled city is also significant, proving how successfully the sultans had renegotiated earlier codes of building that had largely restricted their foundations to the capital's intramural core. But it was not only through their existence and reach that the eighteenth-century mosques made their point; much of their impact derived, as we have seen, from the use of an arresting new style—simultaneously Ottoman and Baroque—that underscored their resurgence. The style's relationship with these esteemed monuments in turn confirmed its own prestige and meaningfulness, so that typology and morphology became mutually reinforcing. Had d'Ohsson compiled the roster a few years later, he would no doubt have included Selim III's new complex at Üsküdar, where the Ottoman Baroque's rich potential for sultanic image-making was actualized in all its aspects.

D'Ohsson's list came not long after the reconstruction of the Fatih Mosque and not long before that of Eyüp Sultan, reminding us that the period also entailed considerable remodeling of the city's existing monuments. While the new versions of Fatih and Eyüp Sultan were deliberately conceived in an archaizing style, many other buildings were updated to reflect contemporary tastes, whether through the addition of new dependencies such as the Hagia Sophia imaret or less extensive interventions like the reskinning of the Topkapı's Council Hall. The well-known engraving in d'Ohsson's book of the celebration of the Prophet's nativity inaccurately shows the interior of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque decorated with Rococo paintwork, a pictorial fancy that nonetheless reflects how easily historical buildings might be given a novel overlay (see fig. 98). The mid-sixteenth-century Şehzade Mosque is thus painted with a number of Baroque motifs that, although crudely redone in later years, may well go back to the eighteenth century.[2] Besides revisiting the monuments of their predecessors, the sultans of this time also modified a number of nonroyal mosques, as I have discussed in relation to such examples as Hacı Kemalettin and Mahmud Pasha. The Baroque was a key tool in this process of architectural sultanification, serving as an expedient and recognizable marker of the boost in royal patronage, especially after the Nuruosmaniye secured its status. To be sure, the same manner flourished at other levels of sponsorship as well, revealing itself in scores of new fountains, religious foundations, and shoreside residences commissioned by individuals of various ranks. It was, however, the architecture of the ruler himself—and above all the revived imperial mosque—that emerged as the style's most outstanding manifestation.

As the sources that I have used throughout this book demonstrate, the redoubled show of sultanic presence was impressive to many, convincing locals and foreigners alike that the Ottoman Empire was no spent force. Hobhouse, whose record of his early nineteenth-century visit is replete with references to architecture, found in Istanbul much to contradict the already stereotyped notion of Ottoman decline:

> The powerful states of Europe have, in the opinion of most writers, been prevented from the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe, only by their interested jealousies and mu-

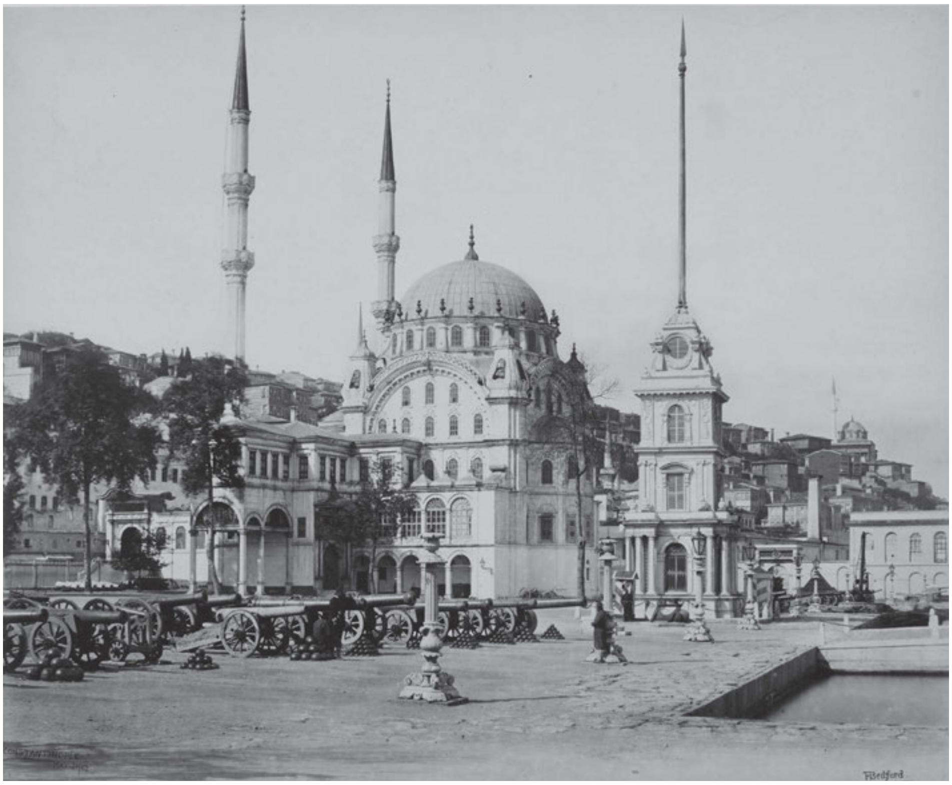


FIG. 241. Nusretiye Mosque, Tophane, Istanbul, 1823–26. Photographed by Francis Bedford, 1862. Albumen print.

> tual dissensions. Yet although the existence of this barbarian power in the most flourishing regions of Europe, confined on every side by hostile kingdoms, or by an element possessed by Christians, has been for a century regarded as a reproach to all civilized nations, and a standing wonder, it must be acknowledged, that the decline of the Ottoman empire has by no means been so rapid, nor its disgraces so repeated and uninterrupted, as casual observers are apt to believe.[3]

Hobhouse was writing against the backdrop of the Napoleonic Wars, which struck a fatal blow to the Habsburg Holy Roman Empire, ancient enemy to the Ottoman Empire. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were, in other words, turbulent years for many regimes and polities, even if the decline paradigm has placed undue focus on the struggles faced by the Ottomans. Whatever losses the empire was suffering in this period, it not only survived where other polities and regimes fell, but also held its rank as one of the principal sharers of power in Europe and beyond. The unflagging campaign to turn its capital into a modern world city was both a product and a symbol of the Ottomans' continued self-belief.

This campaign continued throughout the nineteenth century in terms very much predicated on the achievements of the eighteenth.[4] A string of new pavilion-fronted imperial mosques were built along and near the European shore of the Bosphorus, the first of them in Tophane, not far from Mahmud I's fountain.[5] Originally called Nusret, "Victory," and now known by the variant name Nusretiye, this mosque was erected by Mahmud II and completed in 1826, shortly before his destruction of the janissaries (fig. 241). It was patently modeled on the Üsküdar Selimiye, whose inauguration the janissaries had prevented twenty years earlier, and whose symbolism the

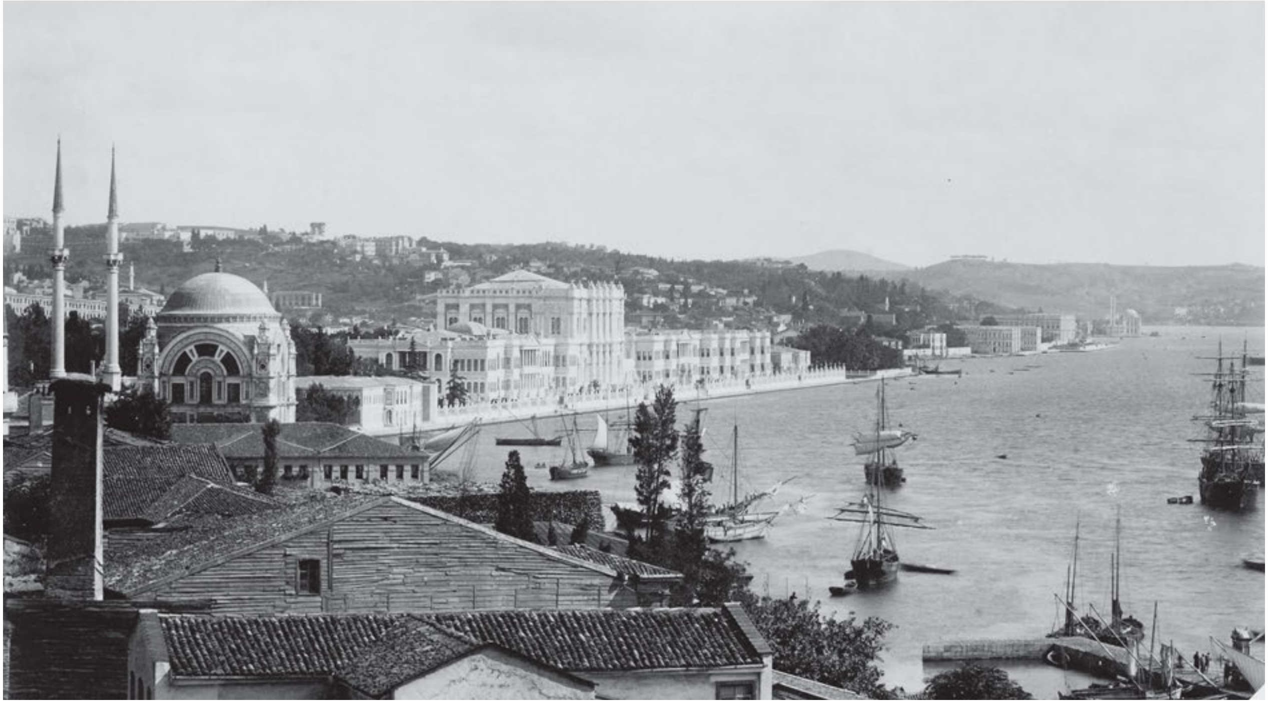


FIG. 242. View toward the Dolmabahçe Mosque, the Dolmabahçe Palace (built 1843–56), and the Bosphorus. Photographed by Sébah and Joaillier, 1890. Albumen print.

reformist Mahmud wanted to claim and make good, as if finishing what Selim had failed to do. The unusual name that Mahmud chose for his mosque was devised in anticipation of his military reforms, and the conceit was realized with his ensuing "victory" over the janissaries, which would mislead future generations into thinking that the building received its appellation after their demise. Despite its formal and conceptual indebtedness to the Selimiye, however, the Nusretiye also asserts itself as a product of its own time, exhibiting a style that has moved away from the Baroque to an Ottoman interpretation of Neoclassicism.[6]

The architect of the Nusretiye was an Armenian kalfa named Krikor Balian (d. 1831), whose descendants would enjoy a virtual monopoly of imperial building projects during the nineteenth century.[7] His son Garabed (d. 1866) and Paris-educated grandson Nigoghos (d. 1858) were commissioned by Mahmud II's son and successor, Abdülmecid I, to construct a new waterside palace at Dolmabahçe, on the site of the Beşiktaş Palace. Completed in 1856, the outcome was an enormous Neoclassical edifice that superseded the Topkapı as the sultans' principal residence (fig. 242). These two architects were also responsible for a contemporaneous mosque built close to the palace in the same style. Founded by Abdülmecid's mother, Bezmiʿalem (d. 1853), the mosque comprises a small though lofty domed prayer hall that is preceded by an extensive, truly palatial-looking pavilion (figs. 242, 243). The architecture is Neoclassical through and through, with the two minarets designed as Corinthian columns up to their balconies. Further up the Bosphorus in Ortaköy, Abdülmecid built his own similar mosque a year or so later, again entrusting the project to the Balian family (fig. 244).[8]

The new shoreline mosques facilitated the burgeoning practice of the water selamlık, discussed in chapter 5. Recommending that the sultan's visit to a mosque "should be seen by travellers," a guidebook to Istanbul published in 1839 describes the

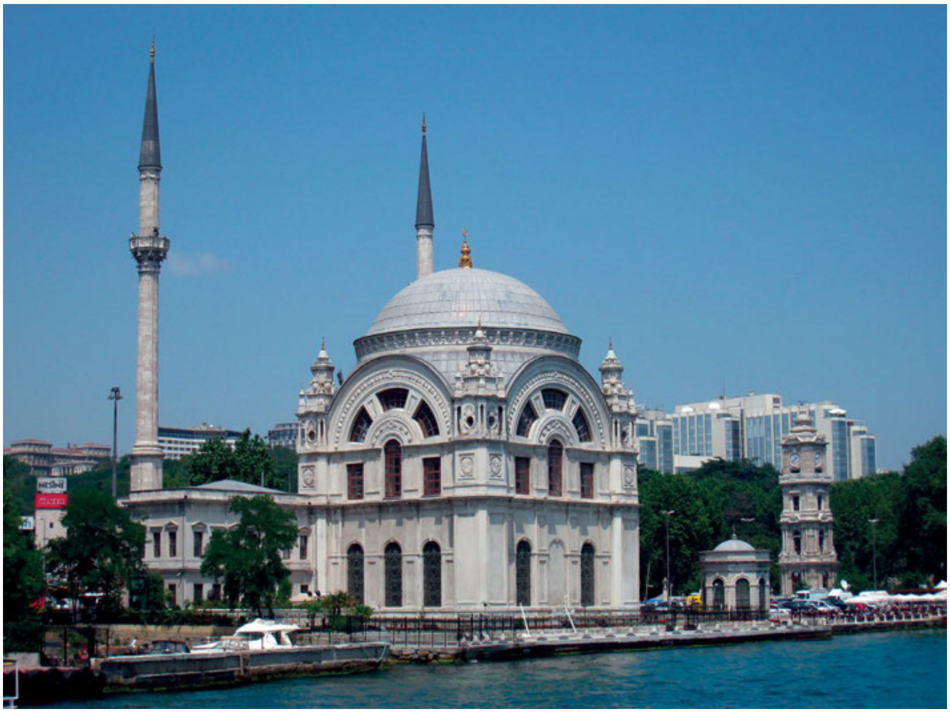
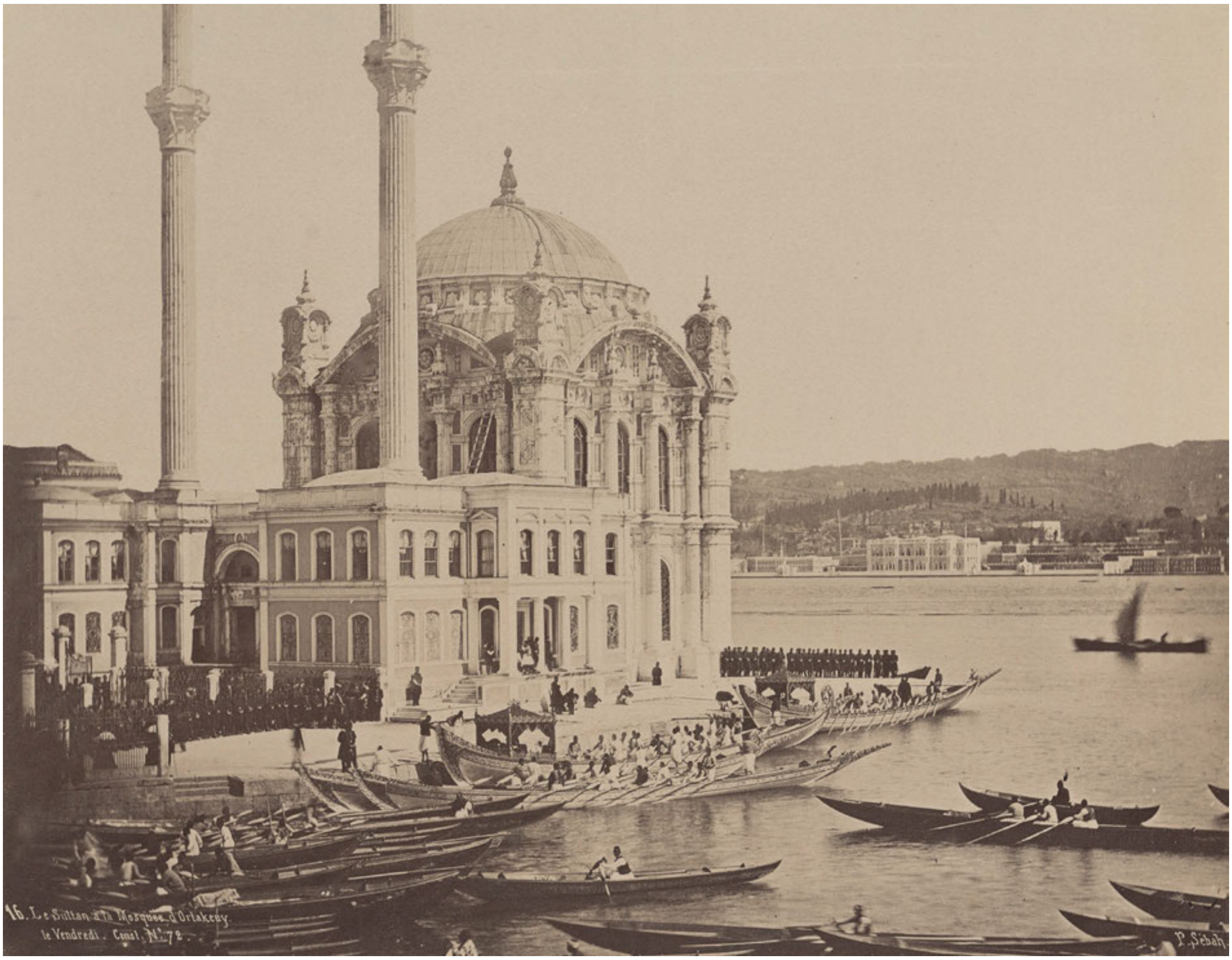


FIG. 243. Dolmabahçe Mosque (Bezmiʿalem Valide Mosque), Dolmabahçe, Istanbul, 1853–55.

FIG. 244. Ortaköy Mosque (Büyük Mecidiye Mosque), Ortaköy, Istanbul, 1854–56, view of a royal visit for the Friday prayer. Photographed by Pascal Sébah, 1885. Albumen print.



16. Le Sultan à la Mosquée d'Ortakeuy
le Vendredi. Cinal. N° 72.
P. Sébah

ritual as it looked after recent military and sartorial reforms had replaced the janissary retinue with trimly uniformed modern soldiers:

> He embarks at his palace in a splendid state barge, richly gilt and elaborately carved. He sits upon a sofa-like divan that crosses the barge beneath a cumbrous canopy of gilding, supported by massive columns. The sofa is covered with purple cloth, and the inside lined with silk embroidered in gold. His attendants follow in numerous boats, little inferior in magnificence. . . . The troops are drawn up on shore to receive him, and when his barge appears the band commences playing and continues to do so until he is within the mosque. The dignitaries of state and Pashas are on the landing place formed into lines, waiting to receive him. When he lands they all with one accord bow to the earth. This salutation is called the grand Salaam. He never returns it or takes notice of any one, but walks straight into the mosque, between the Seraskir [*serʿasker*, commander-in-chief] Pasha and some other distinguished favourite, proceeded by two men with silver censers, from which issues the smoke of burning perfumes. When the mosque is at any distance from the landing place, beautiful chargers richly caparisoned are in waiting, one of which he mounts. On these occasions his subjects take the opportunity of presenting their petitions, and an officer is sent to collect them. The Sultan remains at his devotions about half an hour, then returns in the same manner in which he arrived. Sometimes he will take coffee in a garden contiguous to the mosque. On returning, the forts and the ships of war fire royal salutes.[9]

This richly textured account finds its visual complement in nineteenth-century photographs, which show how much the mosques themselves contributed to the magnificence of such visits, acting as publicly accessible satellites to the numerous royal palaces that were being put up or reconstructed along the Bosphorus (see fig. 244). Even more than their eighteenth-century forerunners, these mosques make a virtue of their reduced scale, for with their ever-more prominent pavilion frontages, they take on the character of royal chapels—small yet choice spaces that would have insistently reminded worshippers of the imperial personages hosting them. Their domed prayer halls, meanwhile, tie them back to a centuries-old tradition, one that had, in Istanbul at least, now become largely exclusive to the sultan and his family: nonroyal mosques of the 1800s were for the most part built with hipped roofs rather than domes.[10] As different as they look from the grand foundations of earlier periods, and notwithstanding their lukewarm reception among modern observers, the sultanic mosques of the nineteenth century thus leave one in no doubt of their regal nature.

Nor is there any difficulty in recognizing these monuments' stylistic consonance with the wider world. Building on the example of the Ottoman Baroque, the later mosques are confident and idiosyncratic renditions of the internationally thriving Neoclassical mode, as too are the palaces and other architectural categories of the time. As mentioned in the introduction, the 1870s witnessed an ostensible repudiation of this "foreign" style, but the works that came out of this pseudo-revivalist drive were themselves in keeping with the kinds of Orientalist and Eclectic architecture then widespread in the West.[11] The contemporaneous discourse once again obscures the evidence provided by the buildings themselves, and it is clear that the global turn taken by the Ottoman Baroque remained paradigmatic until the empire's end.

But as much as the developments I have traced here bespeak a knowing, effective, and sustained architectural strategy, I do not wish to paint an overly neat or deterministic picture, or to deny the many issues that come with and complicate the subjects addressed by this book. My focus on Istanbul has almost entirely excluded the architecture of the provinces, study of which would provide a fuller context for the shifts of the capital and shed light on their wider ramifications. Even within Istanbul, I have paid scant attention to the patronage of nonsultanic mosques, which, though eclipsed by royal commissions after the mid-eighteenth century, still remained an important part of the city's life. Also deserving of future research is the question of how non-Western visitors to the empire—and especially those from other Muslim polities—responded to the changing cityscape: Do their writings accord with, or differ from, European and Ottoman perspectives?[12] Perhaps most in need of further consideration, however, is the visual culture of the local dhimmi communities, which has left few eighteenth-century traces but has much more to tell us about the Ottoman Baroque's formation.

Indeed, the role played by Christian Ottomans in creating the new style raises some of the most interesting and difficult questions surrounding my topic. Though I have treated the dhimmis as integral members of Ottoman society whose international connections did not override their native identity, the matter is problematized somewhat by their continual disparagement in the Muslim sources, where Christian Ottomans accused of wrongdoing are often branded foreign agents.[13] Ottoman Greeks and Armenians for their part frequently sought the protection of European ambassadors, who were allowed to grant *berāt*s—privileges conferring quasi-foreign status—to dhimmi merchants and diplomatic functionaries.[14] D'Ohsson, a renowned member of this group, even went on to become an ennobled subject of the Swedish king. What did it mean, then, to adopt an architectural mode whose main practitioners belonged to communities that the state sometimes looked upon with suspicion? Did the Muslim elite who fostered the style know or care that it had served the dhimmis very differently in their own identity-forming project? Were such circumstances irrelevant to how the Ottoman Baroque in its "officialized" form came to be perceived, or does Peyssonnel's account of the rejected church-like design of the Nuruosmaniye reflect a real controversy surrounding the possible "Christian" connotations of the new manner?

These are questions that the available documents do not allow us to answer with certainty, though what we have hardly supports a religio-nationalistic reading. Among the surviving sources, only those from the later nineteenth century onward criticize the dhimmi builders and their works as foreign; none of the eighteenth-century commentaries, whether Eastern or Western, implies that the architecture was considered un-Ottoman by its contemporaries. The buildings themselves, more importantly, were keyed in multiple ways to their own cultural and geographical context, providing little justification for doubting their appropriateness. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to wonder how audiences squared the still plentiful Ottoman denouncement of the infidel West with the use of a new mode that was intentionally related to European artistic traditions.[15] Part of the answer lies in the often rhetorical nature of this ossified discourse, though opposition to Western-derived innovations could also be very real, as with Selim III's failed New Order.[16]

Such apparent tensions exist also in present-day Turkey, where the desire to be counted as a fully fledged European nation is accompanied by an undercurrent of ideological mistrust of Western values and habits. While I realize the dangers of suggesting anything as reductive as an unchanging national temperament, I am tempted to imagine that eighteenth-century Ottoman attitudes concerning Europe were no more resolved or definable than modern Turkish ones. This type of contrariness is, of course, not limited to Turkey, and Western-inspired products of globalization have proliferated without difficulty even in those states that declare themselves hostile to the West. As far as architecture is concerned, a type or style that is widely enough borrowed can evidently transcend the specific associations of its place of origin. More precisely, those associations become part of the cumulative meaning that grows with a paradigm's spread and renders it a prized and intelligible site of competitive cross-cultural posturing. The newly erected skyscrapers of East Asia and the Arabian Peninsula make reference to their ultimately American prototypes even as they try to surpass them.

It is perhaps in similar terms that we should regard the Ottoman Baroque, an enterprise that flourished when globalization was in its lively beginnings. What allowed the Ottomans to embark on the project with such gusto was their recognition of the Baroque's far-reaching import and their confidence at being able to harness the style's potency for themselves. Although affecting all areas of architecture in Istanbul, the style was at its most public and monumental in the imperial mosques, which as a type offered a uniquely suited vehicle that shared an existing affinity with European models even as it was unmistakably Ottoman. At once rooted in past practice and responsive to current developments, the mosques could thus address the world's gaze without neglecting native expectations or renouncing received tradition. The ability of this architecture to remain locally relevant was based, moreover, on the Ottomans' robust understanding of their relationship to the West and its arts: they took on the Baroque with full conviction of their entitlement to it, emboldened by their own Romano-Byzantine patrimony. To judge from contemporary sources, the move was as successful in the eyes of outsiders as it was at home, clear evidence that the Ottomans were not alone in considering themselves part of the European political and cultural landscape. For regardless of the conceptual and actual conflicts that exacerbated the empire's dealings with its Christian neighbors, and despite the persistence of anti-dhimmi sentiment, the reality of the Ottomans' long-standing involvement in European affairs trumped whatever notions of an East-West divide the two sides maintained. This was particularly so in the context of the vigorous transregional exchanges that characterized the eighteenth century.

Such an interpretation opens important new avenues in the study of late Ottoman visual culture, a field that continues to be dogged by the legacy of earlier, largely dismissive approaches. While certainly more positive, the prevailing view held by today's scholarship is one that emphasizes the creative modernity of eighteenth-century Ottoman art but is uneasy, even embarrassed, when it comes to accounting for why this modernity so clearly engaged with European models. An understandable urge to rebut the charge that the architecture became debased and foreign has led, ironically enough, to a tacit acceptance of the very assumptions on which that charge was based—that is, the revisionist underplaying of Western-inspired elements in the Ottoman Baroque only perpetuates the belief that the presence of such elements is indeed a marker of decadence. The reluctance to acknowledge the buildings' style for what it is has also, as a corollary, hindered our ability to investigate the likely meanings carried by the architecture in its own time. But once we separate the adoption of Western-derived forms from the notion of Westernization itself, the scholarly baggage that prevents a franker, more head-on assessment of the material can finally be dispensed with. What emerges in its stead is a broader, less rigid cultural and geographical framework in which styles like the Ottoman Baroque no longer seem out of place or in need of vindication. Ahmet Ersoy's work on the architectural "renaissance" of late nineteenth-century Istanbul has already demonstrated the benefits of this kind of methodological shift, which may prove fruitful also to the study of other kinds of "Westernization" in the late Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world more generally, whether cultural or political.[17]

As I have tried to demonstrate throughout my discussion, the sort of "global" framework I am invoking is not a vaguely shared zeitgeist or an idealistic notion of worldwide pluralism, but a real context in which demonstrable conditions and mechanisms allowed certain forms to acquire international currency. It is in this context that the Ottoman Baroque—or at least my reclaimed version of it—provides such a rewarding model with which to elucidate the architectural refashioning of eighteenth-century Istanbul. In turn, the Ottoman material sheds much light on the study of the Baroque itself, significantly expanding a field that, while certainly global in its purview, remains fixated on Christian and colonial geographies. Adding the Ottoman variant to the existing canon of Baroques can only enrich our understanding of how and why these related modes thrived as widely as they did.[18] That the style could so successfully be assimilated to the empire's existing visual culture instantly belies the idea that the Baroque was the civilizational preserve of Christian (still less Catholic) Europe and its dependencies. While in certain contexts the Baroque might indeed have continued to hark back to its Counter-Reformation origins, its broader extent and appeal were due above all to its more general significations of grandeur, prosperity, and authority, significations that led it to be chosen for such settings as St. Petersburg and, of course, Istanbul. The comparison with Russia—another mighty Eurasian polity—is worth stressing, because it underscores the arbitrariness of an art-historical schema that is happy to accommodate the Romanovs yet struggles to admit the Ottomans. Besides refocusing our attention in ways that challenge artificial and unhelpful borders, the Ottoman case also forces us to look again at the field's chronological contours. The timing of Istanbul's Baroque buildings, most of which date from after the style's putative 1750 cut-off, turns out not to be so anomalous when we extend our gaze to the nearby regions of Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe, where the Baroque continued in various forms throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.

As different as these numerous instantiations of the Baroque might look—and there is little possibility of confusing an Ottoman work with one from Hungary or

Italy—certain recurrent attributes connect them into an identifiable family of aesthetic approaches. These commonalities include telltale features such as C-scrolls, shells, and columns modified from Classical prototypes; a pronounced concern for display and staging; and an expressive and often copious deployment of surface decoration. The last of these is particularly important to emphasize for our purposes, for unlike some other versions of the style, the Ottoman Baroque makes rare use of dramatic spatial effects and relies to a greater extent on its ornamental vigor. Later commentators may have characterized the effect as skin-deep and hence semantically superficial, but responses from the period itself bear vivid testament to the capacity of such decoration to invite contemplation, convey charged meanings, and prompt favorable comparisons to other artistic traditions. To include, as we must, the Ottoman material in our understanding of the Baroque means to reject once and for all the idea that ornament betokens frivolity.

Indeed, there is nothing light-hearted or trivial about the stylistic revolution that the Ottoman Baroque brought about in eighteenth-century Istanbul. The sultanic mosques built at this time were founded on the empire's vision of itself as an active power in a changing international environment. Later discomfort with their cross-cultural references has obscured the crucial role played by these very citations in achieving what the monuments were designed for in the first place. Recasting an old and venerable type in the light of a modern and widely shared aesthetic sensibility, these remarkable mosques stood as the centerpiece of a momentous endeavor to transform the Ottoman capital in response to the conditions of the day. The result was a new architectural image that, true to the epithet "Ottoman Baroque," won the admiration of audiences near and far, claiming a prominent place in the world for both itself and the empire it served.

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CITING ARCHIVAL SOURCES

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BOA	Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)
CADN	Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes
TNA	The National Archives (UK)
TSMA	Topkapı Palace Museum Archive (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi)

INTRODUCTION

1. Lewis, 2002, 137. For discussion of this quotation, see Avcıoğlu and Flood, 2010b, 27.

2. For an exception, see Marcos, 2011.

3. On the significance of the imperial mosques as a category, see Crane, 1991.

4. Launay et al., 1873, reprinted (with modern Turkish and English translations) in Launay et al., 1998. For discussion of the *Uṣūl*, see Ersoy, 2007; idem, 2015. On the Ottomans' participation at the Vienna World Exposition, see Çelik, 1992, 63–67, 106–7.

5. Launay et al., 1873, 6–7, discussed in Ersoy, 2015, 156–58. My translation is based on Launay's French, from which the Ottoman and German texts were derived.

6. Ersoy, 2007; idem, 2015, 185–240.

7. Arseven, 1909, 179–80, as cited and translated in Hamadeh, 2007b, 185. I have found no earlier use of the word "Baroque" in relation to eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture. For other early uses of the term, and of "Rococo," in this context, see Baedeker, 1914, lxii, 175, 176; Dwight, 1915, 42, 209; Sezer, 2007, 144.

8. Eldem, 1932, 96.

9. See, for example, Lewis, 1968. For a critical unpacking of the decline paradigm, see Kafadar, 1997–98.

10. See, for example, Gibb and Bowen, 1950–57. For alternative perspectives, see Itzkowitz, 1962; idem, 1977; Eldem, 1999a. For a historiographical overview, see Hathaway, 2004.

11. On Arseven's evolving and influential viewpoint, see Hamadeh, 2007b.

12. Arseven, 1952, 405, as translated in Hamadeh, 2007b, 192–93.

13. Hamadeh, 2007b, 189.

14. Arseven, 1928, 169–71. The translation is adapted from Hamadeh, 2007b, 188.

15. Kuban, 1954, summarized in French in idem, 1955. For discussion of Kuban's study and its influence, see Hamadeh, 2007b, 193, though she is wrong in asserting that "Kuban nowhere refers to the work of Arseven" (he mentions "Celâl Esat Bey" on pp. 23, 32, 35, and 136 of his book).

16. Kuban, 1954, 133.

17. Ibid., 23.

18. Ibid., 133.

19. Ibid., 135–36.

20. These include Cezar, 1971, esp. 5–6, revised as idem, 1995, esp. 2:18–19; Arel, 1975; Eyice, 1979–80; Yenişehirlioğlu, 1983; Peker, 2002; Bakır, 2003; Saner, 2006.

21. Goodwin, 1971, 383. For a less positive English-language assessment from the same period, see Kuran, 1977.

22. See, for example, Freely, 2010, 30, 370–71.

23. Kuban, 2007, 497–678; idem, 2010, 497–678.

24. Kuban, 2010, 506.

25. See, for example, Aksan and Goffman, 2007; Barkey, 2008; Faroqhi, 2004; Goffman, 2002; Hanioğlu, 2008; Kafadar, 1997–98; Tezcan, 2010; Quataert, 2005.

26. See in particular Artan, 1989; idem, 1992; idem, 2006; idem, 2010b.

27. Artan, 2006, 467.

28. Hamadeh, 2008, incorporating revised versions of idem, 2002, and idem, 2004.

29. Hamadeh, 2008, esp. 3 (from where the quotation is taken), 6–13.

30. Ibid., 11, 216–29; idem, 2007b, 194.

31. Kafadar, 1997–98, 32.

32. On the highly pragmatic and nonideological nature of Ottoman borrowings from the West during the eighteenth century, see Eldem, 1999a, esp. 195–97. For a perhaps overly dismissive analysis in the same vein, see Murphey, 1999.

33. Kafadar, 1997–98, 62–67, 70; Yaycioglu, 2016b. For more traditional assessments of Ottoman decline and Westernization, see Lewis, 1962; Göçek, 1996.

34. For a comparative analysis of Ottoman and Russian military reforms, see Ágoston, 2011.

35. Quataert, 1997; Rüstem, 2016b, 106, 107.

36. For these concepts, see Pratt 2008, esp. 7–8; Taylor, 1991; Bhabha, 1994; Elkins, Valiavicharska, and Kim, 2010, 51–62; Parry 1994.

37. Flood, 2009, esp. 1–14 (quotation from 219).

38. For the most recent version of Said's thesis (first published in 1978), see Said, 2003. For a considered critique of the work, see Moore-Gilbert, 1997, 34–73.

39. Brummett, 2015, esp. 75–127; Faroqhi, 2004, esp. 25–26; Goffman, 2002; Quataert, 2005, 2. Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman poet Fazıl Enderuni dubbed Europe "the most beautiful of all [the continents]," and Istanbul "the cleanest and most charming" among its cities. Quoted and translated in Hamadeh, 2008, 221.

40. See, for example, chapter 2, n. 7.

41. Said, 2003, 117–19, discussed in Avcıoğlu and Flood, 2010b, 7. For a range of scholarly perspectives on Ottoman-Western interactions during the eighteenth century, see Schmidt-Haberkamp, 2011.

42. Flood, 2009, 1. For the debate surrounding the utility and validity of a global history of art, and different approaches to its application, see Elkins, 2007a; Kaufmann, 2015; Wang, 2014.

43. For a helpful overview, see Parker, 2010.

44. Subrahmanyam, 1997 (quotation from 737). See also idem, 2010; idem, 2012, esp. 1–33.

45. My argument ties in with more recent scholarly perspectives demonstrating the Ottoman Empire's place in the (early) modern world: see, for example, Aksan and Goffman, 2007; Barkey, 2008; Faroqhi, 2004; Goffman, 2007; Salzmann, 2004; Tezcan, 2010. For other art-historical interventions in this vein, see Cerasi, 1997, esp. 37; idem, 1999; Hamadeh, 2008, esp. 3–8. For similar approaches applied to the wider Eurasian context, see Avcıoğlu and Flood, 2010a; Clunas, 1997; Wang, 2014.

46. This will be discussed in the chapters to follow.

47. The view that the eighteenth-century court lost its preeminence in architectural patronage has its origins before the revisionist turn: see Carswell, 1977, 328. For the narrative of political decentralization and recent attempts to challenge or nuance its characterizations, see İnalcık, 1977; Levy, 1982; Hathaway, 2004, 33–38, 45–47; Tezcan, 2010; Quataert, 2005, 42–44, 46–50; Yaycioglu, 2016b, 65–156.

48. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 1788–1824, vol. 4, part 1, 229–30.

49. For one of the few art-historical studies to use such journals, see Theunissen, 2009. For the ruzname as a category and other kinds of Ottoman diaries, see Göksu, 2007, xi–xv; Kafadar, 1989.

50. For an argument against this trend, see Eldem, 1999b, 6–8.

51. İrepoğlu, 1986; İrez, 1990.

52. See, for example, Hamadeh, 2007b, esp. 193–94. Hans Theunissen, who has produced some of the most perceptive scholarship on the style, shares my view on the term's usefulness, though he prefers the variant "Ottoman baroque-rococo": see Theunissen, 2009, esp. 131–33.

53. Rabbat, 2004, 20. For the applicability or otherwise of Western art-historical concepts to non-Western traditions more generally, see Elkins, 2007b, esp. 42–63; Wang, 2014, 392.

54. Kuran, 1977, 327. Cf. Kuban, 1954, 133–36. For the more general belief that the Ottomans (and other Islamic cultures) were unable to grasp Western philosophies and concepts, see Lewis, 2002.

55. Goodwin, 1971, 379.

56. For traditional treatments of the term and the art categorized under it, see Bazin, 1968; Careri, 2003; Millon, 1999b; Norberg-Schulz, 1974; Tapié, 1960; Wölfflin, 1964. For a recent survey, see Bailey, 2012.

57. Hills, 2011b, 3. See also Hills, 2011a. The same volume contains an essay that purports to discuss the Ottoman Baroque but is instead devoted to criticizing the nonexistent view—misleadingly imputed to Goodwin—that Sinan was a Baroque architect. See Caygill, 2011.

58. See, for example, Bailey, 2012, esp. 18–21; Hoppe, 2003, esp. 9–21. Although Hills, drawing on the theoretical approaches of Benjamin and Deleuze, sets out to explore the Baroque's potential "outside the standard [stylistic and chronological] usages by art historians," her own use of the term ultimately centers on the art and architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Hills, 2011a (quotation from 31).

59. To be sure, the scholarship does not follow a neat trajectory, and the idea of the Baroque as a Counter-Reformation style remains very much alive: see, for example, Zamora and Kaup, 2010a, 3.

60. The literature wavers between treating the Rococo as a subset of the Baroque or as a pendant to it. Since the two styles coexisted in the eighteenth century and were often combined, I treat "Baroque" as an umbrella term encompassing the Rococo.

61. Wölfflin, 1932, esp. 196–237; idem, 1964.

62. Davidson, 2007, 2. For the Baroque in its global dimensions, a topic discussed further in chapter 3, see Bailey, 2012, 349–95; Davidson, 2007; Snodin and Llewellyn, 2009. While the older literature also notes the style's global spread, only in more recent years has the study of international Baroque traditions emerged as a field in its own right.

63. Kaufmann, 2011, 94.

64. For debunkings of this view, see Bailey, 2014; Scott, 1995.

65. Necipoğlu and Payne, 2016, 1. This volume as a whole marks a groundbreaking moment in the scholarly reappraisal of ornament, with several chapters related to the eighteenth century: see especially Dadlani, 2016. For an earlier, and likewise groundbreaking, assessment of ornament as an "almost necessary manner of compelling a relationship between objects or works of art and viewers or users," see Grabar, 1992, esp. 155–93 (quotation from 230).

66. Nor am I invoking the Benjaminian and Deleuzian theorizations of the term, though some art historians have found these helpful: see, for example, Hills, 2011a, 23–31.

67. I am alluding here to Zeynep Çelik's seminal work on nineteenth-century Istanbul, for which see Çelik, 1986.

CHAPTER 1. SETTING THE SCENE: THE RETURN TO ISTANBUL

1. Kafescioğlu, 2009; Necipoğlu, 2011.

2. For the architecture of seventeenth-century Istanbul, see Nayır, 1975.

3. Raşid and Asım, 2013, vols. 1 and 2:638–718; Hammer-Purgstall, 1827–35, vols. 6 and 7:1–100; Finkel, 2005, 253–333; Shaw, 1976, 207–29.

4. See, for example, Blair and Bloom, 1994, 230; Brend, 1991, 180; Freely, 2010, 355; Levey, 1975, 112–27. In a reversal of this tendency, Gauvin Bailey has extended the "Tulip Period" designation to encompass the Ottoman Baroque, though he recognizes 1740 as a turning point: see Bailey, 2002.

5. For accounts of Ahmed's reign, see Raşid and Asım, 2013, vols. 2–3; Hammer-Purgstall, 1827–35, 7:100–390; Finkel, 2005, 333–55; Shaw, 1976, 229–40.

6. Aksan, 2007, 18–102.

7. For differing assessments of the embassy, see Göçek, 1987; Burçak, 2007.

8. For İbrahim Müteferrika's printing press, see Gencer, 2009; Sabev, 2007; Zoss, 2009.

9. For a romanized edition of Refik's book, see Refik, 2010. The term "Tulip Era" is sometimes applied to the whole of Ahmed's reign, though Refik restricted his definition to İbrahim's vizierate.

10. For the historiography of the "Tulip Era," see Erimtan, 2008.

11. Salzmann, 2000, 93. For an overview of corrective approaches, see Sajdi, 2007. For Ottoman trade with the West during this period, see Eldem, 1999b; idem, 2006; Grenet, 2012; Mantran, 1977.

12. Montagu, 1965, 323 (to Lady Bristol, April 1, 1717). For a recent edition of the letters that includes helpful editorial supplements but unfortunately uses modern orthography, see idem, 2013.

13. "[L]e mouvement ou l'inaction d'une puissance aussi considérable que celle des Turcs." Bonnac, 1894, 134.

14. Mehmed Efendi, 1981, 181–236; Göçek, 1987, 30–34, 62–63, 72–75.

15. Artan, 1989; idem, 2010b, esp. 305–8; Hamadeh, 2008, 17–75.

16. Cerasi, 1997, 37. See also Goodwin, 1971, 371.

17. Artan, 2010b, 306. For the boom in commerce as another local factor, see Murphey, 2008.

18. Atıl, 1993; idem, 1999; Rahimi, 2007. For examples of other court-sponsored urban festivals in this period, see Artan, 2011b. Such celebrations were also diplomatically significant, with foreign notables being obliged to attend and give presents: see Bonnac, 1894, 141–42.

19. Hamadeh, 2007a; idem, 2008, 110–38.

20. Hamadeh, 2008, 52.

21. Salzmann, 2000, 94–97.

22. Erimtan, 2008, 175.

23. Unat, 1941.

24. For the growth in diplomatic ties between the Ottoman Empire and its Western neighbors in this period, see Aksan, 1995, esp. 42–46; Berridge, 2004, 114–30; Naff, 1977; Salzmann, 2004, 40–41.

25. For the palace and its construction, see Raşid and Asım, 2013, 2:1293–96; Hammer-Purgstall, 1827–35, 7:280–81; Eldem, 1977; Schäfers, 2009.

26. For a related image in a manuscript dated 1776–77, see Titley, 1981, 39.

27. Translation adapted from Menemencioğlu and İz, 1978, 113. For the original Turkish, see Refik, 2010, 37.

28. Thirteen manuscript copies survive of this account, which was published in Ottoman several times during the nineteenth century and has since been paraphrased into modern Turkish: see Mehmed Efendi, 1841; idem, 1993, of which pp. 73–155 include a reprint of an 1866 Ottoman edition. For a modern edition of an eighteenth-century French rendering, see idem, 1981.

29. Refik, 2010, 29–30; Goodwin, 1971, 373; Göçek, 1987, 75–79; Freely, 2010, 355. For the arrangement at Versailles, see Mukerji, 1997, esp. 198–247.

30. Eldem, 1977; Erimtan, 2007; Hamadeh, 2008, 226–35.

31. For a highly evocative eighteenth-century description of the Kasr-ı Cinan (here itself called "Sadabat"), see Perry, 1743, 24–25.

32. Erimtan, 2007, 52–60; Hamadeh, 2008, 229–35.

33. Babaie, 2008, 65–83; Blake, 1999, 29–84; Necipoğlu, 1993, 306–12.

34. Refik, 2010, 30; Vandal, 1887, 85.

35. "Çārbāġ-ı İsfahān'ı eylemişdir dāġ dāġ." Translated in Hamadeh, 2008, 229.

36. Translated in Shay, 1944, 20.

37. "Enfin, depuis le retour de Méhémet Effendi de son ambassade auprès de Votre Majesté, il a essayé d'imiter ce qu'on lui a rapporté de la magnificence de nos jardins et de nos bâtiments." Bonnac, 1894, 155. According to Vandal (1887, 90), the Marquis de Villeneuve, who was ambassador between 1728 and 1741, claimed in a letter that İbrahim Pasha personally asked him about the gardens of Versailles. The cited letter (BnF, fr. 7178, fols. 4b–13b) does not, however, contain this information, which Vandal either fabricated or transposed from another source.

38. Toderini, 1787, 3:206.

39. "Vaʿd eylediğiñiz sarāylar ve bāġçeleriñ başma resimlerini irsāl etmeñiz meʾmūldür." See BnF, NAF 8972, fol. 204b, where the Ottoman text is transcribed and translated into French. The French translation is published in Mehmed Efendi, 1981, 173, and discussed in Göçek, 1987, 77 (where, however, the author misleadingly presents a quotation from Refik as an excerpt of the letter itself). For overviews of Mehmed Efendi's descriptions of palaces, see Göçek, 1987, 54–57; Peker, 2011, 489–503.

40. For these books and prints, see Göçek, 1987, 75–76; İrepoğlu, 1986; İrez, 1990.

41. Artan, 2010b, 306. See also Çalış, 2007, 251–57; Necipoğlu, 1993, 306–8.

42. On the novelty of Saʿdabad's landscape design, see Necipoğlu, 1997, 45–56.

43. Bonnac, 1894, 155. On the role of Saʿdabad in engaging the Ottoman public, see Çalış, 2007, 254–55.

44. Hamadeh, 2008, 55.

45. Raşid and Asım, 2013, 2:1167, as referred to in Hamedeh, 2008, 35.

46. Monsieur de V—, 1724, 1251. Subtitled "Lettre écrite de Constantinople, par M. de. V. à M. de la R. le 20. Janvier 1724," the description is discussed and summarized in Göçek, 1987, 77–79.

47. Monsieur de V—, 1724, 1253, 1254–56.

48. Ibid., 1253–54.

49. Ibid., 1261–64.

50. Ibid., 1251.

51. Ibid., 1260–61. For an alternative translation, see Göçek, 1987, 79.

52. Salzmann, 2000, esp. 88–94.

53. Berger and Hedin, 2008; Duindam, 2003, 167.

54. Kafadar, 1989, 132–33; Necipoğlu, 1993, 306.

55. Avcıoğlu, 2008, 204.

56. Monsieur de V—, 1724, 1258 (mispaginated 1158).

57. "Limon ve turunc aġacları mevżūʿ u ṭarḥı dilnişīn ü maṭbūʿ bir ḥālet-fezā idi-ki temāşāsından dīde-i naẓẓāregān sīr olmaz idi." Mehmed Efendi, 1993, 52, 143–44; idem, 1981, 155.

58. As noted in Schäfers, 2009, 47–48 n. 107, the resemblance is observed in Saumery, 1732, 1:137, and in an annotated Habsburg plan of the palace reprinted in Eldem, 1977, 30–31. Modern scholars are curiously silent on the fountain's relationship to the column, perhaps because the known Ottoman sources do not mention it. In a fitting coincidence, there is evidence that the column itself may have functioned as a fountain during the medieval period: see Stephenson, 2016a, 151–82; idem, 2016b.

59. For the Kasr-ı Cinan fountain and the typology to which it belonged, see Perry, 1743, 25; La Mottraye, 1723, 1:172. For examples of the rarer open-air category, see Necipoğlu, 1991, 141–43, 155–58; idem, 1997, 32–33.

60. "Sarāyıñ her ṭarafından baḳıldıḳda bāġçeye nāẓır olup fevvārelerden ikişer üçer adam boyu ṣularıñ feverānı seyr olunur." Mehmed Efendi, 1993, 51–52, 143; idem, 1981, 155. "Ceste ceste fevvāreler ḳomuşlar ve ejder aġızları yapmışlar; bir ḥālet-fezā ile cereyān ederdi-ki bi'ż-żarūre rüʾyeti ḥālet-fezā idi." Idem, 1993, 35, 121; idem, 1981, 121.

61. Translation adapted from Menemencioğlu and İz, 1978, 113. For the original Turkish, see Refik, 2010, 37.

62. Artan, 2006, 464–65; idem, 2010b, 302; Avcıoğlu, 2008, 200–201.

63. Artan, 2006, 464–65; idem, 2010b, 302; Hamadeh, 2008, 199–200, 236.

64. Monsieur de V—, 1724, 1260; Artan, 1989, esp. 7–9, 127–31, 327–28.

65. Eldem and Akozan, 1981, 25; Ertuğ, 1989, 51–52; Goodwin, 1971, 371–72; Kuban, 2010, 559–60; Sezer, 2016, 99–105.

66. See, for example, Denny, 1990, 82. As discussed in the introduction, the 1873 *Uṣūl-i Miʿmārī-i ʿOs̱mānī* presented Ahmed's reign as a short-lived revival, if not a swan song, of the traditional arts, a view reflected in the building of a full-scale replica of the Fountain of Ahmed III at the Vienna World Exhibition. See Launay, 1873, 6, 57–67 (French and German texts), 11–12, 41–45 (Ottoman text); Ersoy, 2015, 62, 82–83, 86, 154–55; Çelik, 1992, 106–7.

67. Erünsal, 1996; Kuban, 2010, 558–62; Sezer, 2016.

68. Aynur and Karateke, 1995, 175–80, no. 88; Goodwin, 1971, 374; Hamadeh, 2008, 89–99; Kuban, 2010, 510–11.

69. Hamadeh, 2002, esp. 135–36.

70. For Tekfur Sarayı ceramics, see Atasoy and Raby, 1989, 287–88; Sönmez, 1997.

71. Theunissen, 2010.

72. On the role of such fountains as social hubs, see Hamadeh, 2008, 101–9.

73. "Bu mevḳiʿi ābād edüp bir ṭarḥ-ı nev-īcād edüp . . . edti sebīl āb-ı ṣafā." See Egemen, 1993, 80–85.

74. For the gate, see Necipoğlu, 1991, 32–40.

75. Hamadeh, 2008, 10, 220. I shall expand on this point in chapter 4.

76. Bağcı et al., 2006, 266–72.

77. İrepoğlu, 2003. For Vanmour's art, see Gopin and Sint Nicolaas, 2009; Nefedova, 2009; Sint Nicolaas et al., 2003. For the presence of Western painters in eighteenth-century Istanbul more generally, see Boppe, 1911.

78. Smentek, 2010, esp. 92–93; Stein, 1994. For the earlier history of Ottoman costume albums and their consumption in Europe, see Schick, 2004; Wilson, 2007.

79. Levey, 1975, 112–20; Hamadeh, 2008, 11. For turquerie, see Avcıoğlu, 2011; Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 2013; Stein, 1997; Williams, 2014. For chinoiserie, see Jacobson, 1993; Sloboda, 2014.

80. Montagu, 1965, 413–14 (to the Abbé Conti, May 19, 1718).

81. Lady Mary uses the term "Japan china" of all polychrome ceramics, regardless of their origin. The tiles she saw at Damad Ali Pasha's palace were most probably of Ottoman manufacture, though it is telling that she felt able to "translate" them into terms that made sense to her and her readers.

82. "Ṭarḥ-ı ḫoş-nümāsı şeş ḳubbe buḫūrdāna müşābih ḫurdekārlıḳda pīştaḫta sāʿatine beñzer." Mehmed Efendi, 1993, 16, 96; idem, 1981, 88.

83. For the Ottoman court's collection of European clocks, see Davis, 1984; Gürbüz and Çakmut, 2012.

84. "Taḥtānī ṭabaḳasında pençereden baḳıldıḳda bir yalı ġınāsını verir." Mehmed Efendi, 1993, 51, 143; idem, 1981, 155.

85. For overviews of the corps' history, see Dündar, 1999; Turan, 1964.

86. Necipoğlu, 2011, 153–86, 563–65, appendix 4.

87. Afyoncu, 2001, esp. 28–29, 37–39, table 2.

88. Such was the case in the mid-sixteenth century with the Süleymaniye Mosque and in the mid-eighteenth century with the Laleli: see Barkan, 1972–79, 1:143–47; Necipoğlu, 2011, 185; Yerasimos, 2002, 71–79; Karaali, 1999, 75–109.

89. Afyoncu, 2001, 23, 28–29, 32, 37–39, table 2. This explanation for the chief architect's request was suggested to me by Gülru Necipoğlu.

90. What little information we have (most of it pertaining to the periods bracketing the eighteenth century) is summarized in Cerasi, 1997, 49–51; Dündar, 1999, 166; Güler, 1998, 145–50. For post-classical developments in the architectural profession more generally, see Cerasi, 1988. The situation is very different for the court artisans (*ehl-i ḥiref*), whose overwhelmingly Muslim members are recorded in their own wage registers for the whole of the eighteenth century: see Yaman, 2008.

91. Cantemir, 1734–35; Strauss, 1999, 220–23.

92. Cantemir, 1734–35, part 2, 294 n. 32. For a similar characterization from the end of the eighteenth century, see Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 1788–1824, vol. 4, part 1, 235–36.

93. For other examples of confessional distinctions in Ottoman terminology and orthography, see Kafadar, 2007, 12–13.

94. Cantemir, 1734–35, part 2, 294–95 n. 32.

95. A comparison might be drawn with the field of Ottoman painting, which in the seventeenth century diversified to include a large number of noncourtly workshops that were sometimes called upon to participate in royal commissions. Those registered as palace craftsmen (*ehl-i ḥiref*) were likewise able to move between the courtly and commercial spheres. See Bağcı et al., 2006, 238; Faroqhi, 2002a, 98. For the role of Greek and Armenian Ottoman architects more generally, see Colonas, 2005; Kuruyazıcı and Şarlak, 2010; Savvas, 2008; Tuğlacı, 1990; Wharton, 2010; idem, 2015.

96. BOA, EV.HMH.d., 5356, fols. 7a–7b (see the following note for the 1801 list). Headed *Cemāʿat-i miʿmārān-ı ḫāṣṣa* (Corps of imperial architects), the list of 1761–62 appears in a register recording the wages of various groups. Some of the entries in the list are crossed out and overwritten, rendering it difficult to count the exact number of men. Also unclear is the name of the lone Christian, though he is identified as "master builder" (*ḳalfa-i miʿmār*) and as a dhimmi (*z̠immī*). The list following that of the architects (fols. 7b–8a) records the imperial carpenters (*neccārān-ı ḫāṣṣa*), whose twenty-seven members include at least seven Christians. As discussed in chapter 3, the term "carpenter" was sometimes used of architects in reference to their original training, and so it is possible that some of those named in this second list were working as builders.

97. BOA, C.Mrf., 5497, transliterated in Can, 2001, 135–40. This list comprises fifty-two men of whom none is Christian, though mention is made of a deceased Greek kalfa named Yani. A register from the following year lists forty-five members: see Dündar, 1999, 166. In 1831, the corps of imperial architects was abolished altogether and replaced by the Directorate of Imperial Buildings (Ebniye-i Ḫāṣṣa Müdürlüğü). For these developments, see Can, 2010 (though the nationalistic framing underplays the role of non-Muslims); Şenyurt, 2011; Wharton, 2010, 19–33. For the Imperial School of Engineering, see Beydilli, 1995.

98. BOA, C.EV., 194/9670.

99. This terminological prejudice did not apply to naval architects, who had their own hierarchy. A sultanic decree dated 1728 thus refers to "Dimitri, the chief architect of my imperial navy": see Refik, 1930, 101–2, no. 131. In civil architecture, it was not until 1878 that a non-Muslim, Sarkis Balian (d. 1899), was given the title of

chief architect: see Wharton, 2010, 23. Usage in the sixteenth century appears to have been more relaxed, as a decree dated 1544 mentions a certain "Miʿmar Yani": see Necīpoğlu, 2011, 156.

100. The handwritten report (CADN, 166PO/A/252) is titled *Memoire du Palais de France situé a Pera les Constantinople par le S^{r}. Vigny architecte et dessinateur ordinaire des bâtiments du Roy a la fin de l'année 1722*. For discussion of Vigny's project, see Gallet, 1973, 264–67; Pinon, 1994, 63–70. For the Palais and its history, see Köprülü, 2007, 110–31; Pinon, 1994, 60–76.

101. Vigny, *Mémoire*, fol. 8a.

102. Ibid. fols. 5a–6b, partially quoted in Pinon, 1994, 65–66. Other Westerners likewise viewed Ottoman domestic architecture as deficient when compared with the empire's public buildings: see, for example, Hill, 1709, 129–34. For a comparable observation by an Indian traveler, see Abū Ṭālib Khān, 1810, 2:226–27.

103. Vigny, *Mémoire*, fols. 8a–8b, 10b–11a, partially quoted and discussed in Pinon, 1994, 67–69. Vigny's later writings show an increasingly favorable attitude to Ottoman architecture: see Vigny, 1752, 79, 99–101; Smentek, 2010, 104.

104. Vigny, *Mémoire* fols. 11a, 14a.

105. Girardelli, 2017, 8–9; Pinon, 1994, 69–73.

106. Vigny, *Mémoire*, fol. 11b, quoted in Pinon, 1994, 69. For similarly ambivalent views on Ottoman craftsmanship, see Hill, 1709, 89.

107. Vigny, *Mémoire*, fol. 8b, partially quoted in Pinon, 1994, 69.

108. Vigny, *Mémoire*, fol. 12a.

109. Ibid., fol. 6a, quoted in Pinon, 1994, 66.

110. "Ḥaḳḳ sübḥānehü ve teʿālā şevketlü ve ʿaẓametlü pādişāhım ḥażretleriniñ vücūd-i hümāyūnların ḫaṭāsız eyleye, āmīn. ʿArżuḥāl-i ḳulları budur ki bu ḳulları Fransa memleketi ahālīsinden olup ve ṣanʿat-ı miʿmārīde kemāl-i mahāretim olup ḳalʿe yapmaḳ gibi ʿaẓīm cāmiʿler yapmaḳ gibi ve ʿaẓīm köprüler yapmaḳ gibi ebniye-i ʿaẓīme bināsına ḳudretim olup ve şevletlü pādişāhımıñ ḳalyonlarını ṣanʿat ile ḳuruya alup vaḳt-i ḥācetde tekrār ṣuya endirmek gibi ki bi-ʿavni'llāhi teʿālā şevketlü ḫünkārımızıñ ḳalyonları yüzer seneye dek çürümekden emīn olmaḳ üzere ṣanāyiʿ-i ġarībe īcād u taṣnīfinde mahāretim olmaġla rikāb-ı hümāyūnlarında istiḫdām olunmaḳ ārzūsuyla ve hemşehrimiz Ḥekīm Meḥemmed ḳullarınıñ delāletiyle rikāb-ı hümāyūnda şeref-i İslām ile müşerref olmaḳ içün rikāb-ı hümāyūna geldim. Ancaḳ baʿde'l-İslām bu ḳulların şevketlü pādişāhımıñ ḫidemāt-ı ʿaliyyelerinde istiḫdām olunup kimseye muḥtāc olmayup İslām ile müşerref olduḳdan soñra żarūret çekmemek içün bu ḳulların rikāb-ı hümāyūnları ḳulları zümresinden olmaḳ içün rikāb-ı hümāyūnlarına ʿarżuḥāl eylemişimdir. Bāḳī fermān ʿadāletlü pādişāhımıñdır." BOA, AE.SAMD.III, 99/9751. A marginal note added to the top right of the document decrees that the petitioner be granted Muslim attire (*mükemmel kisve*) in reward for his conversion, but there is no indication of the outcome of his request for royal employment.

111. Necipoğlu, 2011, 88.

112. Ibid., 155.

113. The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul has scores of documents relating to these foreign shipbuilders, particularly from the later eighteenth century. For a Western record of this phenomenon, see La Mottraye, 1723, 1:168. See also n. 99 of the present chapter.

114. Subhi, 2007, 38–39; Schäfers, 2009, 164–68.

115. Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 1:4.

116. For these buildings, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 46–48, 86–87; Goodwin, 1971, 366, 386–70; Kuban, 2010, 389, 514. For the grander mosque complex that İbrahim Pasha built in his hometown of Muşkara, which was transformed by his patronage into Nevşehir ("New City"), see Aktuğ Kolay, 1992; Goodwin, 1971, 370–71.

117. Raşid and Asım, 2013, 2:797, 848–49; Haskan, 2001, 1:380–82, 387–88. Cf. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 435 n. 3111.

CHAPTER 2. PLEASING TIMES AND THEIR "PLEASING NEW STYLE": MAHMUD I AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE OTTOMAN BAROQUE

1. For Mahmud's reign, see Subhi, 2007; İzzi, 1784–85; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 1:1–178; Vasıf, 1804, 1:1–42; Hammer-Purgstall, 1827–35, 7:391–618, 8:1–174; Finkel, 2005, 355–71; Shaw, 1976, 240–46.

2. Olson, 1977, 192, 200.

3. Quoted ibid., 192.

4. Ibid., 192–207.

5. Aksan, 2007, 102–28; Shaw, 1976, 243–47.

6. Subhi, 2007, 7 (for the quotation), 11–14.

7. Undated dispatch from the years 1749–50, TNA, SP 97/34, fol. 307a. After completing his ambassadorial tenure, Porter published a generally positive account of the Ottoman Empire, which he held "to be much more perfect and regular, as well as less despotic, than most writers have represented it: in a word, to be much superior with regard to the regularity of its form, and the justness of its administration, as well as much less despotic, than the government of some Christian states." Porter, 1771, xiv.

8. Account abstracted from dispatches sent by Porter in 1752, TNA, SP 97/56, fols. 27b–28a.

9. Report dated February 6, 1745/45, TNA, SP 97/56, fol. 62a; dispatch dated March 25, 1749, TNA, SP 97/34, fol. 20a.

10. See, for example, CADN, 166PO/A/19, 176–82, 341–46; CADN, 166PO/A/28, 65–67; CADN, 166PO/A/42, 378.

11. Sevinç, 2013; Whitehead, 2009.

12. Flachat, 1766; Hathaway, 1996.

13. Vandal, 1885; Shaw, 1976, 241–42.

14. İbrahim Müteferrika, 1990; Ágoston, 2011, 318; Aksan, 2007, 187–88.

15. Subhi, 2007, 166–69; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:6; Egemen, 1993, 502–3; Hamadeh, 2008, 77–78; Wielemaker, 2015.

16. Hamadeh, 2002, 144–45 n. 7; idem, 2008, 93–109; Wielemaker, 2015, 139–44, 193–97, 206–16.

17. Subhi, 2007, 166–69.

18. "Yalıñız cānib-i Topḫāne değil çār cihet / Oldu sīrāb-ı zülāl-i kerem-i nā-maḥdūd / Her biri çeşmeleriñ oldu leṭāfetle revān / Reşḥa-ı luṭfu verüp āteş-i aṭşāna ḫumūd / Cümleden oldu bu ser-çeşme maḳāmında bedīd / Ṭarz-ı vālā-yı mülūkānesi pīrāye-nümūd." For an alternative translation, see Hamadeh, 2008, 96. For the fountain's inscriptions, see Egemen, 1993, 498–502.

19. On this eclectic style, see Hamadeh, 2008, 85–86.

20. For the latter, see Aynur and Karateke, 1995, 189–94.

21. Some secondary sources claim that the Tophane Fountain was designed and even partially constructed by the time Mahmud came

to power, but there is no evidence to this effect. Building activity on the waterworks project had advanced only three months when Ahmed was dethroned, and it would take another two years for work to be completed. Even if part of Ahmed's original scheme, then, the Tophane Fountain must have taken shape largely, if not entirely, under Mahmud. See ibid., 61 n. 16; Wielemaker, 2015, 106–8.

22. Hamadeh, 2002, 124–26, 142–44; idem, 2008, esp. 12–13.

23. On the role of this expanded patronage network in prompting competitive imperial responses, see Hamadeh, 2008, 12, 109.

24. Allom and Walsh, 1838, 1:8.

25. I am grateful to Zeynep Oğuz Kursar for helping me to identify these panels as later additions. The modification is noted also in Egemen, 1993, 495.

26. Kuban, 1954, 106; Tanışık, 1943–45, 1:168. The other fountain in the pair was installed together with a new gate on the opposite side of the cemetery. Although it survives, it is much damaged and has been crudely and inaccurately restored.

27. Arel, 1975, 51–52; Egemen, 1993, 556–62, 715–16; Goodwin, 1971, 379; Kuban, 1954, 105–6.

28. İyianlar, 1994.

29. For these inscriptions, see Egemen, 1993, 103, 556–62, 715–16.

30. Refik, 1930, 152, no. 181.

31. Eyice, 1993; Goodwin, 1971, 378. For decrees concerning the procurement of marble and water for the bathhouse, see Refik, 1930, 142–45, 147–48, 150, 152, nos. 173–74, 176, 179–80.

32. "Ṭarḥ-ı vālāsına miʿmār-ı ḫusrev dembeste / Naḳş-ı zībāsına ser-dāde gürūh-ı ressām."

33. For the Hagia Sophia's Ottoman afterlife, see Necipoğlu, 1992.

34. For these three additions, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 7–8; Eyice, 1991b; idem, 1991c; idem, 1991d; Sezer, 2016, 63–68.

35. For the imaret, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 8; Eyice, 1991a.

36. For this trend, see Keskiner, 2012, 217–42.

37. "Ayaṣofya ābād oldu el-ḥaḳḳ bu ʿimāretle."

38. "Ḫuṣūṣā ʿahd-i Fātiḥ'den beri bu ḫayr-ı vālāya / Muvaffaḳ olmamış eslāfı şāhāndan biri ammā."

39. For the gate and its inscriptions, see Necipoğlu, 1991, 32–40.

40. Subhi, 2007, 763.

41. Sezer, 2016, 165. For other references to Bihzad (and the Persian painter-prophet Mani) in relation to eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture, see Hamadeh, 2008, 206, 216, 220, 235; Sezer, 2016, 162. It is interesting to note that Subhi's analogy resonates with Wölfflin's famous characterization of Baroque architecture as "painterly." See Wölfflin, 1964, esp. 29–37; Payne, 2011.

42. Subhi, 2007, 619–23.

43. See, for example, Goodwin, 1971, 381; Kuban, 1954, 133–36; Kuran, 1977, 315–19.

44. Tunç, 2004, 20–27; Sezer, 2016, 166.

45. For the full inscription, see Tunç, 2004, 25–26.

46. "Hemāndem ṭarḥ u resmin Muṣṭafā Aġa ser-ṭopī / Mükemmel eyledi ber-mūceb-i emr-i ḫıdīvāne."

47. For a modern facsimile and Turkish translation of Carbognano's book, which was originally published in Italy in 1794, see Carbognano, 1992; idem, 1993. For Carbognano's life and career, see the introductions of the two works just cited and Shaw, 2011, 37–38.

48. For this mosque, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 438–41.

49. This may be the same fire that occasioned a visit by Mahmud to the Rumelihisarı shore six months before the renovated mosque was opened: see Kadı Ömer, 1965, 84–85.

50. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 438.

51. Kadı Ömer, 1965, 114.

52. "Maḥfil-ārā-yı ḫilāfet Ḥażret-i Maḥmūd Ḫān / Kim odur sulṭān-ı ʿālem ẓıll-i Rabbi'l-ʿālemīn / Ol şehiñ iḳbāliyle teşrīfine ṭarḥ etdiler / Böyle vālā maḥfil-i nīm-ṭāḳ-ı çarḫ-ı çārümīn."

53. "Resmi pāk ü dilnişīn ve ṭarḥı daḫi nevzemīn / Maḥfil-i dilkeş-i binā-yı Ḫān Maḥmūd-ı güzīn."

54. Subhi, 2007, 764.

55. Sezer, 2016, 161–67.

56. Flachat, 1766, 2:225. On such collections in the sixteenth century, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 101–2, 149–50.

57. Sezer, 2016, 165–67; Şenyurt, 2011, 48–63. On the knowledgeability of sixteenth-century building supervisors, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 124, 176–86.

58. Refik, 1930, 152, no. 181.

59. Hochhut, 1986, 24; Karaali, 1999, 75–109.

60. For an overview of Ottoman Christian communities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Masters, 2006. For their commercial activities in Europe, see Grenet, 2012, 47–50; Stoianovich, 1992. For the more limited presence of Ottoman Muslim merchants in the West, see Kafadar, 1986; Hartmuth, 2012.

61. Papachristou 1992; Philliou, 2009; idem, 2011; Stoianovich, 1992, 32–35.

62. Barsoumian, 1982; Kılıçdağı, 2010. For the Armenian community of New Julfa in Isfahan, which was at the heart of these networks, see Aslanian, 2011.

63. Stavrianos, 1983; Frazee, 1983, 153–220; Masters, 2006, 276–78; Carbognano, 1993, 13–19.

64. For the Greek case, see Murphey, 1999, 131–39.

65. For these volumes (H. 2608 and 2988), see İrepoğlu, 1986, 65. I am grateful to Dimitris Loupis for translating the two ex libris, one of which omits reference to Ghika's being a Constantinopolitan.

66. Stamatiadēs, 1865, 122–23. I thank Dimitris Loupis for finding and translating this source for me.

67. For this volume (H. 2609), see İrepoğlu, 1986, 68. The Topkapı Palace Museum Archive and the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive house many other architectural plans and drawings that I was unable to access because of ongoing reclassification work. These materials promise to shed much light on the design process of eighteenth-century Ottoman architects. For a published example, see Ünsal, 1963, 177–78, no. 6.

68. For the Maçka fountain, see Çetintaş, 2005, 143.

69. Gibbs, 1728. For the Topkapı copy (H. 2610), see İrepoğlu, 1986, 67 and fig. 17.

70. Wharton, 2010, 27–31.

71. Küçükhasköylü, 2011, 168–69.

72. Philliou, 2011, 180. Although it would support my argument, the assertion by some scholars that the architect Foti Kalfa (to be discussed in chapter 5) belonged to the elite Phanariot Komnenos family, which claimed descent from the eponymous Byzantine dynasty, is based on a misreading of a document (BOA, H.H. 32068) that mentions Foti alongside another kalfa named Komyanoz. See Tuğlacı, 1990, 26, 670, no. 6; Pamukciyan, 2003b, 160–61; Artan, 2006, 476, 479.

73. For overviews and discussion of these traditions, see Blunt, 1975; idem, 1982; Habel, 2013; Portoghesi, 1968; idem, 1970; Varriano, 1986, 3–182, 261–94; Wittkower, 1999, 1:75–89, 2:23–74, 99–120, 3:5–28.

74. Clogg, 1986, 33–34; Greene, 2010, 201–23; Philliou, 2011, 180.

75. For this church, see Blunt, 1982, 28–29.

76. For this church, see Rizzo, 1982.

77. For another example, see Portoghesi, 1968, fig. 67.

78. For this church, see Blunt, 1982, 22–24; Steinberg, 1977; Varriano, 1986, 47–54. For Borromini and his impact, see Portoghesi, 1968; Morrissey, 2005. For the longer history of the inverted volute, which had ancient origins and experienced a resurgence during the Baroque, see Steinberg, 1977, 208–17.

79. For the Baroque architecture of the Dalmatian coast, see Horvat, Matejčić, and Prijatelj, 1982; Horvat-Levaj, 2001; Tomić, 1995. On the role of Dubrovnik, together with the Adriatic coast more generally, as a medial zone between the West and the Ottoman Empire, see Necipoğlu, 2014; Hartmuth, 2006, 34–37; idem, 2009, 303–4.

80. Hempel, 1965.

81. Hartmuth, 2006, 30–33; Samardžić, 2011.

82. Sevinç, 2013, 123.

83. For some of the documented cases, see Girardelli, 2017, 12. The first European architect to make a name for himself in the city was Antoine Ignace Melling, discussed in chapter 5.

84. Flachat, 1766, 2:232.

85. *Mercure de France*, 1755; *Münchner-Zeitungen*, 1755; Ambraseys and Finkel, 1995, 130.

86. Girardelli, 2016; idem, 2017; Köprülü, 2007; Hort, 2014, 27–216; Hoenkamp-Mazgon, 2002, 52–53, 74–79; Reychman, 1966–68. For eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western responses to Istanbul's ambassadorial palaces, see Tournefort, 1741, 2:158–59; Juchereau de Saint-Denys, 1821; Broughton, 1813, 2:836–37. Likewise, an inventory taken in 1770 of an elite (probably consular) French dwelling in the Peloponnese records a wealth of furnishings imported from the West: see Faroqhi, 2002b.

87. Guys, 1783, 2:2–3; Hammer-Purgstall, 1827–35, 8:191 n. b.

88. Gradeva, 1994; Girardelli, 2005, 237–41; Karaca, 2008.

89. I am grateful to Sebouh Aslanian for reading and translating these epitaphs.

90. Even earlier examples of Ottoman Baroque design can be found in the cartouches designed by the Armenian artist Mıgırdıç Galatavi for the printed edition of Katib Çelebi's (d. 1657) world atlas, the *Cihānnümā*, published by İbrahim Müteferrika's press in 1732. These cartouches, which await further study, are notably more Baroque in appearance than those designed for the same atlas by Mıgırdıç's Muslim counterpart, Ahmed Kırımi. See Zoss, 2009, esp. fig. 6.6 (Mıgırdıç), 6.7 (Ahmed). The part played by Istanbul's dhimmis in laying the stylistic groundwork for the Ottoman Baroque recalls the role of New Julfa's Armenian community in channeling European(izing) fashions into Safavid art during the seventeenth century: see Landau, 2012.

91. For Ottoman Muslim tombstones, see Eldem, 2005, 16–25, 115–289.

92. Lewis, 1999, esp. 12–56.

93. CADN, 166PO/A/19, 178–79; CADN, 166PO/A/42, 378; Flachat, 1766, 2:215–18; Keskiner, Rüstem, and Stanley, 2015.

94. Flachat, 1766, 2:215.

95. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 1788–1824, vol. 4, part 1, 229–30.

96. Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Ali Emiri, no. 423, as transcribed in Kadı Ömer, 1965; idem, 1966; idem, 1972.

97. Kadı Ömer, 1966, 29.

98. Ibid., 35.

99. Ibid., 21–22.

100. Flachat, 1766, 2:26.

101. Dispatch dated May 2, 1755, TNA, SP 97/60, fol. 335a.

102. Theunissen, 2009, 98–99, 108–28.

103. Kadı Ömer, 1965, 56, 58.

104. Hamadeh, 2008, 217–19. This discourse may have drawn on the similar characterizations made of the so-called Indian style (*sebk-i Hindī*) of Ottoman poetry, which developed in the seventeenth century under the inspiration of Persian-language Mughal literature. See Feldman, 1997.

105. Kadı Ömer, 1966, 36, 40. The first item recalls the English clockwork organ that was famously sent by Queen Elizabeth I to Murad III: see Mayes, 1956.

106. Whitehead, 2009; Flachat, 1766, 2:212–13. For the gifts presented by the Ottomans to the French during the same embassy, see Sevinç, 2013, 126–29.

107. For this brazier (Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. 4/2), see Saule et al., 1999, 330.

108. Eldem, 1969–73, 2:259–67; Eldem and Akozan, 1981, 30, 79.

109. Kadı Ömer, 1966, 175.

110. Memorandum written after 1736, TNA, SP 97/56, fols. 161a–62a.

111. Flachat, 1766, 2:219.

112. Ibid., 2:198–99.

113. Barovier Mentasti and Carboni, 2007, 270; Concina, 2006, 148–49, cat. no. 70; Necipoğlu, 1990, 155, 169 n. 49. For the limited evidence of Western craftsmen working in the Ottoman Empire, see Faroqhi, 2009, 83–84.

114. For further examples, see Artan, 2010a; Davis, 1984; Do Paço, 2017, 180–81.

115. Kadı Ömer, 1966, 101; idem, 1965, 84.

116. "Ṭarḥ u nuḳūşu ve nev-ẓuhūr ḥavż ʿadīmü'l-mis̱l olup sāʾir ḳuṣūru insā [?] eylediği müttefiḳ-ı ārā-yı müşāhidīndir." Kadı Ömer, 1965, 84.

117. Kadı Ömer, 1966, 27, 75–76. On the institutional and architectural evolution of the Sublime Porte during the eighteenth century, see Artan, 2011a.

118. Kadı Ömer, 1965, 124.

119. Unat, 1968, 69–73; Sevinç, 2013, 123.

120. For this portrait, see Fehlmann, 2015, 70; Roethlisberger and Loche, 2008, 1:286–87, no. 78.

121. Kadı Ömer, 1965, 21, 59.

122. For these complexes, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 93–96, 100; Denny, 1990; Goodwin, 1971, 342–49; Kuban, 2010, 524–26; Yavaş, 1994.

123. Flachat, 1766, 2:204; Sezer, 2016, 164, 165.

124. See, for example, Flachat, 1766, 2:206. On Flachat's relationship with the eunuchs, see Hathaway, 1996.

125. For biographies of the two Beşir Aghas, see Hathaway, 2005; idem, 2018, 137–54; Özcan, 1992a; idem, 1992b.

126. This curious misappellation is evidently based on the name of the famous thirteenth-century Sufi saint Hacı Bektaş.

127. Fetvacı, 2013, esp. 149–88; Tanındı, 2004. On the role of eunuchs as architectural agents for the shahs of Safavid Iran, see Babaie, 2008, 86–88, 207, 210.

128. Hathaway, 2018, 193–220; Tanındı, 2004, 339–40; Özcan, 1992a; idem, 1992b. Besides their commissions in Istanbul, both Beşirs built *sabīl-kuttāb*s (public fountain and primary school complexes) in Cairo, the first in his own name and the second on the sultan's behalf. See Hathaway, 2018, 197–99; Ḥusaynī, 1988, 208–9, 232–47, and figs. 80, 115–28; Behrens-Abouseif, 2011.

129. Kadı Ömer, 1966, 241; idem, 1972, 20, 32. See also p. 202 of this book.

130. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 55–56; Eyice, 1992b; Goodwin, 1971, 377–79; Hathaway, 2018, 204–6; Sefer, 2011; Tanman, 1994a. Also attributed to Hacı Beşir is a mosque in the second court of the Topkapı Palace. A boxlike brick-and-stone structure, the mosque contains an elegant early Ottoman Baroque mihrab that belongs stylistically to the beginning of the 1740s. The year of its construction is unknown, though the Topkapı Palace Museum's own website innacurately associates it with a nearby inscription dated 1736. See Eyice, 1992a; Öz, 1949, 26–29 (where the mihrab is illustrated); "Beshir Agha Mosque and Baths," Topkapı Palace Museum, http://topkapisarayi.gov.tr/en/content/be%C5%9Fir-a%C4%9F-mosque, accessed May 3, 2018; "Privy Stables / Imperial Stables," Topkapı Palace Museum, http://topkapisarayi.gov.tr/en/content/privy-stables-imperial-stables, accessed May 3, 2018. For the inscription, which makes no mention of the mosque, see "Has Ahır (Topkapı Sarayı)," Database for Ottoman Inscriptions, www.ottomaninscriptions.com/verse.aspx?ref=list&bid=3005&hid=4744, accessed May 3, 2018.

131. Kadı Ömer, 1965, 67. That the loge was a royal tribune is confirmed by Ayvansarayi, 2000, 55.

132. Artan, 2010a. For the collecting of foreign goods by elite Ottoman women in earlier centuries, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 270, 299; Peirce, 1993, 226–28; Skilliter, 1965; idem, 1982.

133. La Mottraye, 1723, 1:172.

134. Artan, 1989, 135–39; idem, 1992. For the architectural patronage of elite Ottoman women before the eighteenth century, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 268–376; Thys-Şenocak, 2006.

CHAPTER 3. A TRADITION REBORN: THE NURUOSMANİYE MOSQUE AND ITS AUDIENCES

1. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 435, 501.

2. CADN, 166PO/A/43, 53.

3. The naming of the mosque during the ceremony is recorded more fully in Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:6.

4. For Osman's reign, see Vasıf, 1804, 1:42–92; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 1:178–82, 2A:1–12; Hammer-Purgstall, 1827–35, 8:175–97; Şakul, 2009b.

5. For a transliteration of the waqfiyya, see Öngül, 2003.

6. Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:6.

7. For the mosque complex, see Ahmed Efendi, 2013; Ayvansarayi, 2000, 24–25; Akakuş, 2010; Arel, 1975, 59–62; Goodwin, 1971, 382–87; Hochhut, 1986; Kuban, 1954, 27–29; idem, 2010, 526–36; Kuran, 1977, 309–15; Peker, 2010; Sav, 2016; Suman, 2007; idem, 2011.

8. For the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 21–22; Artan, 2006, 450–53; Fetvacı, 2008; Goodwin, 1971, 342–49; Kuban, 2010, 361–65; Nayır, 1975, 48–77; Necipoğlu, 2011, 514–18; Rüstem, 2016a. On the subsequent hiatus in mosque construction, see Crane, 1991, 187–89 (though he is wrong in attributing the Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque to Ahmed III); Necipoğlu, 2011, 518; Peker, 2010, 141–43.

9. For the Eminönü mosque, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 22–24; Goodwin, 1971, 339–40, 356–59; Kuban, 2010, 370–78; Nayır, 1975, 143–57; Necipoğlu, 2011, 512; Thys-Şenocak, 1998; idem, 2006. For the Üsküdar mosque, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 493–94; Goodwin, 1971, 365–66; Haskan, 2001, 1:379–91; Kuban, 2010, 384–86.

10. For this category of mosque, see Crane, 1991.

11. For these restrictions and their effects, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 59–66, 509–18; Peyssonnel, 1786, 194–95; Rüstem, 2016a.

12. Peyssonnel, 1786, 195. Peyssonnel's letter ("to the Marquis de N.") appears as a corrective appendix in the second edition of the memoirs of François de Tott. For the original French, see idem, 1785.

13. Raşid, 2013, 2:1163.

14. Peker, 2010, 143–46.

15. Ahmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī*, Istanbul University Library, T. 386. For a transliteration and translation of the manuscript, see Ahmed Efendi, 2013. For an imperfect print transcription, see Ahmed Efendi, 1919, as reprinted in Hochhut, 1986, 158–208, and transliterated, with many errors, in Ahmed Efendi, 1994. For paraphrases and analysis of the text, see Hochhut, 1986; Kuban, 1981; idem, 1982.

16. For examples and discussion of these texts, see Caʿfer Efendi, 1987; Saʿi, 2006; Morkoç, 2010.

17. Yerasimos, 1990; Dayezade, 2002; idem, 2010; Morkoç, 2010, 73–98, 275–303.

18. Rüstem, 2016a.

19. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 383–85, 444–46.

20. Ibid., 385, 446–47.

21. Once the mosque was completed, the then chief harem eunuch, Ahmed Agha, was named the administrator (*mütevellī*) of the waqf, and Derviş Efendi his deputy: see Öngül, 2003, 2–3, 19–20.

22. For the longer tradition of Friday mosques being built in response to public petitions, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 57.

23. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 387–88, 448–50.

24. Ibid., 385–86, 447–48.

25. Ibid., 410–12, 475–76.

26. Ibid., 391–92, 454.

27. Ibid., 398–99, 461.

28. Necipoğlu, 1985, 99–106.

29. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 398–405, 460–68.

30. Ibid., 403, 465.

31. Ibid., 397, 459.

32. Ibid., 398, 460.

33. Ibid., 434, 499.

34. For the Divanyolu and the processions it hosted, see Cerasi, 2004; idem, 2005; Necipoğlu, 1996.

35. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 437–38, 504–5.

36. Ibid., 438–440, 505–7.

37. Neftçi, 2007.

38. Vasıf, 1804, 1:71–72; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:5–6.

39. Seyyid Hüsnü, *Rūznāme*, Istanbul Archaeology Museums Library, no. 397, fol. 6b; Karasu, 1979, 17, 31.

40. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 388–89, 450–51; İzzi, 1784–85, fols. 189a–189b; Karasu, 1979, 1; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 1:145.

41. "Se fit la Dédicasse de la Mosquée comencée par Sultan Mahmoud et finie par Sultan Osman. Le Gr. Seig^{r}. s'y rendit avec le même cortège qui l'avait accompagné le Jour de son Couronnement & particulièrement des gens de Loy, cette fonction étant de leur compétence. Cepend^{t}. quoy que ce Cortege fut extremem^{t}. nombreux & magnifique la Cour n'étoit pas en véritable Gala; Puisque le G. S. n'etoit point en Cabanitza ny son siliktar et son rekiabdar en Casaque de fonction, et l'on ne jettoit point d'arg^{t}. derriere sa M^{sté}. Le G.S. y Distribua plusieurs pélisses & samour, d'hermine & petit gris. La mosquée fut appellée . . . [*sic*] Dans la marche le mufty marchoit de pair avec le G. V. Celuy cy a droite en turban et en pélisse de g[rand]e. [?] ceremonie de samour sur du satin blanc, et le mufty a Gauche en Pelisse de samour sur un Drap blanc." CADN, 166PO/A/43, 53. I am grateful to Edhem Eldem and Gülru Necipoğlu for helping me to decipher and translate Deval's scrawled hand.

42. For this culture of ceremonial, see Karateke, 2007, esp. 1–63.

43. İzzi, 1784–85, fol. 189a; Karasu, 1979, 1; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 1:146.

44. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 438–440, 505–7; Neftçi, 2007, 4–6, 21–22; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:5–6.

45. For the royal pavilion as a building type, see Crane, 1991, 211–12; Kuran, 1990–91; Tanman, 2001.

46. Kuran, 1990–91, 281; Nayır, 1975, 78–79; Tanman, 2001, 573; Rüstem, 2016a, 262–67.

47. Kuran, 1990–91, 281; Tanman, 1994c.

48. Necipoğlu, 1991, 24–30.

49. Necipoğlu, 2011, 516–17; Rüstem, 2016a, 262–70. For an alternative view of the origins of the royal pavilion, see Thys-Şenocak, 2000, 74–77.

50. Kuran, 1990–91, 284.

51. Crane, 1991, 206, 221–25; İpşirli, 1991; Mansel, 1995, 43; Necipoğlu, 1985, 98; idem, 2011, 33–34; Rogers and Ward, 1998, 50–51. Although not common before the nineteenth century, the term *selāmlıḳ* is used by Ahmed Efendi (2013, 437, 503).

52. Quoted and translated in Mansel, *Constantinople*, 43. For Bassano's full account, see Bassano, 1963, 34.

53. Boyar and Fleet, 2010, 31, 37–39; İpşirli, 1991, 463–66.

54. Boyar and Fleet, 2010, 31.

55. Sandys, 1670, 59.

56. Ateş, 1977, 17–46; Kuran, 1990–91, 281–82; Nayır, 1975, 157–59; Tanman, 2001, 573; Thys-Şenocak, 2000; Yücel, 1972.

57. Öngül, 2003, 12.

58. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 436, 438–39, 501, 505.

59. Neftçi, 2007, 21.

60. For a similar ritual at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque on the occasion of the Prophet's nativity in 1787, see Miknāsī, 2015, 148–49.

61. Neftçi, 2007, 5, 21. The sources do not state which individual invested the clerics, but it is unlikely to have been the sultan, since he was contained in his loge.

62. "Fevḳānīde ābdest odasından birer birer neẓāret-i hümāyūndadır." Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 439–40, 505–7; Neftçi, 2007, 6.

63. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 440, 507.

64. See, for example, Karasu, 1979, 16, 18, 22. For such excursions and their increasing pomp, see Artan, 1989, 65–69.

65. Cezar, 1963; La Mottraye, 1723, 207; Broughton, 1813, 2:885–86; Karateke, 2005, 114–15.

66. Examples of such accounts will be given in chapter 5 and the conclusion. For other kinds of imperial processions in this period, see Artan, 2011b.

67. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 409, 472–73.

68. Sakaoğlu, 1994, 443.

69. Kadı Ömer, 1965; idem, 1966; idem, 1972; Hüsnü, *Rūznāme*, fols. 34a, 34b.

70. Pococke, 1743–45, vol. 2, part 2, 128; Levinge, 1839, 300. Cf. Auldjo, 1835, 94.

71. TNA, SP 97/34, fol. 307a.

72. *Read's Weekly Journal*, 1755. See also Dallaway, 1797, 49.

73. First page of an unfoliated dispatch dated December 13, 1754, TNA, SP 97/38. According to Ottoman sources, the sultan was held by his attendants as he was about to fall from his horse: see Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 1:177; Vasıf, 1804, 1:41.

74. Sandys, 1670, 59; Dallaway, 1797, 49.

75. Montagu, 1965, 323–24 (to Lady Bristol, April 1, 1717).

76. Grosley, 1769, 2:119. For the possesso and its staging, see Fosi, 2002; Nuti, 2015; Collins, 2004, 37–42.

77. Bayly, 1986, 304; Curcio, 2004, 67–85; Duindam, 2003, 181–218; Hamadeh, 2008, 125–26; Ledoux-Prouzeau, 1997; Melo, 2012; Monin, 2008; Mukherjee, 2009; Naquin and Rawski, 1987, 83–90; Tierney, 2009.

78. Beik, 2000, 78–81; Gallo, 2008; Smith, 1996, 129; Taine, 1876, 104–8; Mehmed Efendi, 1993, 20, 101. For emulation of the practice elsewhere, see Klingensmith, 1993, 155–59.

79. Edmunds, 2002, 57–61.

80. Smith, 1996, 129–30; Taine, 1876, 109. For comparable practices at other European courts, see Duindam, 2003, 172–78; Klingensmith, 1993, 163–64.

81. Quoted and translated in Goodman, 2003, 5. For similar accounts, see Mercier, 1802, 1:306; Weston, 1817, 59–61.

82. Collins, 2004, 37–42; Farmer, 1905, 13–15; Monin, 2008; Tierney, 2009; Klingensmith, 1993; 244–45.

83. See, for example, Melo, 2012. Such conditions were also at play in the proliferation of sculptural monuments in Europe: see Chastel-Rousseau, 2011.

84. For these mosques, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 17; Goodwin, 1971, 184–87, 261–70; Kuban, 2010, 231–33, 295–312; Necipoğlu, 2011, 238–56.

85. Kuran, 1977, 311. For the mosque, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 27; Goodwin, 1971, 252–55; Kuban, 2010, 276; Necipoğlu, 2011, 305–14.

86. The mosque clearly struck a chord with eighteenth-century observers, who praised its high dome in much the same way they did the Nuruosmaniye's: see Carbognano, 1992, 41; idem, 1993, 62; Inchichean, 1976, 53.

87. Köse, 2012, 34. These caps are mistaken for the originals and discussed as a reflection of Mamluk influence in Avcıoğlu and Volait, 2017, 1129.

88. Saner, 2005, 84. Though containing a seventeenth-century painting, the frame was made in 1769: see Beissel, 1913, 303.

89. For the mosque's calligraphic program, see Neftçi, 1996; Özsayıner, 2012.

90. "Cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i pür-nūr." Öngül, 2003, 18.

91. Önel and Çobanoğlu, 2016. For the restoration more generally, see Sav, 2016, 197–303; Güleç, 2012.

92. Neftçi, 1996, 15.

93. The first library to appear in one of Istanbul's mosque complexes is that of the aforementioned Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Mosque. For this and the Nuruosmaniye library, see Sezer, 2016, 54–63, 171–80. In contrast to their Baroque setting, the jambs of the Nuruosmaniye library's main door are carved with muqarnas corbels and "Tulip Era" floral bouquets, as illustrated in Suman, 2011, fig. 6. These jambs were very likely among the pieces of stone that Ahmed Efendi tells us were appropriated from earlier projects: see Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 425, 489.

94. Ögel, 1996.

95. For the view (to my mind unconvincing) that the design derives from medieval European column bases, see Saner, 2005, 82–84; idem, 2006, 160. The coinage "scroll capital" is admittedly imperfect, for in later versions of the type, the corner elements often curl without fully scrolling. In the absence of an obvious alternative, however, the term offers a useful descriptive shorthand, especially since the word "scroll" is often used of leafy Baroque ornaments that curve more than they spiral. A curious forerunner of the scroll capital can be found at the small mosque built by Çorlulu Ali Pasha in 1708–9: the capitals of its entrance portico are a highly simplified version of the muqarnas type, with smooth bells and cylindrical pendants hanging down from their corners. See Goodwin, 1971, 366.

96. Hochhut, 1986; Refik, 1930, 168–69, 178–79, nos. 201, 217.

97. "Fenn ṣanʿatında mahāret-i tāmmı olan neccār ḳalfalarından Kār-āzmūde Simyon." Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 385, 446.

98. Hochhut, 1986, 24.

99. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 435, 501; Neftçi, 2007, 17.

100. For a summary of the debate, see Hochhut, 1986, 16, 21–22.

101. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 389, 451; Neftçi, 2007, 14.

102. Necipoğlu, 2011, 131–32, 154.

103. See chapter 1, n. 99.

104. Mustafa Nuri, 1979–80, 4:147.

105. My translation is based on the Turkish rendering in Pamukciyan, 2003d, 153. For other sources on Simeon's Greek ethnicity, see Guys, 1783, 2:2–3; Savvas, 2008. For the unsubstantiated view that Simeon was Armenian, see Pamukciyan, 2003a, 124–25; idem, 2003d.

106. For Ottoman restrictions on brightly colored houses, see Allom and Walsh, 1838, 1:65–66; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 1788–1824, vol. 4, part 1, 234.

107. Ypsilantis, 1870, 751. My translation is based on the Turkish rendering in Pamukciyan, 2003d, 154. For Ypsilantis's life and chronicle, see Strauss, 1999, 226–29.

108. For sources on Kozma, see Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 435, 501; BOA, C.EV., 194/9670.

109. Both of the deceased were natives of Akn/Eğin (modern-day Kemaliye) in Eastern Anatolia, from where many of Istanbul's Armenian bankers hailed. I am grateful to Alyson Wharton-Durgaryan and Krikor Moskofian for reading these epitaphs for me.

110. Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 435, 500; Neftçi, 2007, 17; Hochhut, 1986, 23–28. For ethnic specializations in other projects, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 185; Karaali, 1999, 98–100, 102.

111. "Beç ṭarafından getirilen nev-ẓuhūr püskül billūr āvīze-hāyı gūnāgūn." Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 398, 431, 460, 495.

112. Öngül, 2003, 18.

113. "Nev-vādī muṣannaʿ-kār ve nādīde bir çeşme-sār." Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 413, 477.

114. Ibid., 398, 460.

115. Hamadeh, 2008, 226.

116. Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:6.

117. Peyssonnel, 1786, 195–96. The penultimate sentence is worded differently in the original French, which calls the mosque's mixed style "un monstre, mais un monstre qui réunit la majesté & l'agrément." Idem, 1785, 37.

118. Toderini, 1787, 2:19–21; Dallaway, 1797, 62; Allom and Walsh, 1838, 2:12; Kuban, 1954, 27; Goodwin, 1971, 383. For discussion of the narrative, see Hamadeh, 2007b, 196 n. 44; Avcıoğlu, 2011, 263.

119. See, for example, Hamadeh, 2008, 224–25. Modern scholars seem unaware that the chain of transmission began with the well-informed Peyssonnel.

120. Depincé, 1907–8, 1:158–62.

121. Peyssonnel, 1786, 196; Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 399, 461; Refik, 1930, 169 n. 1.

122. Peyssonnel, 1786, 258–59.

123. Ibid., 258.

124. "Bir ḳat daḫi bāʿis̱-i şevḳ-i cemīle ve mübāderetine ʿillet-i müstaḳille olmaġın der-ʿaḳab mücessem tersīm emr ü fermān olunup ṭabʿ-ı hümāyūn pesend-maḳrūn üzere yek ḳubbe ve dūnunda sütūn s̱ıḳleti olmayup ṭabaḳāt ve maḥfilleri ve derūn [u] bīrūn heyʾet-i cāmiʿası el-yevm ne ṣūretde ise bir kebīr levḥa üzerinde bi-ʿaynihi resm-i cesīmi ṣūret-yāb ve maʿrūż-ı rikāb-ı müsteṭāb olunup irāʾet ü ṣūret-i heyʾeti maḳbūl-i şehriyār-ı ʿālīcenāb olmaġla ʿalā resmihi bināsına ḳarārdāde olunup [. . .]." Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 386–87, 448.

125. For such models, see Cerasi 1988, 93–94; Necipoğlu, 2011, 175–76; Polyviou, 1994. For the view that the design was a perspective drawing, see Kuban, 1981, 274; idem, 1982, 126.

126. "Ṭabʿ-ı miʿmārīsi olmaġla ḫoş resm ve laṭīf ṭarḥ etmişdir." Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:6.

127. Among these sources are a copy of Jean Marot's *L'architecture françoise* (1727–38), preserved in the library as H. 2607 and H. 2613. See İrepoğlu, 1986, 67, 68. For a modern facsimile of the work, see Mariette, 1927–29. For suggested Western models for the Nuruosmaniye's design, see Bailey, 2002, 9–10.

128. Saner, 2005, 80–82; idem, 2006, 160; idem, 2010; Sezer, 2016, 174–77.

129. Vasıf, 1804, 1:72.

130. "Yekpāre ṣom mermerden böyle maṭbūʿ bināʾ-i zībā ve maʿbed-ḫāne-i dilküşā Āsitāne'de değil belki memālik-i İslāmiyyede daḫi naẓīri ṣūret-nümā olmayup [. . .]." Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 430, 494.

131. "Cāmiʿ-i cedīd-i bī-hemtā." Öngül, 2003, 20.

132. Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:6.

133. Carbognano, 1992, 42; idem, 1993, 63.

134. My translation is based on the Turkish rendering in Inchichean, 1976, 50.

135. Flachat, 1766, 1:402–3.

136. Andréossy, 1828, 127.

137. Colton, 1836, 55–56.

138. Flachat, 1766, 1:401.

139. Baltimore, 1767, 69–70. For other assessments of this type, see Tott, 1786, vol. 2, part 1, 228–30; Clarke, 1813, 34–37; Auldjo, 1835, 184–86.

140. The Nuruosmaniye's distinctive lack of semidomes is noted in Pertusier, 1815, 2:86–87. For examples of the view that most of Istanbul's mosques are copies of the Hagia Sophia, see Jehannot, 1732, 285; Tournefort, 1741, 1:168; Tott, 1786, vol. 2, part 1, 227–28; Clarke, 1813, 37.

141. Broughton, 1813, 2:973–74. I have encountered only one historical source that laments the Nuruosmaniye's limited use of columns: see Hammer-Purgstall, 1822, 1:425.

142. For the Baroque's spread through pan-European urban transformations, see Cohen and Szabo, 2008.

143. Downes, 1966, esp. 1–9, 36–43; Worsley, 2005.

144. Pérouse de Montclos, 1991; Collinson, 1992.

145. Careri, 2003, 7. For general discussions of the global Baroque, see Bailey, 2012, 349–95; Davidson, 2007; Snodin and Llewellyn, 2009.

146. Braun and Pérez-Magallón, 2014; Zamora and Kaup, 2010b; Schreffler, 2007; Patton, 1958; Bailey, 2010; Tambling and Lo, 2009; Guillen-Nuñez, 2009.

147. Thomas, 2009; Wong, 2001, esp. 59–65. For eighteenth-century Chinese interest in European art more generally, see Kleutghen, 2014; Wang, 2014.

148. Arel, 1975, 63–64; Atasoy, 2011, 58–63; Eldem and Akozan, 1981, 49; Ertuğ, 1989, 170; Kuban, 1954, 71; idem, 2010, 435–36.

149. Cracraft, 1988; Keenan, 2013; Shvidkovsky, 1996; idem, 2005; idem, 2007; Skodock, 2006.

150. Quoted and translated in Cracraft, 1988, 1.

151. Cracraft, 2004; Keenan, 2013.

152. Cracraft, 1988, 196–97, 210.

153. For Peter's use of European experts, see Cracraft, 1988, 111–25.

154. Koch, 1982; idem, 2006, 218–22. Besides their interest in prints, the Mughals had frequent contact with the Portuguese colony of Goa, where many Baroque buildings were erected: see Pereira, 1995. For Mughal architecture in the eighteenth century, see Dadlani, 2010; idem, 2016; idem, 2018. For Europeanizing elements in other Indian architectural traditions of the period, see Tillotson, 2009, 176–79.

155. Koch, 1982, 260.

156. Cracraft, 1988, 19–38.

157. For these traditions, see Brusatin and Pizzamiglio, 1992; Hempel, 1965; Kaufmann, 1995, 204–439; Horvat, Matejčić, and Prijatelj, 1982; Horvat-Levaj, 2001; Tomić, 1995; Hartmuth, 2006; Samardžić, 2011.

158. See, for example, Kuban, 2010, 505–6, 508.

159. Hempel, 1965, 304–5. For the Rococo in Central Europe more generally, see Bailey, 2014, 109–76.

160. Mehmed Emni, 1974, 66–67, as discussed in Sezer, 2016, 178–79. For other ambassadors' responses to Romanov and Habsburg art and architecture, see Do Paço, 2017, 178, 180–81; Korkut, 2007, 181, 221–22; Sezer, 2016, 179–80.

161. For the Ottomans' close diplomatic interactions with the Habsburgs, for example, see Do Paço, 2017, 175–76.

162. Dispatch dated May 2, 1755, TNA, SP 97/38, n.p.

163. Dispatch dated March 15, 1755, TNA, SP 97/38, n.p.

164. See, for example, Baltimore, 1767, 61; Herron, 1797, 364.

165. La Mottraye, 1723, 1:184. Cf. Broughton, 1813, 2:963; Clarke, 1813, 34; Allom and Walsh, 1838, 1:48.

166. Pococke, 1743–45, vol. 2, part 2, 133.

167. Auldjo, 1835, 187.

168. Girardelli, 2005, 241–48; idem, 2010, 178–81. For similar attitudes in the context of Pera's ambassadorial residences, see idem, 2017.

169. Hamadeh, 2008, 11.

170. For turquerie, see Avcıoğlu, 2011; Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 2013; Stein, 1997; Williams, 2014. For chinoiserie, see Jacobson, 1993; Sloboda, 2014.

171. Avcıoğlu, 2003.

172. Avcıoğlu, 2011, 261–62.

173. Rykwert, 1980, 74; Temple, 2007, 180–83.

174. Pointon, 1993, 140–57; Fehlmann, 2015; Lajer-Burcharth, 2003; Smentek, 2010. Those who never traveled to the empire could also benefit from a sartorial association with it: see Stein, 1994.

175. See, for example, Avcıoğlu, 2003, 670–73.

176. I am grateful to Ewa Lajer-Burcharth for helping me to formulate this argument.

177. See n. 117 of the present chapter.

178. In the more taxonomically rigid context of the nineteenth century, the Nuruosmaniye's stylistic fluidity meant that some Western observers viewed the mosque in more Orientalizing terms. One source—an encyclopedia entry written by someone who seems to have known the building only from an engraving—even claims that the mosque's courtyard was an 800-year-old structure "in the purest Moorish style"! See Allom and Walsh, 1838, 2:2–3, 12; Heck, 1851, 145.

CHAPTER 4. THE OLD, THE NEW, AND THE IN-BETWEEN: STYLISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADITION

1. For Mustafa's reign, see Vasıf, 1804, 1:92–2:315; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 1:178–82, 2A:12–126, 2B:1–117; Hammer-Purgstall, 1827–35, 8:197–448; Şakul, 2009a.

2. Aksan, 1995, 62–67; idem, 2007, 129–42.

3. Tott, 1786; Aksan, 1995, 100–69; idem, 2007, 129–60, 199–201; Beydilli, 1995, 23–24; Kadıoğlu, 2009; Shaw, 1976, 247–50, 251–52.

4. Peyssonnel, 1786, 197.

5. For the mosque complex, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 494; Aktuğ Kolay, 2000; Arel, 1975, 69–70; Bayram and Tüzen, 1991; Bilge, 2009; Goodwin, 1971, 387; Haskan, 2001, 1:79–89; Kuban, 1954, 29; idem, 2010, 543.

6. Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:39. Vasıf (1804, 1:187) refers to the building simply as "the mosque of Üsküdar" (*cāmiʿ-i Üsküdar*).

7. Goodwin, 1971, 387.

8. Dispatch dated February 18, 1761, TNA, SP 97/41, fol. 147a.

9. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 494; Haskan, 2001, 1:80–81; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:39; Vasıf, 1804, 1:187–88.

10. For the inscription and an alternative translation of it, see Ayvansarayi, 2001, 596; idem, 2000, 494.

11. Yılmaz, 2009.

12. Vasıf, 1804, 1:187.

13. “Gülābdān resminde bir mināreli muṣannaʿ buḫūrdān şeklinde laṭīf cāmiʿdir.” Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:39. For another observation in the same vein, see Ayvansarayi, 2001, 596 n. 1.

14. Hovhannisian, 2006, 72.

15. Lusignan, 1788, 1:62. Self-styled as *Kosmopolitis*, Lusignan is described in one source as a Greek from Cyprus. On his background, see Lusignan, 1783, v–ix; Popović, 1919, 343.

16. Arel, 1975, 69–71, 106; Kuban, 1954, 31.

17. Gündüz, 1993, 380, 381. Standing next to Mahmud Pasha’s tomb, the mosque derived much of its prestige from the saintly reputation of its founder, a son-in-law of Mehmed the Conqueror who served as grand vizier before being executed for unclear reasons in 1474. See Ayverdi, 1953, 174–89; Babinger, 1978, 327–29; Kafescioğlu, 2009, 109–19.

18. For the Cihanoğlu Mosque, see Goodwin, 1971, 387–88. For the Baroque in the Aegean region more generally, see Arel, 1993; idem, 1998. For Mustafa’s sabīl-kuttāb, see Dobrowolska and Dobrowolski, 2011; Ḥusaynī, 1988, 255–57 and figs. 149–56. It is telling that a slightly earlier sultanic sabīl-kuttāb in Cairo—that established in 1750 by Mahmud I—lacks the Baroque flourishes that distinguish Mustafa’s. See Behrens-Abouseif, 2011; Ḥusaynī, 1988, 232–47 and figs. 115–28. For the spread of Ottoman Baroque motifs to Bulgaria and Romania, see Hartmuth, 2009, 299; idem, 2014, 182–84.

19. Theunissen, 2006; Jongstra and Theunissen, 2008. As has recently been argued, Cairene architecture may itself have provided inspiration for certain developments in eighteenth-century Istanbul (the building of sebils in conjunction with schools, for example). See Avcıoğlu and Volait, 2017, 1127–31; Behrens-Abouseif, 2011, 202.

20. Aksoy, 1977; Nadir, 1986, 112–149; Sarınay, 2003, esp. 128–29, 150–51, 174–75, 202–3, 208–9, 292–93. In the case of Qur’an illumination—an inherently conservative branch of the genre—Baroque motifs were seldom seen before the nineteenth century: see Stanley, 1999. For the rather different situation in printed books, see chapter 2, n. 90. As for arts of the object, the current dearth of scholarship renders generalizations difficult, though the prominence and chronology of Baroque motifs evidently varied from medium to medium. For examples of eighteenth-century arts of the object, see Phillips, 2016; Sotheby’s, 2012.

21. The Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan Mosque will be discussed in chapter 5. For Üsküdar’s long-standing association with the patronage of royal women, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 280–92, 301–5.

22. For the mosque complex, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 25; Arel, 1975, 70–71; Goodwin, 1971, 388–91; Karaali, 1999; Kuban, 1954, 30–31; idem, 2010, 540–43; Neftçi, 2002; Tanyeli, 1994.

23. Peyssonnel, 1786, 197–98.

24. The famous “Fountain of Tears” that Qırım Giray added in 1764 to the Crimean Tartar palace of Bakhchisaray is a tall marble niche carved in the Ottoman Baroque manner and, in my view, possibly imported from Istanbul, though tradition holds that it was made by a Persian master named Omar. See Howard, 2002, 177–90; Kançal-Ferrari, 2005, 189–92.

25. CADN, 166PO/A/55, fols. 7a, 18b. For the conflict over Khotyn, see Vasıf, 1804, 1:326; Aksan, 2007, 149–51.

26. Göksu, 2007, 17; *Hoey’s Dublin Mercury*, 1771.

27. CADN, 166PO/A/37, 389.

28. My rendering paraphrases the various forms in which the saying exists. For discussion of the saying, which I have not encountered in any eighteenth-century source, see Tanman, 1994d, 190.

29. I am excluding from consideration two royal mosques added to the intramural city in the nineteenth century: the Hırka-ı Şerif Mosque, which Abdülmecid I (d. 1861) built between 1847 and 1851, and the Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Mosque, erected not far from the Laleli in 1872 by the eponymous queen mother (d. 1883). The first of these was built on the site of an existing shrine containing a fragment of the Prophet Muhammad’s mantle, while the second is the work of a sultana. Neither qualifies as a monument to a reigning sultan. I am also discounting small standalone mosques that, even if of royal patronage, are not reckoned among the city’s sultanic foundations (for example, the Hidayet Mosque, established 1814, rebuilt 1887). For these mosques, see Ersoy, 2015, 214–17, 226, 230; Freely, 2010, 166–68; Goodwin, 1971, 423; Kuban, 2010, 638–39, 640; Saner, 1998, 63–66, 100–102; Tanman, 1994b; Tuğlacı, 1990, 538–45; Wharton, 2015, 137–39.

30. Cerasi, 2005, esp. 189, 201.

31. Vasıf, 1804, 1:178.

32. *Whitehall Evening Post*, 1760; BOA, D.TŞF.6/41; Vasıf, 1804, 1:178.

33. Vasıf, 1804, 1:178; Tott, 1786, vol. 1, part 1, 151–52.

34. Tott, 1786, vol. 1, part 1, 150–51; Hovhannisian, 2006, 7.

35. This change occurred with the widening of Ordular Caddesi (a stretch of the former southern branch of the Divanyolu). As well as rendering the precinct smaller, the wall’s new placement necessitated the addition of stairs just inside the southeast gate; older photographs (including that reproduced in fig. 151 of this book) show a more gradual slope leading up to the mosque. See Goodwin, 1971, 388.

36. For the complex as a whole, including the destroyed madrasa, see the sources cited earlier in n. 22, and especially Tanyeli, 1994. For the history of the minarets, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 25; Hovhannisian, 2006, 7; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:64.

37. Karaali, 1999, 25–26. Originally intended to host shops, the basement was repurposed by the building supervisor, who felt it would be too damp to serve as a commercial space. It has now reverted to its planned function and houses a market.

38. For these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century renovations, see Tanyeli, 1994, 190, 192.

39. Karaali, 1999; Neftçi, 2002; Refik, 1930, 191, 200–202, nos. 231, 243–45.

40. Karaali, 1999, 75–109.

41. Vasıf, 1804, 1:178.

42. Çobanoğlu, 2003; Erdoğan, 1954.

43. TSMA, D. 721/573, fol. 3b.

44. “Sulṭān Selīm Cāmiʿine müşābih.” Vasıf, 1804, 1:178.

45. Dayezade, 2010, 315–16.

46. Karaali, 1999, 18–19; Kuban, 2010, 541; Tanyeli, 1994, 191–92.

47. Transliterated in Karaali, 1999, 82.

48. Pamukciyan, citing the nineteenth-century historian Mustafa Nuri (d. 1890), suggests that Simeon went on to design the Laleli,

though no known primary source supports this. The eighteenth-century scholar-monk Kaisarios Dapontes (d. 1784) records a certain Constantinos as the Laleli's builder, probably referring to the same architect who produced the model for the katholikon of the Xeropotamou Monastery, but the claim is otherwise unsubstantiated. See Mustafa Nuri, 1979–80, 4:147; Pamukciyan, 2003b; Ypsilantis, 1870, 385; Polyviou, 1994; Savvas, 2008. I am grateful to Dimitris Loupis for his help with the Greek sources.

49. I am referring to the mosques themselves; other parts of mosque complexes often used the technique. Late nineteenth-century photographs of the Laleli show that the qibla façade was by this date whitewashed, obscuring the striped effect that is such a distinctive characteristic of the building.

50. For these churches as mosques, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 178, 184–85; Kırımtayıf, 2001, 25–27, 74–77; Göyünç, 1983–84; idem, 1997.

51. These colored stones were brought from Bandırma, on the Marmara coast: see Refik, 1930, 200–201, no. 243.

52. BOA, D.TŞF., 7/55, 12–13; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:64; Vasıf, 1804, 1:232–33.

53. Vasıf, 1804, 1:233.

54. "Aḥsen ve dilfirīb ve ebdaʿ müstaḥsenü't-tertīb ile ḳaviyyü'l-bünyān, müşeyyedü'l-erkān, ruḫām-ı ḫām-ı mücellā ve mermer-i ṣāf-ı muṭallā vu muḥallādan mānend-i beyt-i maʿmūr, sāṭıʿu'n-nūr, bī-naẓīr ü bī-ʿadīl müceddeden bir cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i feyż-ās̱ār ve maʿbed-i laṭīf-i cāmiʿü'l-envār binā vu inşā [. . .]." Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (Archive of the General Directorate of Pious Endowments), Defter no. 1406, 22.

55. "Ḥaḳḳ budur ki mevḳiʿinde olmağla cāmiʿü'l-cemāʿat bir muṣannaʿ mescid olmuşdur." Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2A:64.

56. Carbognano, 1992, 41–42; idem, 1993, 63.

57. Dallaway, 1797, 62.

58. Pertusier, 1815, 2:53.

59. This motif is traditionally known as the Venetian dentil, after its use in Veneto-Byzantine and medieval Venetian architecture. See Wells, 1867, 80.

60. For the mosque, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, xxvii–xxviii; Arel, 1975, 70–71; Goodwin, 1971, 396; Kuban, 1954, 31; idem, 2010, 544.

61. For these continuities, see Ousterhout, 2004.

62. Kafescioğlu, 2009, 77–78, 86–87; Necipoğlu, 2011, 82–92, 139–40, 142–43, 209; idem, 2014, 354–73; Ousterhout, 2004; Greenhalgh, 2009, esp. 474–82.

63. For discussion of this little-noted historicizing tendency, see Cerasi, 2001; idem, 2008, 476; Rüstem, 2018; Sezer, 2016, 153–61.

64. For the shared Romano-Byzantine heritage of Europe and the Ottoman Empire, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 82–92.

65. Worsfold, 1904; Stephenson, 2016a; Bardill, 2010, 164–67; Ménage, 1964; Hill, 1709, 138; La Mottraye, 1723, 1:205–6; Dawson Damer, 1841, 1:102–3.

66. Montagu, 1965, 400 (to Lady Bristol, April 10, 1718); Worsfold, 1904, 337. The column was again headless by 1731: see Jehannot, 1732, 181.

67. For examples and discussion of eighteenth-century Western interest in the Ottoman Empire's antiquities, see Gilles, 1729; Chishull, 1747; Bilsel, 2012, 39–50. For historical views on the Ottomans' own attachment to, or putative neglect of, these antiquities, see La Mottraye, 1723, 1:206; Gilles, 1729, unnumbered fourth page of the preface; Eton, 1799, 215–16; Clarke, 1813, 6–9. For differing scholarly perspectives on Ottoman antiquarianism, see Çelik, 2011; idem, 2016; Eldem, 2011; Necipoğlu, 2014, 354–73; Neumeier, 2017a; idem, 2017b; Shaw, 2003.

68. For this church as a mosque, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 209; Kırımtayıf, 2001, 20–24.

69. The eighteenth-century renovations to the Hagia Sophia included the whitewashing of most of its remaining figural mosaics, perhaps in response to newly developed legends seeking to give the monument a more Islamic identity. Anomalously, Edward Daniel Clarke, who traveled to Istanbul in 1800, reported seeing mosaics of the Virgin and saints intact when he visited the building. See Necipoğlu, 1992, 220–21; Clarke, 1813, 35. For the Kalenderhane prayer loge, see Kadı Ömer, 1972, 32; Ayvansarayi, 2000, 184–85; Göyünç, 1983–84, 490, 491–92.

70. "Ve cāmiʿ-i mezbūr maʿbed-i ḳadīm olduġunda şāyeste-i ẕehāb-ı mülūk olup [. . .]." Kadı Ömer, 1972, 32.

71. For the growing consciousness among Greek Ottomans of their Byzantine and, especially, Hellenic heritage, see Papachristou, 1992, 33–118.

72. Necipoğlu, 1991, 46–47, 208–9; idem, 2013, esp. 334–38. See also Raby, 1980, 222–28.

73. Necipoğlu, 1991, 124–41, esp. 137–38.

74. Interestingly, Uğur Tanyeli maintains that these capitals were added in the eighteenth century, an untenable view both structurally and stylistically. See Tanyeli, 1993, 163; Necipoğlu, 2012, 68 n. 117.

75. Hill, 1709, 157. Hill's knowledge of the portico must have been secondhand, for he describes it as being semicircular.

76. Bilsel, 2007, 232–35; Hankins, 1995; Harper, 2005; Meserve, 2008, esp. 1–64; Pulido-Rull, 2012, 114–16, 139; Spencer, 1952; Kritovoulos, 1954, 136, 181–82. Such claims to Trojan descent had been made long before by the Romans and were maintained at various times also by the Venetians, French, and British, among others.

77. Babinger, 1978, 494–95; Necipoğlu, 1991, 249. For Ottoman Anatolia as Rome/Rum, see Kafadar, 2007.

78. For Süleyman's use of the title, see Necipoğlu, 1989, 410–11.

79. "Mémoire du Comte de Bonneval donné a la Sublime Porte par ordre du Grand Seigneur Le 4. fevrier 1741," Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve, 133CP (Turquie)/108, fols. 67a–89a.

80. "[C]ette nouvelle Capitale devint bientot la rivale de Rome par ses richesses par son Etendue, et par sa Magnificence, mais plus encore par sa situation unique et avantageuse sur les les deux Mers elle porta de l'aveu du public le nom de Constantinople pour consacrer la memoire de son illustre fondateur, et c'est la même ou regnent aujourd'huy glorieusement, les Invincibles Empereurs de la race Ottomane, legitimes Successeurs de toute la grandeur Romaine, des Casars et des Constantins, par le droit des armes, le même droit qui avoit fondé toute la Majesté et la puissance de la republique Romaine. . . . [I]l y verra en même tems que ce n'est pas sans des raisons, et des droits fort convaincants que ses augustes Predecesseurs Successeurs des Empereurs d'orient, et a leur example, ont toujours reconnu les Empereurs de France pour Empereurs d'Occident." Ibid., fols. 73a, 81b–82a (and fols. 81–81b for references

to Charlemagne). For a sixteenth-century claim that the French and Turks were tied by their descent from two Trojan brothers, see Pulido-Rull, 2012, 139.

81. Clarke, 1813, 1–13, esp. 3. Cf. Broughton, 1813, 2:840–41.

82. Blumenbach, 1790, 82; Bindman, 2002, 197–200, from where the translation of the German is taken.

83. Blaeu, 1704. The original Latin version was published in 1663 under the title *Theatrum civitatum et admirandorum*.

84. The Topkapı copy is bound as two books, H. 2724 and H. 2751, each containing two volumes. See İrepoğlu, 1986, 65. The dated signatures appear on the flyleaf of vol. 1 (H. 2724) and the reverse of the frontispiece of vol. 3 (H. 2751). The second, which is more informative, reads "Translated by the lowly geographer İbrahim of the stewards of the Sublime Porte, anno 1145" (*min tercemeti'l-ḥaḳīri İbrāhīmi'l-coġrāfī min müteferriḳagān-ı Dergāh-ı ʿĀlī, sene 1145*).

85. The note is written on the reverse of vol. 4's frontispiece (H. 2751). For the term *Ḳızıl Elma*, see Babinger, 1978, 494; Kastritsis, 2011, 117–18, 121; Necipoğlu, 1991, 11–12; Raby, 1987; Teply, 1977.

86. "Ve ol beldede mevcūd sarāyhā-yı mülūkāne ve ās̱ār-ı ḳadīme ve ḳuṣūr-ı refīʿe ve temāşāgāhā-yı ġarībe ve sāʾir ebniye-i ʿacībe ve eşyā-yı muʿtebere dīde-i ġurūr-pīşe-i ʿavāmm u ḫavāṣṣa naẓargāh-ı feraḥ-efzā vu seyrāngāh-ı ḥaẓẓ-nümā olmaḳ üzere resm ü taṣvīr olunmuşdur."

87. Versions of this awareness continued into the twentieth century: see, for example, Bilsel, 2007.

88. Sandwich, 1799, 129.

89. Sutherland, 1790, 350–51. See also Tott, 1786, vol. 2, part 1, 228–30.

90. Tournefort, 1741, 2:181, 194. Cf. Hill, 1709, 130; Eton, 1799, 215; Clarke, 1813, 351. On Westerners' conflation of Ottoman and Chinese architecture, see Avcıoğlu, 2011, 70–74.

91. Tournefort, 1741, 2:181.

92. Pertusier, 1815, 2:415. Cf. Eton, 1799, 215.

93. For an especially glowing appraisal, see Niebuhr, 1776–80, 1:22–24, summarized in idem, 1792, 1:20.

94. Tournefort, 1741, 2:169. For similar judgments, see Necipoğlu, 2011, 221, 222.

95. Montagu, 1965, 358 (to the Abbé Conti, May 17, 1717). In the same letter, she describes the Iznik tilework of the walls as "Japan China which has a very beautifull Effect," and the mihrab as "a large Niche very like an Altar."

96. Montesquieu, 1759, 276–77.

97. Le Roy, 2004, esp. 102–3, 368–70, 380–82; Armstrong, 2011; Guys, 1783, 2:2–3.

98. Morellet, 1822, 1:68.

99. Ozouf, 1988, 135–36. I am grateful to Suraiya Faroqhi for bringing this work to my attention.

100. Broughton, 1813, 2:973–74.

101. Kuban, 1987.

102. Necipoğlu, 2011, 77–103, 146–47. See also idem, 1985, 92.

103. Newton, 2007, 19, 21–29.

104. For this later taxonomy, see Ersoy, 2015, 163–69.

105. See, especially, Necipoğlu, 2011.

106. Besides the illustrated examples, such column capitals also occur in the madrasa of the Hacı Beşir Agha Complex (discussed in chapter 2).

107. For the mosque in its current form, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 11–16; Arel, 1975, 70–71; Ceylan, 2013; Eyice, 1995; Goodwin, 1971, 394–95; Kuban, 1954, 31–32; idem, 2010, 538–40.

108. For the original complex, see Aga-Oglu, 1930; Anhegger, 1954; Ayverdi, 1953, 125–71; Goodwin, 1971, 121–31; Kafescioğlu, 2009, 66–99; Necipoğlu, 2011, 84–87. For other mosques with single semidomes, see Goodwin, 1971, 114–21.

109. Ambraseys and Finkel, 1995, 136–45.

110. Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2B: 86.

111. Kiel, 2002, 109–22.

112. Inchichean, 1976, 45; Carbognano, 1992, 40; idem, 1993, 62.

113. Hovhannisian, 2006, 21. Even the learned Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall seems to have accepted the mosque as original: see Hammer-Purgstall, 1822, 1:386–97, esp. 393.

114. Aga-Oglu, 1930.

115. Ali Satı writes that the ramp was built "for the purpose of ascending from the ground to the upper level of the gallery on horseback," but I have found no other references to such a practice, whether in relation to the Fatih Mosque's pavilion or its counterparts elsewhere. See Ayvansarayi, 2000, 12.

116. For the library, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 12; Ceylan, 2013; Sezer, 2016, 152–61.

117. BOA, C.SM., 140/7024.

118. "Kör Yani fi'l-aṣl ebniye-i hümāyūn ḳalfası olup ḥattā Fātiḥ Sulṭān Meḥmed Ḫān merḥūmuñ cāmiʿ-i şerīfini zelzeleden ṣoñra mersūm binā etmiş imiş." BOA, HAT., 183/8461.

119. Roberts, 2015, 26–27.

CHAPTER 5. AT THE SULTAN'S THRESHOLD: THE ARCHITECTURE OF ENGAGEMENT AS NEW IMPERIAL PARADIGM

1. "Le Grand Seigneur s'est ouvertement declaré vouloir remettre à ses Visirs le Soin de toutes les affaires, ainsi que le pratiquoient ses predécésseurs et nomement Sultan Mahmoud qu'il paroit choisir pour modèle." CADN, 166PO/A/49, 201–2.

2. For Abdülhamid's reign, see Vasıf, 1978; idem, 2014; Şemʿdanizade, 1976–80, 2B:117–3:51; Sarıcaoğlu, 2000; Aksan, 2007, 157–70; Finkel, 2005, 377–84; Shaw, 1976, 252–59.

3. Beydilli, 1995, 23–26, 99; Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 65, 189–92.

4. Aksan, 2007, 160–67.

5. Deringil, 1998, 46–50; Karpat, 2001, esp. 68–89; Masters, 2009; Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 211–25. For a French record of Abdülhamid's caliphal investiture, see CADN, 166PO/A/55, fol. 227b.

6. Enveri Saʿdullah Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Enverī*, Süleymaniye Library, Yahya Tevfik, no. 253, fol. 477b.

7. Ibid., fols. 477b–78a; Vasıf, 2014, 60–61.

8. The sultan would be declared a ghazi in 1788, after an early victory in the otherwise damaging war with Russia and Austria. See Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 58.

9. Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 55.

10. Carbognano, 1992, 39; idem, 1993, 61.

11. For the complex and its elements, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 483–86; Cunbur, 1964; Toderini, 1787, 2:153–72; Alpay, 1978; idem, 1993; Arel, 1975, 74–75; Barışta, 1994; Bülbül, 2012; Erünsal, 1997; Eyice, 1997; Kuban, 1954, 76–77.

12. Kuban, 2010, 526, 559; Sezer, 2016, 40–42; Yavaş, 1994.

13. Cerasi, 2008, 478–79.

14. Eyice, 1997, 465.

15. “Ol ḫayrāt-ı müstevcibü’l-berekātıñ ṣūret-i ṭarḥ u inşā ve çigūnegī-i vażʿ-ı bināsın temāşā.” Enveri, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 542a.

16. Ibid., fols. 542a–42b; Eyice, 1997, 465.

17. Cerasi, 1997, 42, 45–48. Western Baroque architecture has also been discussed as implying “a new urbanism” through its incorporation and embrace of the city’s fabric: see Millon, 1999a, 19.

18. Eyice, 1995, 246; Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 49.

19. Carbognano, 1992, 39; idem, 1993, 61.

20. Enveri, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 543a. For these inscriptions, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 483–86; idem, 2001, 583–86; Cunbur, 1964, 17–30.

21. “Luṭfī ḳazup mermerde nām oldu enām içre benām.”

22. “Jāle-i ʿadli ile buldu ṭarāvet ʿālem / Açılup gülmededir ġonçe-i ṭabʿ-ı żuʿafā / Dolanup dergehin ol şāh-i ʿadālet-cāhıñ / Yüz sürer pāyine cūlar gibi aṣḥab-ı ṣafā // ʿAlem-i şevketi serv-i çemen-i nuṣret olup / Aḳa tīğinden anıñ ṣu gibi ḫūn-i aʿdā.”

23. Carbognano, 1992, 39; idem, 1993, 61.

24. Finkel, 2005, 392; Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 234–42.

25. Sutherland, 1790, 353.

26. Broughton, 1813, 2:886.

27. Peyssonnel, 1786, 205–6. For other reports of this practice, see Eton, 1799, 37–38; İpşirli, 1991, 465.

28. İpşirli, 1991, 466.

29. Tietz, 1836, 161.

30. Watkins, 1792, 2:227–28.

31. Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 47–51. See also Karateke, 2005, 115.

32. Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 49. That another of the sultan’s “incognito” outings is reported in an unofficial ruzname is further evidence that these excursions were often staged with the public’s knowledge. See Göksu, 2007, 67.

33. Carbognano, 1992, 39; idem, 1993, 61; Pertusier, 1815, 1:219. See also Andréossy, 1828, 128.

34. Toderini, 1787, 2:155, as discussed in Sezer, 2016, 86–87.

35. Hammer-Purgstall, 1822, 1:522–23.

36. For the mosque complex, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 480–83; Arel, 1975, 77–78; Baraz, 1994, 1:110–18; S. Batur, 1994a; Goodwin, 1971, 397–99; Kuban, 1954, 33; idem, 2010, 629–31; Mülâyim, 1992.

37. Enveri, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 569a.

38. Cunbur, 1964, 37. (See 30–67 for the full waqfiyya.)

39. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 480–86; idem, 2001, 579–86.

40. For the mosque’s various restorations, see Bülbül, 2011.

41. Enveri, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 569a–569b, summarized in Vasıf, 2014, 125.

42. For the speculative view that the architect should be identified with the Armenian Agop Kalfa (d. 1803), who himself lived in Beylerbeyi, see Pamukciyan, 2003c.

43. Kuran, 1990–91, 282; Tanman, 2001, 574.

44. Necipoğlu, 2011, 301–5.

45. “Hüve’l-Ḫallāḳu’l-Bāḳī / Rūḥ-ı ʿālī-güher-i Vālide Sulṭān içün / Ḳaṣr-ı Firdevs gibi Ḥażret-i Sulṭān Ḥamīd / Yapdı bu cāmiʿ-i pāki ede ecrin īṣāl / O şehiñ vālidesi Rābiʿa Sulṭān’a Mecīd.” For an alternative translation, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 481.

46. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 481. For the original Ottoman, see Ayvansarayi, 2001, 580.

47. Yılmaz, 2009.

48. Theunissen, 2009, 78–108.

49. For these apartments, see Atasoy, 2011, 64–69; Ertuğ, 1989, 172–74.

50. For such mural painting, see Bağcı et al., 2006, 301–4; Renda, 1977, 77–170.

51. “Olur ḳarīn-i icābet duʿāsı bī-şübhe / Ḫulūṣ ile kim eder bu dergāh içre duḫūl.” For the full inscription, see Baraz, 1994, 1:113.

52. Istanbul was thus referred to as the Threshold of Felicity (Āsitāne-i Saʿādet). Like the related term *dergāh* (lit. “place of a door”), *āsitāne* could also denote a Sufi lodge, implying the institution’s status as a spiritual court. See Sakaoğlu, 1993; Yürekli, 2012, 143.

53. Tanman, 2001, 573.

54. Baraz, 1994, 1:112.

55. Clarke, 1813, 22–23. See also Harris, 1837, 54. It is not entirely clear which section of the apartments Clarke is describing, though Freely is probably right to assume that he means the upper-level room installed in 1789 for Selim III’s mother, Mihrişah Sultan: see Freely, 1999, 223. For the queen mother’s apartments, see Atasoy, 2011, 104–6; Eldem and Akazon, 1981, 48; Ertuğ, 1989, 135–37; Necipoğlu, 1991, 177–78.

56. Clarke, 1813, 24.

57. For this building, see Eldem and Akazon, 1981, 19–20; Ertuğ, 1989, 26–27; Necipoğlu, 1991, 58–61, 79–86. Başak Tuğ argues that the imperial council was largely defunct by the eighteenth century, when the grand vizier held his own assemblies at the Sublime Porte. The sources, however, reveal that the council continued to convene at the Divan and hear petitioners’ complaints on a regular, if less frequent, basis. See Tuğ, 2017, 75–78; Sandwich, 1799, 184–85; Pococke, 1743–45, vol. 2, part 2, 132; Mouradgea d’Ohsson, 1788–1824, 7:213–20; Watkins, 1792, 2:33; Pertusier, 1815, 2:277–78.

58. For the gate, see Eldem and Akazon, 1981, 23–24; Ertuğ, 1989, 35–37; Necipoğlu, 1991, 88–90. For the ceremony held in 1774 to mark the gate’s reconstruction, see Mustafa Agha, 1952, 32.

59. Bağcı et al., 2006, 292–93; Ortaylı et al., 2008, 110–111, cat. no. 7.

60. Hovhannisian, 2006, 69.

61. For Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s life and works, see Findley, 1999; Theolin et al., 2002. His *Tableau*, whose planned second half never came to fruition, was published in two French editions, one of them a luxury illustrated version of three enormous tomes: see Mouradgea d’Ohsson 1787–1820; idem, 1788–1824. For an abridged English translation, see idem, 1788.

62. Mouradgea d’Ohsson, 1788–1824, 2:450, as translated in idem, 1788, 529.

63. Pertusier, 1815, 1:34; Broughton, 1813, 2:878.

64. Hammer-Purgstall, 1822, 2:308.

65. My translation is based on the German and Turkish editions: see Raczyński, 1825, 122–26; idem, 1980, 69–71.

66. İpşirli, 1991, 462; Sakaoğlu, 1994, 443.

67. Pertek, 1978, 212–13. Fuhrmann’s engravings appear only in the original Polish edition: see Raczyński, 1821, plates 43–44.

68. The debate over the pavilion’s construction date is summarized in Arel, 1975, 77. Mahmud II’s minarets are often misdated in the literature to 1810–11.

69. “Ḫayrātını mükemmel edüp nūr-ı dīdesi.”

70. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 353–54; Bakır, 2003, 83, 84, 129–31, 167–68. For Cezayirli Hasan Pasha’s close relationship with the sultan, see Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 125–29; Shaw, 1976, 252.

71. For Abdülhamid's visit to the mosque, see Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 56.

72. Bakır, 2003, 85, 132–34, 169–70; Goodwin, 1971, 414; Kuban, 2010, 544–45. For Abdülhamid's visit to the mosque, see Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 57.

73. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 326; Bakır, 2003, 84, 135–36, 171–72.

74. See chapter 4, n. 29.

75. İpşirli, 1991, 462; Sarıcaoğlu, 2001, 56.

76. Smith, 1850, 102–6.

77. Ibid., 102.

78. On the opening up of formerly private land and the role of shoreline mosques in creating public spaces, see Hamadeh, 2008, 121–26. Writing at the end of Mustafa III's reign, the German-Danish geographer Carsten Niebuhr (d. 1815) observed that the sultan "has caused several of [his palaces] to be pulled down, and the materials to be employed in building public baths and mosques." Niebuhr, 1792, 1:23, as discussed in Artan, 1989, 63–64.

79. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 445–48; Goodwin, 1971, 399; Kuban, 2010, 544.

80. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 448. For this mosque, see ibid., 445–48; Goodwin, 1971, 399; Kuban, 2010, 544.

81. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 482. For the original Ottoman, see Ayvansarayi, 2001, 582. The mosque's regenerative effect is celebrated also in Vasıf, 2014, 125.

82. For Selim's life and reign, see Ahmed Faʾiz, 1993; idem, 2007; Asım, 2015; Cabi, 2003, 1:1–179; Cevdet, 1884–91, 4:234–8:311; Aksan, 2007, 180–258; Finkel, 2005, 389–418; Kenan, 2010; Ortaylı et al., 2008; Shaw, 1971; idem, 1976, 259–74; Yılmaz, 2010.

83. Aksan, 2007, 166, 180–84.

84. Aksan, 2007, 180–213; Beydilli, 1995; Kuran, 1968; Kürkçüoğlu, 2004; Naff, 1963; Shaw, 1965; Yaycioglu, 2016b, 38–63.

85. Beydilli, 1995, 28–36; Yaycioglu, 2016b, 41–42.

86. Mahmud Raʾif, 1798 (for a facsimile and modern Turkish translation of which see idem, 1988); *British Critic*, 1800; Broughton, 1813, 2:1011. Mahmud Raʾif was shot dead by opponents of Selim's reforms: see Finkel, 2005, 414–15. For a less well-known French-language work on the reforms—authored by the engineer Seyyid Mustafa and published in 1803—see Beydilli, 1983–87; Aksan, 2007, 203–4.

87. Beydilli, 1995, 99–274.

88. Broughton, 1813, 2:1010.

89. Heyd, 1993, esp. 33; Weismann, 2007, 77–78; Yaycioglu, 2016a; idem, 2016b, 50, 58–61. I am grateful to Tülay Artan for bringing Selim's Sufi backers to my attention. For the coexistence of religious and reformist attitudes among elite Ottomans, see Rüstem, 2012, 248–49, 258–63.

90. Heyd, 1993, 33; Shaw, 1976, 261–62, 266–67.

91. Aksan, 2007, 229–43.

92. Karal, 1999, 92–93; Eldem, 2008, 171–75.

93. Eldem, 2008, 172–73; Bağcı et al., 2006, 294–95; Ortaylı et al., 2008, 112, 114–19, cat. nos. 8, 10–13; Renda, 2010.

94. For an overview, see Esemenli, 2008.

95. For the mosque in its original and rebuilt forms, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 269–76; Goodwin, 1971, 411–12; Kafescioğlu, 2009, 45–51; Kuban, 1954, 34; idem, 2010, 545–48; Kuran, 2012.

96. Necipoğlu, 1996; Hasluck, 1929, 2:604–22.

97. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 274–75; Arel, 1975, 87–88; Goodwin, 1971, 410–11.

98. Hasluck, 1929, 2:604–22.

99. Kuban, 2010, 552–57.

100. Melling, 1819; idem, 2012; Girardelli, 2017, 12.

101. Perot, Hitzel, and Anhegger, 2001.

102. Artan, 1994; Hamadeh, 2008, 216–17, 220–21; Perot, Hitzel, and Anhegger, 2001, 12–14.

103. Mustafa Nuri, 1979–80, 4:147. For other sources on Foti Kalfa, see Pamukciyan, 2003b; idem, 2003e.

104. "Neccār ḳalfası Foṭi." BOA, D.TŞF.d.26076.

105. "Ebniye-i hümāyūn / Ebniye-i mīriyye ḫidemātında ḥüsn-i ḫidmet ve ṣadāḳati." BOA, C.ML.25245; BOA, C.BLD.4859; BOA, HAT., 1490/32. The decrees instruct their recipients not to interfere with Foti's dress, horse, or caique. Foti himself had applied for these privileges shortly before work was completed on the Selimiye, with the sultan agreeing to grant them once the project was finished: see BOA, HAT., 1490/32.

106. BOA, D.TŞF.d.26076.

107. For the mosque complex, see Ayvansarayi, 2000, 495; Arel, 1975, 90; S. Batur, 1994b; Goodwin, 1971, 413; Haskan, 2001, 1:323–33; Kuban, 1954, 33; idem, 2010, 545; Ramazanoğlu, 2009a.

108. Ahmed Faʾiz, 2007, 151.

109. Translation based on Hovhannisian, 2006, 75. For the view that the development of the suburban shores was itself a mark of New Order attitudes and aspirations, see Yaycioglu, 2016b, 52–53.

110. A. Batur, 1994; Ramazanoğlu, 2009.

111. The lodge was rebuilt between 1834 and 1836 and stands today as the Küçük Selimiye Çiçekçi Mosque. See Haskan, 2001, 1:142–57; Tanman, 1994e.

112. I am grateful to Gülru Necipoğlu for this observation. For the reformists' hostility toward the janissaries and Bektashis, see Heyd, 1993, 41–42.

113. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 495.

114. "Zīver-i tāc-ı ḫilāfet şāh-ı ʿālī-menḳabet."

115. "Eyledi bu maʿbedi ābād çūn ḳaṣr-i Naʿīm / Üsküdār'ı ḳıldı iḥyā çūnki ḥüsn-i himmeti." For the full inscription, see Haskan, 2001, 1:324.

116. Further remodeling was carried out by Mahmud II in 1819–20. In the twentieth century, the main chamber was deprived of its Rococo scheme and restored to approximate its earlier sixteenth-century appearance. See Necipoğlu, 1991, 82, 86; Öz, 1949, 29–32.

117. Cevdet, 1884–91, 8:68. While glossing over these problems in its description of the opening, the official ruzname records no further visits to the mosque by Selim, who may have kept away from the building because of lingering controversy. See Ahmed Faʾiz, 2007, 171–72; Beyhan, 2007, 32–38.

118. Aksan, 2007, 243–52; Finkel, 2005, 414–22; Shaw, 1976, 271–74; Yaycioglu, 2016b, 157–202.

119. Aksan, 2007, 259–342; Finkel, 2005, 422–43; Shaw, 1976, 274–77; Shaw and Shaw, 1977, 1–22; Yaycioglu, 2016b, 203–38.

120. MacFarlane, 1829, 289–90; A. Batur, 1994; Kuban, 2010, 555.

121. Broughton, 1813, 2:882.

122. Pertusier, 1815, 2:355–56.

123. The pavilion is large enough that some of its rooms (especially those in the smaller left wing) may conceivably have been used ad hoc by the mosque's staff, but this was not the structure's intended or main purpose.

124. MacFarlane, 1829, 465n.

125. Ibid; Allom and Walsh, 1838, 1:74–75.

CONCLUSION

1. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, 1788, 528–29.

2. Erçağ, 1991, 213, 214, 219.

3. Broughton, 1813, 2:1005–6.

4. For the classic account of Istanbul's nineteenth-century development, see Çelik, 1986.

5. For a survey of these waterfront mosques, see Berberoğlu, 2010.

6. Ayvansarayi, 2000, 384–86; Goodwin, 1971, 417–18; Kuban, 1954, 34–35; idem, 2010, 631–33; Rüstem, 2016b; Tuğlacı, 1990, 47–52; Wharton, 2015, 103–4.

7. Tuğlacı, 1990; Wharton, 2015.

8. For these buildings, see Ayvansarayi, 2001, 490–91, 526; Goodwin, 1971, 421–22; Kuban, 2010, 619–24, 634–38; Tuğlacı, 1990, 109–245, 381–84; Wharton, 2015.

9. Levinge, 1839, 300–301.

10. The few domed exceptions include the mosque built between 1865 and 1866 by the wealthy minister Altunizade İsmaʿil Zühdi Pasha (d. 1888), and that commissioned by the grand vizier Keçecizade Mehmed Fuad Pasha before he died in 1869. The first of these is located in Üsküdar, away from any imperial foundations, and though the second stands in the walled city, it is a small structure of octagonal plan, quite unlike its royal counterparts. For these mosques, see Arlı, 1993; Haskan, 2001, 1:71–74; Freely, 2010, 409; Saner, 1998, 91–93 (and 96–100 for comparable examples).

11. Ersoy, 2007; idem, 2015, esp. 185–240; Saner, 1998. The early twentieth century ushered in another kind of revivalism, one whose historicizing elements were more firmly rooted in the Ottoman past: see Bozdoğan, 2001, 16–46.

12. Like their Western counterparts, diplomats and other visitors from the Islamic world routinely toured the sights of Istanbul, often at the instigation of their Ottoman hosts: see Abū Ṭālib Khān, 1810, 2:242–43; Hamadeh, 2008, 55, 232. Their travel accounts show that they were interested in what they saw and experienced. The Moroccan ambassador Muhammad ibn ʿUthman al-Miknasi (d. 1799), for example, was struck by the staging of the Prophet's nativity celebrations at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in 1787: he tells us that Sultan Abdülhamid—in what may have been an eighteenth-century ceremonial flourish—opened and closed the screened window of his prayer loge, prompting the congregation to rise in respect. More directly architectural are the observations of the well-traveled Mirza Abu Talib Khan (d. 1805–6), a native of Lucknow who passed through Istanbul at the start of the nineteenth century and approvingly noted "the handsomely carved and gilded" exteriors of the city's mosques, including the Nuruosmaniye (though his favorite monument was the Hagia Sophia). See Miknāsī, 2015, 148–49 (and, on al-Miknasi's embassy, Benaboud, 1993); Abū Ṭālib Khān, 1810, 2:228–30.

13. For examples of these aspersions, see Subhi, 2007, 123, 663–64; Eldem, 1999a, 189, 191. For the persistent idea of non-Muslim Ottomans as a fifth column, see Sonyel, 1993.

14. Eldem, 1999b, 281–83; Naff, 1977, 102–3.

15. Such denouncement occurs even in Ahmed Efendi's account of the Nuruosmaniye: see Ahmed Efendi, 2013, 426, 490.

16. Janissary opponents of the New Order criticized its "infidel innovations" (*īcād-ı küfr*), though Selim's backers were quick to defend the reforms as a boon to the empire's Islamic cause. See Yaycioglu, 2016a, 32–36, esp. 33 for *īcād-ı küfr*; idem, 2016b, 58–60.

17. Ersoy, 2015. Such work has also been undertaken for Qajar Iran: see, for example, Roxburgh, 2014.

18. For a rare and commendable example of such integration in the mainstream literature, see Bailey, 2012, 386–91.

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